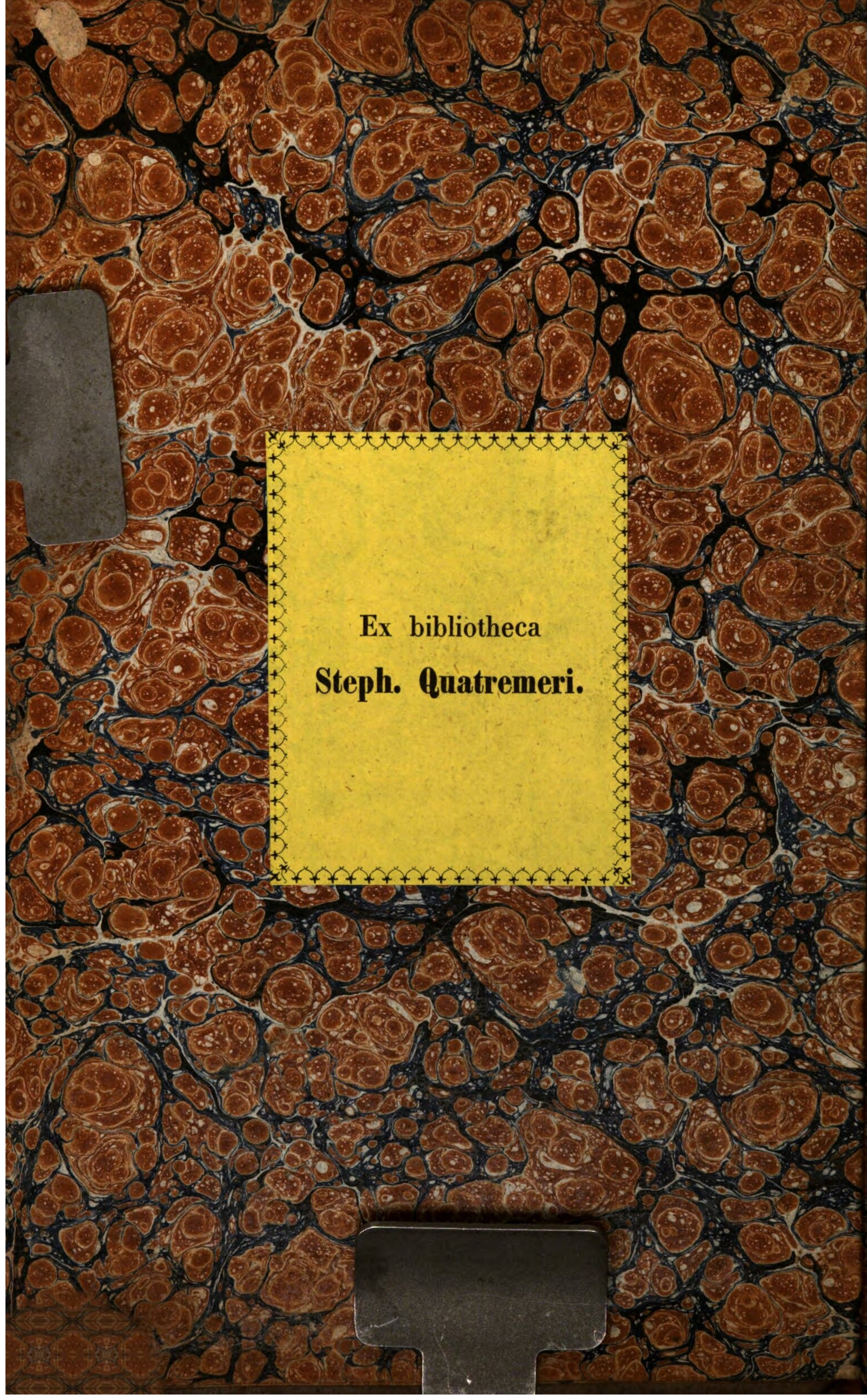
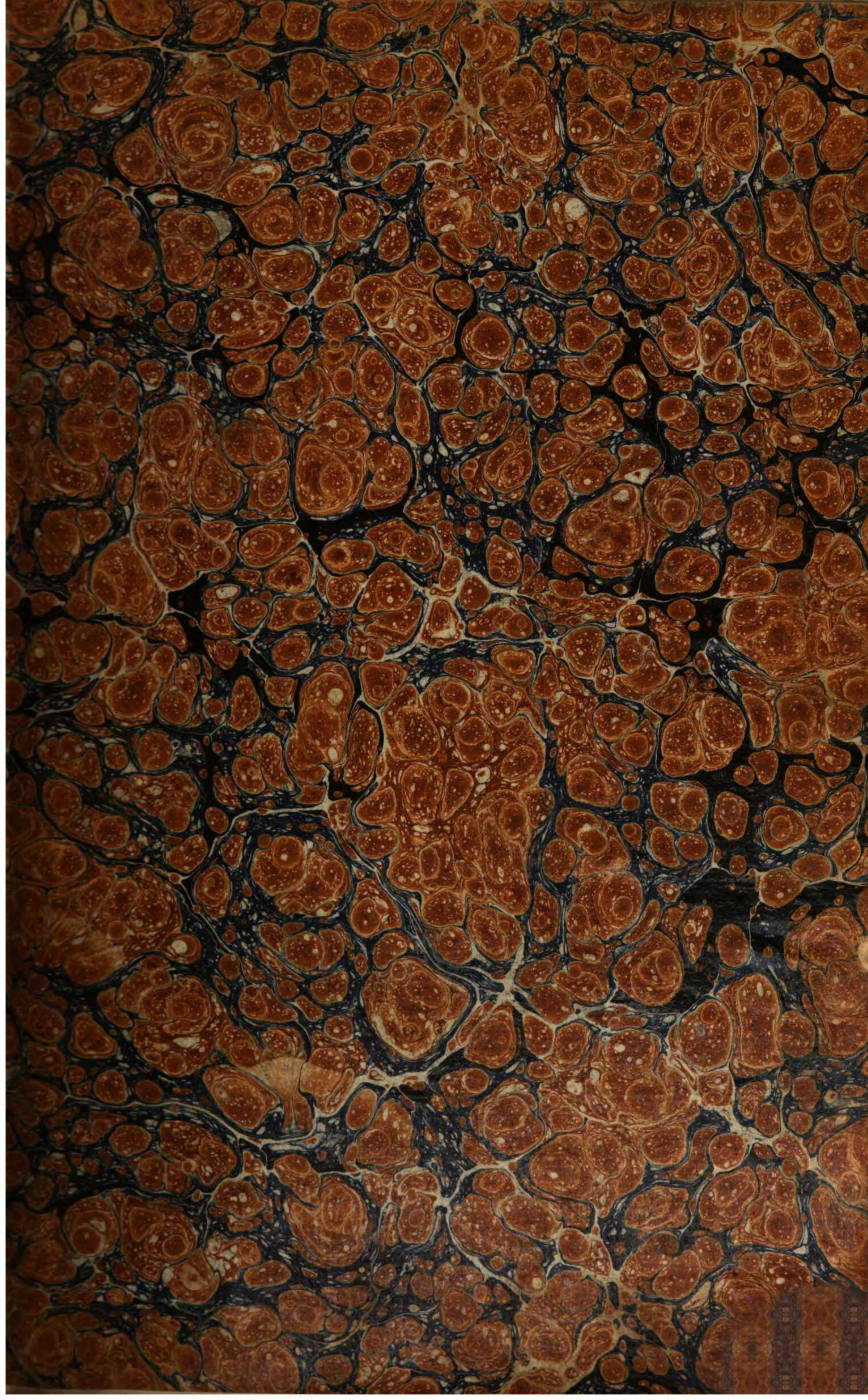


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*Fac. Simile of the Codex Argenteus, a Gothic Version
of the Four Gospels, in the University Library, at Upsal.*

Matt. Chap. VI. v. 9.

ΛΤΤΑ ΝΝΣΛΡΨΗ ΙΝ ΗΙΜΙΝΛΜ ΨΕΙΗΝΛΙ ΝΛΜΛ ΨΕΙΝ.
 ΟΙΙΜΛΙ ΨΙΜΔΙΝΛΣΣΝ ΨΕΪΣ. ΨΛΙΡΨΛΙ ΥΙΛΓΛ ΨΕΙΝΣ.
 ΣΥΕ ΙΝ ΗΙΜΙΝΛ ΓΛΗ ΛΙΡΨΛΙ, ΗΛΛΙΤΕ ΝΝΣΛΡΛΝΛ ΨΛΝΛ

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Critical Study and Knowledge
OF THE
HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, A. M.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND FAC-SIMILES OF BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND.

1818.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

OF

Critical History and Philosophy

CHARLES J. HOLLIS



THIS WORK

BY THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, A.M.

MOST GRATEFULLY

AND MOST RESPECTFULLY

RECOMMENDED TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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1818

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES LORD COLCHESTER,
ETC. ETC. ETC.

THIS WORK

IS

MOST GRATEFULLY

AND MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

JUNE IV. MDCCCXVIII.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES LORD COLCHESTER

ETC. ETC. ETC.

THIS WORK

The Work now offered to the Public is designed as a comprehensive MANUAL of Sacred Literature selected from the most celebrated and eminent Biblical Critics, both British and Foreign. It originated in the author's observations on the state of an early period of life; when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which would not only furnish him with a general introduction to them, but would also enable him to solve apparent contradictions, and study the Bible with that attention which its supreme importance demands: for every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it. At this time the author had no friend to assist his studies, — or remove his doubts, — nor any means of procuring critical works. At length a friend

Richard Hildesley

PREFACE.

THE Work now offered to the Public is designed as a comprehensive MANUAL of Sacred Literature, selected from the labours of the most eminent Biblical Critics, both British and Foreign. It originated in the author's own wants many years since, at an early period of life ; when he stood in need of a guide to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which would not only furnish him with a general introduction to them, but would also enable him to solve apparent contradictions, and to study the Bible with that attention which its supreme importance demands : for " every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it*." At this time the author had no friend to assist his studies,—or remove his doubts,—nor any means of procuring critical works. At length a list

* Bishop Horsley.

of the more eminent Foreign Biblical Critics fell into his hands, and directed him to some of those sources of information which he was seeking; he then resolved to procure such of them as his limited means would permit, with the design, in the first instance, of satisfying his own mind on those topics which had perplexed him, and ultimately of laying before the Public the result of his inquiries, should no treatise appear that might supersede such a publication.

The idea thus conceived has been steadily kept in view for upwards of seventeen years; and although, during that interval, several valuable treatises have appeared on the study of the Holy Scriptures, to which he gladly acknowledges himself indebted for many important hints and illustrations; yet, since no one has been published in the English language, embracing *all* those important subjects, which the author apprehends to be essential to the CRITICAL STUDY of the sacred volume, he has been induced to prosecute his investigations, the result of which he now tenders for the assistance of others.

The work, thus offered to the attention of the Public, will be found to consist of three Parts, viz.

PART I. comprises a CONCISE VIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE, and of the political, religious, moral, and civil state of the Jews; illustrating the principal events recorded in the Scriptures.

To have written a complete treatise on Biblical Antiquities, would have required a work nearly equal in extent to the present: but, though the author has

been designedly brief in this part of his undertaking, he indulges the hope that few *really essential* points, connected with sacred antiquities, will appear to have been omitted.

PART II. treats ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES, in all its branches ; first specifying the various subsidiary means for ascertaining their sense, and applying the sense when ascertained to the interpretation of the inspired volume. The utmost brevity, consistent with perspicuity, has been studied in this portion of the work ; and therefore but few texts of Scripture, comparatively, have been illustrated at great length. But especial care has been taken, by repeated collations, that the very numerous references which are introduced should be both pertinent and correct ; so that such of the author's readers, as may be disposed to try them by the rules laid down, should be enabled to apply them with facility.

PART III. is appropriated to the ANALYSIS OF SCRIPTURE. It contains a history of the sacred canon of the Old and New Testament, together with an abstract of the evidence for the divine origin, credibility, and inspiration of each,—especially of the New Testament ; and also copious critical prefaces to the respective books, and synopses of their several contents. In drawing up these synopses, the utmost attention has been given in order to present, as far as was practicable, at one glance, a comprehensive view of the subjects contained in each Book of Scripture. How necessary such a view is to the critical study of the inspired records, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark.

In executing this part of his work, the author has endeavoured to steer between the extreme prolixity of some analysts of the Bible, and the too great brevity of others : and he ventures to hope, that this portion of his labours will be found particularly useful in studying the doctrinal parts of the Scriptures.

The APPENDIX embraces the principal topics of biblical criticism,—such as manuscripts and editions of the Scriptures, various readings, select lists of commentators and biblical critics of eminence, &c. &c. which could not with propriety be introduced into the body of the work, without blending together two subjects that are essentially distinct, viz.—the *Criticism* and *Interpretation* of the Bible. Particular care has been bestowed, in order to ensure correctness in the maps, and fac-similes of biblical manuscripts, which accompany these volumes.

Throughout the work, references have been made to such approved writers as have best illustrated particular subjects ; and critical notices of their works have been introduced, partly derived from the author's knowledge of them, partly from the recorded opinions of eminent biblical critics, and partly from the best critical journals and other sources :—the preference being invariably given to those, which are distinguished by the acknowledged talent and ability with which they are conducted. The recent opening of the Continent, and the sales by auction of several valuable divinity libraries, have also enabled the author to procure many critical works that would otherwise have been inaccessible.

Of the works cited in the notes to the following pages, the author has been particular in specifying the editions. They are all referred to as authorities for the statements contained in the text; many of them furnish details, which the limits of the present volumes would not admit; and some few give accounts and representations, which he thought he had reason to reject. All these references, however, are introduced for the convenience of those readers, who may have inclination and opportunity for prosecuting more minute inquiries.

Such are the plan and object of the work, now submitted to the candour of the Public. The Author has prosecuted his labours under a deep sense of the responsibility attached to such an undertaking; and, though he dares not hope that he can altogether have avoided mistake, yet he can with truth declare that he has anxiously endeavoured not to mislead any one. From the public organs of criticism he expects to derive much advantage, in the event of any future edition being required; and he will be happy to listen to their advice and corrections.

The author cannot conclude this preface, without tendering his grateful acknowledgments to the Right Reverend THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF for the prompt and obliging communication of an exceedingly rare tract, of which ample use has been made; and also to the Reverend Doctor VAN MILDERT, Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of

Oxford; who kindly favoured the author with the loan of some scarce critical works, which he had for years been fruitlessly endeavouring to procure from the Continent. From these works some valuable additional information has been gleaned, together with numerous important references.

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THE THIRD CONSIDERATION, WHICH PRESENTS ITSELF TO THE MIND, IS THAT OF THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

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THE NINTH CONSIDERATION, WHICH PRESENTS ITSELF TO THE MIND, IS THAT OF THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

THE TENTH CONSIDERATION, WHICH PRESENTS ITSELF TO THE MIND, IS THAT OF THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

THE ELEVENTH CONSIDERATION, WHICH PRESENTS ITSELF TO THE MIND, IS THAT OF THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

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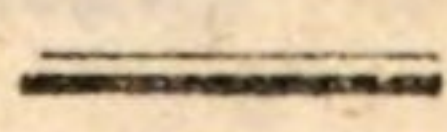
LET THE SWEET SAVOUR OF JEHOVAH OUR GOD BE UPON US,
AND THE WORK WE TAKE IN HAND DIRECT FOR US;
THE WORK WE TAKE IN HAND DO THOU DIRECT!

PSAL. XC. 17. BISHOP HORSLEY'S VERSION.

.....

IF I HAVE DONE WELL AND AS IS FITTING THE STORY, IT IS THAT
WHICH I DESIRED; BUT IF SLENDERLY AND MEANLY, IT IS THAT
WHICH I COULD ATTAIN UNTO.

2 MACCABEES, XV. 38.



ON
THE CRITICAL
STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE
OF THE
HOLY SCRIPTURES.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, which are also called the BIBLE, that is, THE BOOK, by way of eminence, comprise a great number of different narratives and compositions, written by several persons, at distant periods, in different languages and on various subjects. This collection of writings is partly historical, partly prophetic, and partly didactic; some books were composed previously, and some subsequently, to an important event, which is adverted to in most of them, called "*the coming of the Messiah*;" who in the Old Testament is treated of as a *future**, and in the New Testament† as a *present* Saviour and Mediator.

The Bible, as a late eminent prelate‡ has justly remarked, "is not indeed a plan of religion delineated with minute accuracy, to instruct men as in something altogether new, or to excite a vain admiration and applause; but it is somewhat unspeakably more great and noble, comprehending in the grandest and most magnificent order, along with every essential of that plan, the various dispensations of God to mankind, from the formation of this earth to the consummation of all things.

* Compare Psal. xl. 17. with John v. 39. Acts x. 43. and Luke xxiv. 44.

† John i. 45.

‡ Archbishop Secker.

Other books may afford us much entertainment and much instruction, may gratify our curiosity, may delight our imagination, may improve our understandings, may calm our passions, may exalt our sentiments, may even improve our hearts. But they have not, they cannot have, that authority in what they affirm, in what they require, in what they promise and threaten, which the Scriptures have. There is a peculiar weight and energy in *them*, which is not to be found in any other writings. Their denunciations are more awful, their convictions stronger, their consolations more powerful, their counsels more authentic, their warnings more alarming, their exhortations more penetrating. There are passages in them throughout so sublime, so pathetic, full of such energy and force upon the heart and conscience, yet without the least appearance of labour and study for that purpose; indeed, the design of the whole is so noble, so well suited to the sad condition of human kind; the morals have in them such purity and dignity; the doctrines, so many of them above reason, yet so perfectly reconcileable with it; the expression is so majestic, yet familiarized with such easy simplicity, that, the more we read and study these writings with *pious dispositions and judicious attention*, the more we shall see and feel of the hand of God in them.” Thus are the Scriptures the only rule of our faith and standard of our lives; and thus do they point out to us the only way by which to attain solid comfort, peace, and happiness. “But that which stamps upon them the highest value, that which renders them, strictly speaking, *inestimable*, and distinguishes them from all other books in the world, is this, that they, and they only, contain *the words of eternal life**. In this respect every other book, even the noblest compositions of man, must fail; they cannot give us that which we most want, and what is of infinitely more importance to us than all other things put together,—ETERNAL LIFE.

“This we must look for nowhere but in Scripture. It is there, and there only, that we are informed, from authority, of the immortality of the soul, of a general resurrection from the dead, of a future judgment, of a state of eternal happiness to the good, and of eternal misery to the bad. It is there we are made acquainted with the fall of our first parents from a state of innocence and happiness; with the guilt, corruption, and misery which this sad event brought on all their posterity; which, together with their own personal and voluntary transgressions, rendered them obnoxious to God’s severest punish-

* John vi. 68.

ments. But, to our inexpressible comfort, we are further told in this divine book, that God is full of mercy, compassion, and goodness; that he is not extreme to mark what is done amiss; that he willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and save his soul alive. In pity therefore to mankind, he was pleased to adopt a measure, which should at once satisfy his justice, show his extreme abhorrence of sin, make a sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole world, and release all, who accepted the terms proposed to them, from the punishment they had deserved. This was nothing less than the death of his son Jesus Christ, whom he sent into the world to take our nature upon him, to teach us a most holy, pure, and benevolent religion, to reform us both by his precept and example; and, lastly, to die for our sins, and to rise again for our justification. By him and his evangelists and apostles we are assured, that if we sincerely repent of our sins, and firmly believe in him and his gospel, we shall, for the sake of his sufferings and his righteousness, have all our transgressions forgiven and blotted out—shall be justified, that is, considered as innocent in the sight of God—shall have the assistance of his Holy Spirit for our future conduct—and, if we persevere to the end in a uniform (though, from the infirmity of our nature, imperfect) obedience to all the laws of Christ, we shall, through his merits, be rewarded with everlasting glory in the life to come*.” Thus do the Holy Scriptures contain “all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation†.”

Such then being the utility, excellence, and perfection of the Holy Scriptures, since they are not merely the best guide we can consult, but the only one that can make us wise unto salvation, it becomes the indispensable duty of all carefully and constantly to peruse these sacred oracles, that through them they may become “perfect, thoroughly furnished to every good work‡.” This indeed is not only agreeable to the divine command§, and to the design of the Scriptures||, but is further

* Bishop Porteus, *Lectures on St. Matthew*, vol. i. p. 18. 21.

† Article vi. of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland. The sufficiency of Scripture is ably illustrated by the Bishop of Lincoln, (*Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 190—196.), by Dr. Vanmildert, (*Bampton Lect.* pp. 61—76.), by Dr. Edwards, in his “*Discourse concerning the authority, style, and perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament*,” vol. iii. pp. 1—44., and most elaborately by Archbishop Tillotson in his “*Rule of Faith*,” particularly part iv. sect. ii. To these works the student is referred, who is desirous of investigating this important topic.

‡ 2 Tim. iii. 17. § SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, John v. 39. || 1 Tim. ii. 4.

commended to us by the practice of the church in antient* as well as in modern times, and by the gracious promise made by Him who cannot lie, to all true believers, that “they shall *all* be taught of God†.” What time is to be appropriated for this purpose, must ever depend upon the circumstances of the individual. It is obvious that *some* time ought daily to be devoted to this important study, and that it should be undertaken with devout simplicity and humility; prosecuted with diligence and attention‡; accompanied by prayer for the divine aid and teaching§; together with a sincere desire to know and perform the will of God, and, laying aside all prejudice, to follow the Scriptures wherever conviction may lead our minds.

In order, however, to study the Scriptures aright, it should be recollected that they are not to be contemplated as one entire book or treatise. “The knowledge of divine truth is, indeed, perfectly distinct from human science, in that it emanates immediately from the Fountain of infinite wisdom. Yet has it this in common with human science, that it is made by its heavenly author to flow through the channel of human instruction. While, therefore, we “receive it not as the word of men, but, “as it is in truth, the word of God||,” we must nevertheless examine it as it is delivered to us, clothed in the language of men, and subject to the general rules of human composition. The deference due to it as a divine production does not interfere with this province of human learning; it only exacts sub-

* Psal. cxix. 24. Acts xvii. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Psal. i. 2.

† Isa. liv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 31. John vi. 45. Heb. viii. 11. and John xvi. 13. Luke xi. 13. Eph. i. 17. “The Revelation of the Holy Ghost inspireth the true meaning of the Scripture to us: in truth, we cannot without it attain true saving knowledge.” *Second Homily of the Scripture*. “Quo etiam spiritu scripturæ factæ sunt, eo spiritu legi desiderant, ipso etiam intelligendæ sunt. Nunquam ingredieris in sensum Pauli, donec usu bonæ intentionis in lectione ejus, et studio assiduæ meditationis, spiritum ejus imbibieris. Nunquam intelliges David, donec ipsâ experientiâ ipsos Psalmorum affectus indueris. Sicque de reliquis.” *St. Bernard, Epist. ad Fratres Montis Dei*.

‡ “Without *attention*,” says a pious but neglected writer of the seventeenth century, “all books are alike, and all equally insignificant: for he that adverts not to the sense of what he reads, the wisest discourses signify no more to him, than the most exquisite music does to a man perfectly deaf. The letters and syllables of the Bible are no more sacred than those of another book: it is the sense and meaning only that is divinely inspired: and he that considers only the former, may as well entertain himself with the spelling-book.” *Lively Oracles*, sect. viii. § 25.

§ “Though the natural man may well enough apprehend the letter and grammatical sense of the word, yet its power and energy—that insinuating persuasive force whereby it works upon our hearts—is peculiar to the Spirit: and therefore, *without his aids*, the Scripture, while it lies open before our eyes, may still be as a book that is sealed (Isa. xxix. 11.), and be as ineffective as if the characters were illegible. *Ibid.* sect. viii. § 24.

|| 1 Thess. ii. 13.

mission with respect to the subject-matter of the revelation, to which the critical investigation is entirely subordinate*.”

But, besides the paramount importance of the contents of the Holy Scriptures, a further motive to the diligent study of them presents itself, in the facilities that are offered to us for this purpose by the numerous publications on the criticism and interpretation of the Bible, which have appeared at different times, and whose most valuable precepts it is the design of the present work to concentrate. In fact, “a willingness to know and to do the will of God implies a willingness to resort to all necessary helps for advancement in the truth, and for security against error†.” The value of such helps was never questioned, except by those who chose to despise what they did not possess. “They are of distinguished value in theology; but then, like every thing else that is excellent, they have their province. While they are supreme in the concerns of human investigation, they are subordinate in those of divine. They cannot communicate a right disposition of heart, nor can they compensate for its absence. Like the armour of the antient warrior, if the native vigour of the frame can wield them with alertness and skill, they are his defence and ornament; but if this vigour be wanting, they are of no advantage whatever; they become, on the contrary, a burden and an incumbrance.”

With regard to the *order* to be pursued in reading the Scriptures, it may be sufficient to remark, that it will be desirable to peruse those books first which are written in the plainest style, and consequently best adapted to the capacity of the mind; and afterwards to proceed gradually from the easier books to such as are more difficult, and especially to read those in succession which are of a parallel argument; from the New Testament to the Old, and from the simpler books to such as are more abstruse. “I can speak it from experience,” says the celebrated ‡ Erasmus, “that there is little benefit to be derived from the Scriptures, if they be read cursorily or carelessly: but if a man exercise himself therein constantly and conscientiously, he shall find such an efficacy in them as is not to be found in any other book whatsoever.” “The *genuine* philosophy of Christ,” says the same eminent scholar and critic, “cannot be derived from any source so successfully, as from the Books of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; in which if a man philosophise with a pious

* Professor Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 41. The whole of his second sermon, on the moral qualifications requisite for a right apprehension of the Sacred Word, is truly excellent.

‡ Præf. in Paraphras. in Luc.

spirit, *praying* rather than arguing, he will find that there is nothing conducive to the happiness of man, and the performance of any duty of human life, which is not, in some of these writings, laid down, discussed, and determined, in a complete and satisfactory manner*.”

* Existimo puram illam Christi philosophiam non aliunde felicius hauriri, quàm ex evangelicis libris, quàm ex apostolicis literis; in quibus ei quis piè philosophetur, orans magis quàm argumentans, nihil esse quod ad hominis felicitatem, nihil quod ad ullam hujus vitæ functionem pertineat, quod in his non sit traditum, discussum, et absolutum. ERASMUS, cited in Dr. Knox's Christian Philosophy, p. 295. 2d edit.

PART I.

A CONCISE VIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND, AND OF THE POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND CIVIL STATE OF THE JEWS, ILLUSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS RECORDED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

THE science of Geography is of considerable importance in the elucidation of the Holy Scriptures, not only as showing the singular propriety of the terms and expressions which are frequently employed by the sacred writers, but also as illustrating the force and beauty of many allusions which they make to particular cities or places. On this account the Author would deem the present volume imperfect without some notice of the geography of Palestine—the scene of transactions the most momentous to the eternal happiness of mankind: and although the limits imposed on this division of his work do not allow him to offer a complete view of sacred geography, yet he trusts that the following sketch of that country, and of the state of its inhabitants, as described or referred to in the Scriptures, will be found both interesting and useful, especially by those of his readers who may not have access to the more extensive systems of biblical geography and antiquities*.

* For an account of the principal works treating on the geography of the Scriptures, see part ii. ch. vii. sect. ii. § 2. no. 4.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

I. *Names* — II. *Boundaries* — III. *Climate and Seasons* — IV. *Rivers, Lakes, and Wells* — V. *Mountains* — VI. *Caverns* — VII. *Wildernesses or Deserts* — VIII. *Fertility and Population* — IX. *Woods and Forests*.

THIS country has in different ages been called by various names, which have been derived either from its inhabitants, or from the extraordinary circumstances attached to it. Thus, in Jer. iv. 20, it is termed generally the *land*: and hence, both in the Old and New Testament, the word Γη, which is sometimes rendered *earth*, is by the context in many places determined to mean the promised land of Israel; as in Josh. ii. 3. They be come to search out all *the country* (Sept. την γην); Matt. v. 5. The meek shall *inherit the earth* (γην, the land); and in Luke iv. 25. where a great famine is said to have prevailed throughout all the *land* (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γην). In like manner, οἰκουμένη, which primarily means the inhabited world, and is often so rendered, is by the connexion of the discourse restrained to a particular country, as in Isa. xiii. 5. (Sept.); and to the land of Judea, as in Luke ii. 1. xxi. 26. Acts xi. 28. and James v. 17. But the country occupied by the Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, is in the sacred volume more particularly called,

1. The *Land of Canaan*, from Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, who settled here after the confusion of Babel, and divided the country among his eleven children, each of whom became the head of a numerous tribe, that ultimately became a distinct nation (Gen. xi. 15. *et seq.*)

2. The *Land of Promise*, (Heb. xi. 9.) from the promise made by Jehovah to Abraham, that his posterity should possess it, (Gen. xii. 7. and xiii. 15); who being termed Hebrews, this region was thence called the *Land of the Hebrews**, (Gen. xl. 15.)

3. The *Land of Israel*, from the Israelites, or posterity of Jacob, having settled themselves there. This name is of most

* This appellation (the land of the Hebrews) is recognized by Pausanias (lib. vi. c. 24. *in fine*). By heathen writers, the Holy Land is variously termed, Syrian Palestine, Syria, and Phenicia; but as these appellations are not applied generally in the scriptures to that country, any further notice of them is designedly omitted.

frequent occurrence in the Old Testament: it is also to be found in the New Testament (as in Matt. ii. 20, 21.); and in its larger acceptation comprehended all that tract of ground on each side the course of the river Jordan, which God gave for an inheritance to the children of Israel. Within this extent lay all the provinces or countries visited by Jesus Christ, except Egypt, and consequently almost all the places mentioned or referred to in the four gospels. After the separation of the ten tribes, that portion of the land which belonged to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who formed a separate kingdom, was distinguished by the appellation of Judea, or the land of *Judah*, (Psal. lxxvi. 1.); which name the whole country retained during the existence of the second temple, and under the dominion of the Romans.

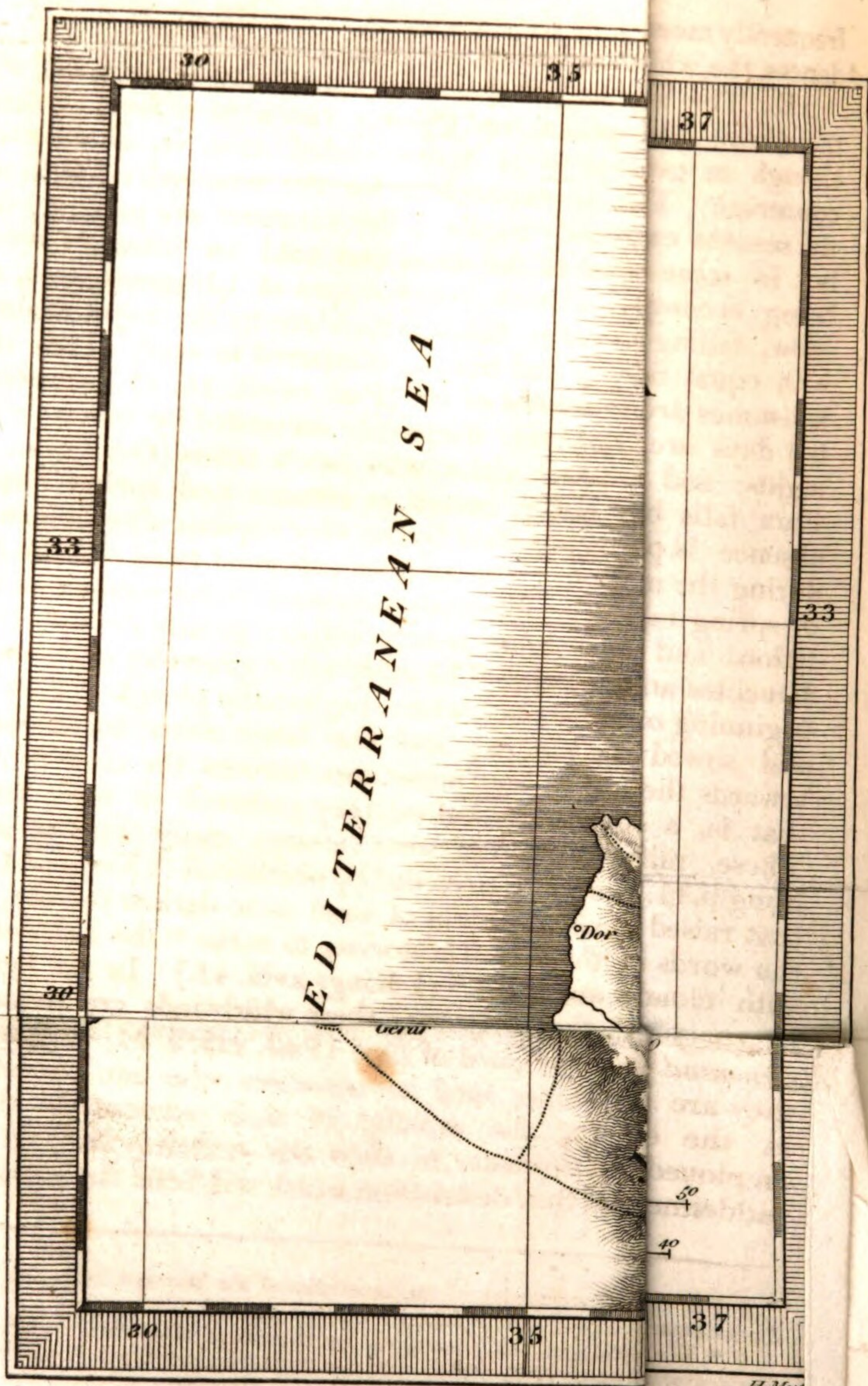
4. The *Holy Land*, which appellation is to this day conferred on it by all Christians, as having been hallowed by the presence, actions, miracles, discourses, and sufferings of Jesus Christ. This name is also to be found in the Old Testament (Zech. ii. 12.), and in the Apocryphal books of Wisdom (xii. 3.), and 2 Maccabees (i. 7.) The whole world was divided by the antient Jews into two general parts, *the land of Israel* and the *land out of Israel*, that is, all the countries inhabited by the *nations of the world*, or the Gentiles: to this distinction there seems to be an allusion in Matt. vi. 32. All the rest of the world, together with its inhabitants, (Judea excepted) was accounted as profane, *polluted*, and *unclean*, (see Isa. xxxv. 8. lii. 1. with Joel iii. 17. Amos vii. 7. and Acts x. 1.); but, though the whole land of Israel was regarded as *holy*, as being the place consecrated to the worship of God, and the inheritance of his people, whence they are collectively styled *saints* and a holy nation or people in Exod. xix. 6. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2. xxvi. 19. xxxiii. 3. 2 Chron. vi. 41. Psal. xxxiv. 9. l. 5. 7. lxxix. 2. and cxlviii. 4.) yet the Jews imagined particular parts to be vested with more than ordinary sanctity, according to their respective situations. Thus the parts situated beyond Jordan were considered to be less holy than those on this side: walled towns were supposed to be more clean and holy than other places, because no lepers were admissible into them, and the dead were not allowed to be buried there. Even the very dust of the land of Israel was reputed to possess such a peculiar degree of sanctity, that when the Jews returned from any heathen country, they stopped at its borders, and wiped the dust of it from their shoes, lest the sacred inheritance should be polluted with it: nor would they suffer even herbs to be brought to them from the ground of their Gentile neighbours, lest they should

bring any of the mould with them, and thus defile their pure land. To this notion our Lord unquestionably alluded when he commanded his disciples to shake off the dust of their feet, (Matt. x. 14.) on returning from any house or city that would neither receive nor hear them; thereby intimating to them, that when the Jews had rejected the gospel, they were no longer to be regarded as the people of God, but were on a level with heathens and idolaters*.

5. The appellation of *Palestine*, by which the whole land appears to have been called in the days of Moses, (Exod. xv. 14.) is derived from the Philistines, a people who migrated from Egypt, and, having expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, settled on the borders of the Mediterranean; where they became so considerable as to give their name to the whole country, though they in fact possessed only a small part of it. The Philistines were for a long time the most formidable enemies of the children of Israel; but about the year of the world 3841. (B. C. 159) the illustrious Judas Maccabeus subdued their country; and about sixty-five years afterwards Jannæus burnt their city Gaza, and incorporated the remnant of the Philistines with such Jews as he placed in their country.

II. The *Boundaries* of the land promised to Abraham are, in Gen. xv. 18., stated to be "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." Of this tract, however, the Israelites were not immediately put in possession: and although the limits of their territories were extended under the reigns of David and Solomon, (2 Sam. viii. 3. *et seq.* 2 Chron. ix. 26.) yet they did not always retain that tract. It lies far within the temperate zone, and between 31 and 33 degrees of north latitude, and was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean or Great Sea, as it is often called in the Scriptures; on the east by Arabia; on the south by the river of Egypt (supposed to be, not the Nile, but the Sichor, Josh. xiii. 3.) and the Desert of Sin, or Beersheba the southern shore of the Dead Sea, and the river Arnon; and on the north by the chain of mountains termed Antilibanus, near which stood the city of Dan: hence in the sacred writings we

* Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in Matt. x. 14.; Reland, *Antiquitates Hebraicæ*, pp. 1, 17. This distinction of holy and unholy places and persons throws considerable light on 1 Cor. i. 28. where the apostle, speaking of the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews, says, that God hath chosen "base things of the world, and things that are despised, yea, and things which are not," (that is, the Gentiles) "to bring to nought" (Gr. *to abolish*) things that are;" in other words, to become God's church and people, and so to cause the Jewish church and economy to cease. See Whitby in loc.



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frequently meet with the expression from Dan to Beersheba, to denote the whole length of the land of Israel*.

III. The surface of the Holy Land being diversified with mountains and plains, its *Climate* varies in different places, though in general it is more settled than in our western countries. The atmosphere is for the most part mild, and the seasons extremely regular; the summers are perfectly dry, but in some winters the frost and cold are intensely severe, being accompanied with heavy storms of hailstones, rain, and snow, falling in large flakes, which are by the royal Psalmist, with equal fidelity and beauty, compared to wool, as the large hailstones are to masses of ice (Psal. cxlvii. 16, 17.) Intensely hot days are, however, frequently succeeded by intensely cold nights; and to these vicissitudes Jacob refers (Gen. xxxi. 40.) Rain falls but rarely, except in autumn and spring; but its absence is partly supplied by the very copious dews which fall during the night†. The *early* or autumnal rains and the *latter* or spring rains are absolutely necessary to the support of vegetation, and were consequently objects greatly desired by the Israelites and Jews‡. The early rains generally fall about the beginning of November, when they usually ploughed their lands and sowed their corn; and the latter rains fall sometimes towards the middle and sometimes towards the close of April; that is, a short time before they gathered in their harvest. These rains, however, were always chilly (Ezra x. 9. and Song ii. 11.), and often preceded by whirlwinds (2 Kings iii. 16, 17.) that raised such quantities of sand as to darken the sky, or, in the words of the sacred historian, to make “the heavens black with clouds and wind,” (1 Kings xviii. 45.) In the figurative language of the Scripture, these whirlwinds are termed the *command* and the *word* of God (Psal. cxlvii. 15, 18.)§: and as they are sometimes fatal to travellers who are overwhelmed in the deserts, the rapidity of their advance is elegantly employed by Solomon to shew the certainty as well as the suddenness of that destruction which will befall the impenitently

* For a full investigation of the boundaries of the promised land, See Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. i. pp. 53—97.

† “We were sufficiently instructed by experience what the Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, (Psal. cxxxiii. 3.); our tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night.” Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 77.

‡ The following are a few among the many allusions in the Scripture to the importance of the early and latter rains, and the earnestness with which they were desired. Deut. xi. 14. Job xxix. 23. Prov. xvi. 15. Jer. iii. 3. v. 24. Hos. vi. 3. Joel ii. 23. Zech. x. 1.

§ The Arabs to this day call them good news or messengers: and in the Koran they are termed the *sent* of God. c. 77. p. 477. of Sale's Translation, 4to edit.

wicked, (Prov. i. 27.) The rains descend in Palestine with great violence; and as whole villages in the east are constructed only with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun, (perhaps corresponding to and explanatory of the untempered mortar noticed in Ezek. xiii. 11.) these rains not unfrequently dissolve the cement, such as it is, and the houses fall to the ground. To these effects our Lord probably alludes in Matt. vii. 25—27. Very small clouds are likewise the forerunners of violent storms and hurricanes in the east as well as in the west: they rise *like a man's hand*, (1 Kings xviii. 44.) until the whole sky becomes black with rain, which descends in torrents. In our Lord's time, this phenomenon seems to have become a certain prognostic of wet weather. "He said to the people, when ye see THE cloud (ΤΗΝ ΝΕΦΕΛΗΝ)* rise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; AND SO IT IS," (Luke xii. 54.)

IV. In consequence of the paucity of showers in the east, water is an article of great importance to the inhabitants: hence, in Lot's estimation, it was a principal recommendation of the plain of Jordan that it was "well watered every where;" (Gen. xiii. 10.) and the same advantage continued in later ages to be enjoyed by the Israelites, whose country was intersected by numerous brooks and streams. Strictly speaking, the only river is the Jordan, which is sometimes designated in the Scripture as *the river* without any addition; as also is the Nile, (Gen. xli. 1. Exod. i. 22. ii. 5. iv. 9. vii. 18. and viii. 3, 9, 11.) and, occasionally, the Euphrates (as in Jer. ii. 18.): in those cases, the tenor of the discourse must determine which is the river actually intended by the sacred writers. The name of river is also given to inconsiderable streams and rivulets, as to the Kishon (Judges iv. 7. and v. 21.) and the Arnon (Deut. iii. 16.);† The principal river which waters Palestine is the Jordan or Yar-Dan, i. e. the river of Dan, so called because it takes its rise in the vicinity of the little city of Dan. Its true source is in the lake Phiala near Cæsarea Philippi at the foot of Antilibanus whence it passes under ground; and, emerging to the light from a cave in the vicinity of Paneas, it flows due south through the centre of the country, intersecting the lake Merom and the Sea (or lake) of Galilee, and loses itself in the lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea. Antiently it overflowed its banks about the time of barley-harvest (Josh. iii. 15. iv. 18.

* The article here is unquestionably demonstrative. See Bishop Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 327.

† In a few instances the sea is called a river, as in Hab. iii. 8. where the Red Sea is intended.

1 Chron. xiii. 15. Jer. xlix. 19,) or the feast of the passover; when, the snows being dissolved on the mountains, the torrents discharged themselves into its channel with great impetuosity. When visited by Mr. Maundrel at the beginning of the last century, he could discern no sign or probability of such inundations, though so late as the 30th of March: and so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran almost two yards below the brink of its channel. The banks of this river are covered with bushes, reeds, tamarisks, and other shrubs and trees which form an asylum for various wild animals; so that it may be said to have two banks—the first is that of the river in its natural state; the second, that of its overflowings. All travellers concur in stating it to be very rapid; though, near the Dead Sea, M. Chateaubriand says that it is deeply sunk below its banks, and its sluggish stream rolls slowly on.* The passage by the Israelites of this deep and rapid, though not wide river, (which in its broadest parts does not exceed sixty or eighty feet in width), at the most unfavourable season, when augmented by the dissolution of the winter-snows, was more manifestly miraculous, if possible, than that of the Red Sea: “because here was no natural agency whatever employed; or mighty winds to sweep a passage as in the former case; no reflux in the tide on which minute philosophers might fasten to depreciate the miracle. It seems, therefore, to have been providentially designed, to silence cavils respecting the former: it was done at noon-day, in the presence of the neighbouring inhabitants; and it struck terror into the kings of the Amorites and Canaanites westward of the river, “whose hearts melted, neither was there any spirit in them any more because of the children of Israel†,” (Josh. v. 1.).

The other remarkable streams or rivulets of Palestine are as follow: 1. The *Arnon*, which descends from the mountains of the same name, and discharges itself into the Dead Sea: 2. The brook *Jabbok* takes its rise in the same mountains, and falls into the river Jordan: 3. The *Kanah*, or brook of reeds, springs from the mountains of Judah, but only flows during the winter: it falls into the Mediterranean Sea near Cæsarea: 4. The brook *Besor* (1 Sam. xxx. 9.) falls into the same sea between Gaza and Rhinocorura: 5. The *Kishon* issues from the mountains of Tabor, at the foot of which it forms two streams; one flows eastward into the sea of Galilee, and the other, taking a westerly

* Chateaubriand's Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. i. p. 420. Maundrel's Journey, p. 110.

† Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 213.

course through the plain of Jezrael or Esdraelon, discharges itself into the Mediterranean Sea. This is the stream noticed in 1 Kings xviii. 40. 6. *Kedron*, *Kidron*, or *Cedron*, as it is variously termed, (2 Sam. xv. 23. 1 Kings xv. 13. 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 12. 2 Chron. xxix. 16. Jer. xxxi. 40. John xviii. 1.) runs in the valley of Jehoshaphat, eastward of Jerusalem, between that city and the mount of Olives: except during the winter, or after heavy rains, its channel is generally dry, but, when swollen by torrents, it flows with great impetuosity.

Of the *Lakes* mentioned in the Scriptures, two are particularly worthy of notice; that of Gennesareth, and the lake of Sodom, both of which are termed seas agreeably to the Hebrew phraseology, which gives the name of sea to any large body of water. The sea of Galilee, through which the Jordan flows, was antiently called the sea of Chinnereth (Numb. xxxiv. 11.) or Cinneroth (Josh. xii. 3.), from its vicinity to the town of that name; afterwards Genesar (1 Mac. xi. 67.) and in the time of Jesus Christ Genesareth or Gennezareth (Luke v. 1.) from the neighbouring land of the same name (Matt. xiv. 34. Mark xv. 53.); and also the sea of Tiberias, (John vi. 1. xxi. 1.) from the contiguous city of Tiberias. The waters of this lake are very sweet, and abound with fish: this circumstance marks the propriety of our Lord's parable of the net cast into the sea, (Matt. xiii. 47—49.) which was delivered by him from a vessel near the shore. Pliny states this lake to be sixteen miles in length by six miles in breadth. Dr. D. E. Clarke, by whom it has been recently visited, describes it as longer and finer than our Cumberland and Westmorland lakes, although it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond in Scotland: like our Windermere, the lake of Gennezareth is often greatly agitated by winds (Matt. viii. 23—27.) “Its broad and extended surface, covering the bottom of a profound valley, environed by lofty and precipitous eminences, added to the impression of a certain reverential awe under which every Christian pilgrim approaches it, give it a character of dignity unparalleled by any similar scenery*.”

The lake or sea of Sodom, or the *Dead Sea*, has been celebrated not only by the sacred writers, but also by Josephus and several profane authors†. It was antiently called in the Scriptures the *Sea of the Plain*, (Deut. iii. 17. iv. 49.) being situated in a valley with a plain lying to the south of it; the *Salt Sea*, (Deut.

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. p. 462.

† Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. viii. § 4.; Pliny Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. xvi.; Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. vi.; Justin, lib. xxxvi. c. iii.; Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1087, 1088. edit. Oxon.

iii. 17. Josh. xv. 5.) from the extremely saline, bitter, and nauseous taste of its waters; the *Salt Sea eastward* (Numb. xxxiv. 3.) and the *East Sea* (Ezek. xlvii. 18. Joel ii. 20.) By Josephus and other writers it is called the lake *Asphaltites*, from the abundance of bitumen found in it; and also the *Dead Sea*, from antient traditions, erroneously though generally received, that no living creature can exist in its stagnant and sulphureous waters. Here formerly stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, which, with three other cities of the plain, were consumed by fire from heaven; to this destruction there are numerous allusions in the Scriptures, as displaying most signally the certainty and suddenness of the divine anger, which sooner or later overtakes the impenitently wicked. The sea of Sodom is about seventy-two English miles in length, and its breadth nearly nineteen. "Its desolate though majestic features are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror*."

Beside the preceding rivers and lakes, the Scriptures mention several *Fountains* and *Wells*: of these the most remarkable are the fountain or pool of Siloam and Jacob's Well.

Siloam was a fountain under the walls of Jerusalem, east, between the city and the brook Kedron: it is supposed to be the same as the fountain En-Rogel, or the Fuller's Fountain, (Josh. xv. 7. and xviii. 16. 2 Sam. xvii. 17. and 1 Kings i. 9.) "The spring issues from a rock, and runs in a silent stream, according to the testimony of Jeremiah. It has a kind of ebb and flood, sometimes discharging its current like the fountain of Vaucluse; at others, retaining and scarcely suffering it to run at all. The pool, or rather the two pools of the same name, are quite close to the spring. They are still used for washing linen as formerly. The water of the spring is brackish, and has a very disagreeable taste: people still bathe their eyes with it, in memory of the miracle performed on the man born blind†." It was from this pool, that on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, which was a day of great festivity among the Jews, it was the custom to fetch water: some of which they drank with loud acclamations of joy and thanksgiving, and some was brought to the altar where it was poured upon the evening sacrifice. During this solemn offering, the people sang with transports of joy the twelfth chapter of Isaiah's prophecy, particularly the sixth verse—*With joy shall ye draw water from the*

* For an account and refutation of the antient traditions concerning the Dead Sea, see Dr. Clarke, part ii. pp. 608—614.

† Chateaubriand, vol. ii. pp. 34, 36.

wells of salvation. To this custom our Lord alludes in John vii. 37.: it was observed, in commemoration of their forefathers being miraculously relieved when they thirsted in the wilderness, and the water poured on the altar was brought as a drink-offering to God, to pray for rain against the following seed-time.

Jacob's Well or fountain is situated at a small distance from Sichem or Shechem, also called Sychar, and at present Napolose: it was the residence of Jacob before his sons slew the Shechemites. It has been visited by pilgrims of all ages, but especially by Christians, to whom it has become an object of veneration from the memorable discourse of our Saviour with the woman of Samaria*, (John iv. 5—30.)

In consequence of the scarcity of water in the east, travellers are careful to stop as often as possible near some river, fountain, or well: this will probably account for Jacob's halting with his family at the ford Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 22.) and for David's men, that were unable to march with him, waiting for him by the brook Besor (1 Sam. xxx. 21.) It is not improbable that the antient wells, mentioned in Gen. xvi. 14. xxiv. 20. and Exod. ii. 16., were furnished with some conveniences for drawing water to refresh the fainting traveller, and with troughs or other contrivances for supplying cattle with water, similar to those which are to this day found in Persia, Arabia, and the East Indies. Great precautions were taken antiently, as well as in modern times, to prevent the moving sands from choking up their wells, by placing a stone over the mouth (Gen. xxix. 2—8.) after the requisite supply had been drawn up; or by *locking* them up, which Sir John Chardin thinks was done at Laban's well, of which Rachel perhaps kept the key, (Gen. xxix. 6, 9.) The stopping up of wells is to this day an act of hostility in the east, as it was in the days of Abraham and Isaac, (Gen. xxvi. 15—18.): and in our own time it is the custom for the oriental women, particularly those who are unmarried, to fetch this necessary of life both in the mornings and evenings; at which times they go forth adorned with their trinkets. This will

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. pp. 515—517. Some learned men have conjectured that Jacob's well was only a cistern or reservoir for rain water; but the whole of the surrounding scenery confirms the evangelist's narrative and the antiquity of the well. Such cisterns are common in the oriental deserts to this day: and it is perhaps to conveniences of this kind, made or renewed by the devout Israelites in the valley of Baca to facilitate their going up to Jerusalem, that the Psalmist refers (lxxxiv. 6, 7.) where he speaks of going from strength to strength till they appeared in Zion. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 184. To prevent accidents by the owners of such cisterns leaving them uncovered, Moses enacted various regulations. See Exod. xxi. 33, 34.

account for Rebecca's fetching water, (Gen. xxiv. 15.) and will further prove that there was no impropriety in Abraham's servant presenting her with more valuable jewels than those she had before on her hands*, (Gen. xxiv. 22—47.)

V. Palestine is a mountainous country, especially that part of it which is situated between the Mediterranean or Great Sea and the river Jordan. The principal *Mountains* are those of Lebanon, Carmel, Tabor, the mountains of Israel, and of Gilead: those which are either within the limits, or in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, are noticed in a subsequent chapter†.

Lebanon, by the Greeks and Latins termed *Libanus*, is a long chain of mountains, extending from the neighbourhood of Sidon on the west to the vicinity of Damascus eastward, and forming the extreme northern boundary of the Holy Land. It is divided into two principal ridges or ranges parallel to each other, the most westerly of which is known by the name of *Libanus*, and the opposite or eastern ridge by the appellation of *Anti-Libanus*. These mountains may be seen from a very considerable distance, and some part or other of them is covered with snow throughout the year. On the loftiest summit of all, Dr. Clarke observed the snow lying, not in patches, as he had seen it during the summer upon the tops of very elevated mountains, but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep—a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire‡. These mountains are by no means barren, but are almost all well cultivated and well peopled: their summits are, in many parts, level, and form vast plains in which are sown corn and all kinds of pulse. They are watered by numerous springs, rivulets, and streams of excellent water, which diffuse on all sides a freshness and fertility even in the most elevated regions. To these Solomon has a beautiful allusion, (Song iv. 15.) The soil of the declivities, and of the hollows that occur between them, is most excellent, and produces abundance of corn, oil, and wine; which is as much celebrated in the East in the present day as it was in the time of the prophets Ezekiel (xxvii. 18.) and Hosea, (xiv. 7.) who respectively allude to it. Lebanon

* Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 198, 199. vol. ii. p. 125, 184, 193. vol. iii. p. 401.

† See chap. iii. § ii. *infra*.

‡ Travels in Greece, Egypt, and Palestine, part ii. pp. 455, 456.

was antiently celebrated for its stately cedars, which are now less numerous than in former times: they grow among the snow near the highest part of the mountain, and are remarkable, as well for their age and size, as for the frequent allusions made to them in the Scriptures, (see 2 Kings iv. 33. Psal. lxxx. 10. and xcii. 12. &c. &c.) Maundrell* reckoned sixteen of the largest size, one of which he measured, and found it to be twelve yards and six inches in girth, and yet sound; and thirty-seven yards in the spread of the boughs. These cedars were the resort of eagles, (Ezek. xvii. 3.)

Anti-Libanus or Anti-Lebanon is the more lofty ridge of the two, and its summit is clad with almost perpetual snow, which was carried to the neighbouring towns for the purpose of cooling liquors, (Prov. xxv. 13. and perhaps Jer. xviii. 14.); a practice† which has obtained in the east to the present day. The most elevated summit of this ridge was called by the Hebrews Hermon, by the Sidonians Sirion, and by the Amorites Shenir, (Deut. iii. 9.); it formed the northern boundary of the country beyond Jordan. But, besides this mountain, there is said to be another of the same name, situated within the land of Canaan, on the west of the river Jordan, and not far from mount Tabor. Very copious dews fall here‡, as they also did in the days of the Psalmist, (cxxxiii. 3.)

Both Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon are computed to be about fifteen or sixteen hundred fathoms in height, and offer a grand and magnificent prospect to the beholder; from which many elegant metaphors are derived by the sacred writers, (see Isa. x. 34. xxix. 17. and xxxv. 2.)

Mount *Carmel* is situated about ten miles to the south of Acre or Ptolemaïs, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea: it is a flattened cone, about two thousand feet in height, and very rocky. Its summits abound with oaks and other trees; and, among brambles, wild vines and olive are still to be found, proving that industry had formerly been employed on this ungrateful soil. On the side next the sea is a cave, to which some commentators have supposed that the prophet Elijah desired Ahab to bring Baal's prophets, when celestial fire descended on his sacrifice, (1 Kings xviii. 40.)—There was another mount Carmel, with a city of the same name, situated in the tribe of Judah, and mentioned in Joshua xv. 55. 1 Sam. xxv. xxvii. 3. and 2 Sam. iii. 2.

* Maundrell's Journey, p. 191. La Roque, Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban. p. 88.

† Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157. ‡ Maundrell, p. 77.

Tabor or Thabor is a mountain of a conical form, entirely detached from any neighbouring mountain, and stands on one side of the great plain of Esdraelon: it is computed to be nearly one mile in height, and is entirely covered with green oaks, and other trees, shrubs, and odoriferous plants. To a person standing at the foot of the mountain it appears to terminate in a point; but when arrived at the top, he is agreeably surprised to find a plain not less than three thousand paces in circumference, and full of noble trees. The prospects from this mountain are singularly delightful and extensive; and on its eastern side there is a small height, which by antient tradition is supposed to have been the scene of our Lord's transfiguration*, (Matt. xvii. 1—8. Mark ix. 2—9.)

The *Mountains of Israel*, also called the mountains of Ephraim, were situated in the very centre of the Holy Land, and opposite to the mountains of Judah. The soil of both is fertile, excepting those ridges of the mountains of Israel which look towards the region of the Jordan, and which are both rugged and difficult of ascent, and also with the exception of the chain extending from the mount of Olives near Jerusalem to the plain of Jericho, which has always afforded lurking-places to robbers, (Luke x. 30.) The most elevated summit of this ridge, which appears to be the same that was antiently called the rock of Rimmon, (Judg. xx. 45, 47.) is at present known by the name of *Quarantania*, and is supposed to have been the scene of our Saviour's temptation, (Matt. iv. 8.) It is described by Maundrell†, as situated in a mountainous desert, and being a most miserably dry and barren place, consisting of high rocky mountains, torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion. The mountains of Ebal (sometimes written Gebal) and Gerizim (Deut. xi. 29. xxvii. 4, 12. Josh. viii. 30—35.) are situate, the former to the north, and the latter to the south of Sichem or Napolose, whose streets run parallel to the latter mountain, which overlooks the town. In the mountains of Judah there are numerous caves, some of a considerable size:

* From the silence of the evangelists as to the mountain of transfiguration, and from the circumstance of Jesus Christ being just before at Cesarea Philippi, some learned men have contended that Tabor could not have been the scene of that great event. No mountain, it is true, is specified by the evangelists, nor is the fact of Tabor being a mountain *apart by itself* any argument in point: but as the sacred writers expressly state it to have happened six days *after* our Saviour's discourse at Cesarea Philippi, he had time enough to return into Galilee, which was not above 25 leagues distant from Tabor. It is therefore most probable that this mountain was the scene of his transfiguration.

† Maundrell, pp. 106, 107.

the most remarkable of these is the cave of Adullam, mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2.

The mountains of Gilead are situated beyond the Jordan, and extend from Hermon southward to Arabia Petræa. The northern part of them, known by the name of Bashan, was celebrated for its stately oaks, and numerous herds of cattle pastured there, to which there are many allusions in the Scriptures; (see, among other passages, Deut. xxxii. 14. Psal. xxii. 12. and lxviii. 15. Isa. ii. 13. Ezek. xxxix. 18. Amos, iv. 1, &c.) The middle part, in a stricter sense, was termed Gilead; and in the southern part, beyond Jordan, were the mountains of Abarim*, which are conjectured to have derived their name from the passes between the hills of which they were formed. The most eminent among these are Pisgah and Nebo, which form a continued chain, and command a view of the whole land of Canaan, (Deut. iii. 27. xxxii. 48—50. xxxiv. 1, 2.) The Hebrews frequently give the epithet of *everlasting* to their mountains, because they are as old as the earth itself; (see, among other instances, Gen. xlix. 26. and Deut. xxxii. 15).

The mountains of Palestine were antiently places of refuge to the inhabitants when defeated in war, (Gen. xiv. 10.); and modern travellers assure us that they are still resorted to for the same purpose†. The rocky summits found on many of them appear to have been not unfrequently employed as altars, on which sacrifices were offered to Jehovah, (Judg. vi. 19—21. and xiii. 15—20.); although they were afterwards converted into places for idol worship, for which the prophets Isaiah (lvii. 7.) and Ezekiel (xviii. 6.) severely reprove their degenerate countrymen. And as many of the mountains of Palestine were situated in desert places, the *shadow* they project has furnished the prophet Isaiah with a pleasing image of the security that shall be enjoyed under the kingdom of Messiah‡, (xxxii. 2.)

VI. The country of Judea, being mountainous and rocky, is full of caverns; to which the inhabitants were accustomed to flee for shelter from the incursions of their enemies, (Judg. vi. 2. 1 Sam. xiii. 6. xiv. 11.) Some of these appear to have been on low grounds, and liable to inundations, when the

* *Abarim* denotes passes or passages.

† Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 429.

‡ "The shadow of a great projecting rock is the most refreshing that is possible in a hot country, not only as most perfectly excluding the rays of the sun, but also having in itself a natural coolness, which it reflects and communicates to every thing about it." Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 221.

rivers, swollen by torrents or dissolving snows, overflowed their banks, and carried all before them with resistless fury. To the sudden destruction thus produced Isaiah probably alludes, (xxxviii. 17.) “Therefore, to enter “into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord,” (Isa. ii. 19.) was to the Jews a very proper image to express terror and consternation. The prophet Hosea hath carried the same image further, and added great strength and spirit to it, (x. 8.); which image, together with these of Isaiah, is adopted by the sublime author of the Revelation, (vi. 15, 16.) who frequently borrows his imagery from our prophet*.”

Some of these caves were very capacious: that of Engedi was so large, that David and six hundred men concealed themselves in its sides; and Saul entered the mouth of the cave without perceiving that any one was there. Josephus† has taken particular notice of such caverns, which in his time were the abode of robbers. Maundrell‡ has described a large cavern under a high rocky mountain in the vicinity of Sidon, containing two hundred smaller caverns, which are supposed to have been the residence of the original inhabitants. It was probably in some such cave that Lot and his two daughters dwelt after the destruction of Sodom, (Gen. xix. 30.): and in similar caverns, excavated by primeval shepherds as a shelter from the scorching beams, and actually capable of baking bread as well as of dressing meat, Dr. Clarke and his fellow-travellers found a grateful protection from the intense heat of the solar rays§. These were sometimes the haunts or strong-holds of robbers: and to them our Lord probably alludes in Matt. xxi. 13., where he reproaches the Jews with having profaned the temple of God, and made it “a den of thieves.”

VII. Frequent mention is made in the Scriptures of wildernesses or deserts, by which we usually understand desolate places, equally void of cities and inhabitants. The deserts noticed in the Bible, however, are of a different description; as the Hebrews were accustomed to give the name of desert or wilderness to all places that were not cultivated, but which were chiefly appropriated to the feeding of cattle, and in many of them trees and shrubs grew wild. Hence this term is frequently applied to the commons (as they would be called in England) which were contiguous to cities or villages, and on which the plough never came. The wildernesses or deserts

* Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 37.

† Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 15. § 5.

§ Travels in Greece, &c. part ii. p. 446.

‡ Travels, pp. 158, 159.

of Palestine, therefore, are twofold: some are mountainous and well watered, while others are sterile sandy plains, either destitute of water, or affording a very scanty supply from the few springs that are occasionally to be found in them; yet even these afford a grateful though meagre pasturage to camels, goats, and sheep. In this latter description of deserts it is that the weary traveller is mocked by the distant appearance of white vapours, which are not unlike those white mists we often see hovering over the surface of a river in a summer evening, after a hot day. When beheld at a distance, they resemble an expanded lake; but, upon a nearer approach, the thirsty traveller perceives the deception. To this phenomenon the prophet Isaiah alludes, (xxxv. 7.); where, predicting the blessings of the Redeemer's kingdom, he says, *the glowing sand* shall become a pool, and the thirsty soil bubbling springs.*

The deserts of the Hebrews frequently derived their appellations from the places to which they were contiguous. The most celebrated is the *Great Desert*, called the *Wilderness* or *Desert of Judea*, (Psal. lxiii. title); which, commencing from Tekoah in the tribe of Judah, (whence it is termed the wilderness of Tekoah, 2 Chron. xx. 20.) extends through Arabia Petræa to the Persian Gulph. In this desert John the Baptist abode till the day of his showing unto Israel, (Luke i. 80.); and here he first taught his countrymen, (Matt. iii. 1. Mark i. 4. John x. 39.)

VIII. This country also produced some woods or forests mentioned in holy writ, such as those of Hareth in the tribe of Judah, to which David withdrew from Saul, (1 Sam. xxii. 5.); of Ephraim, where Absalom received the due reward of his unnatural rebellion, (2 Sam. xviii. 6—9.); that of Lebanon, where Solomon erected a sumptuous palace, (1 Kings vii. 2.); the forest of Bethel, supposed to have stood near the city of that name, whence issued the two she-bears that devoured the children who insulted the prophet Elisha, (2 Kings ii. 24.); and the forest of oaks on the hills of Bashan, (Zech. xi. 2.)

* The phenomenon referred to by Isaiah is termed by the Arabs, as well as by the Hebrews, שֶׁרָב, *serâb*: it "signifies that false appearance which in the eastern countries is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sun-beams. It sometimes tempts thirsty travellers, but deceives them when they come near, either by going forward (for it always appears at the same distance), or quite vanishing." Sale's Koran, p. 292. (4to edit.) The Persians and Arabs to this day make use of the word *serâb*, by an elegant metaphor, to express disappointed hope.

IX. The *fertility* of the soil of the Holy Land, so often mentioned in the sacred writings, (and especially in Deut. viii. 7—9. xi. 10—12. Gen. xxvi. 12. and Matt. xiii. 8.) is confirmed by the united testimonies of antient writers*, as well as of all who have visited that country†; and particularly by Dr. Clarke‡, who thus describes its appearance between Napolose or Sichem and Jerusalem:—"The road," says he, "was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones; yet the cultivation was every where marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and valleys of Judea were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Under a wise and beneficial government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed "a field which the Lord hath blessed," (Gen. xxvii. 28.): "God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine."

Such being the state of the Holy Land, at least of that part of it which is properly cultivated, we can readily account for the vast population it antiently supported§: and although this

* See *Josephus*, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 1. § 21. l. xv. c. 5. § 1. and De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3. § 2.; *Hecatæus*, in *Josephus*, contr. Apion. lib. 1. § 22.; *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 17.; *Tacitus*, Hist. lib. v. c. 6.; *Justin*, lib. xxxvi. c. 3.; and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. xiv. c. 26.

† The most important facts relative to the fertility of Palestine, recorded by Maundrell and Dr. Shaw, are collected by Dr. Macknight, (Harmony, vol. i. Discourses vi. and vii.) See also Fleury's Manners, &c. of the Israelites, ch. iii. pp. 53—60.

‡ Travels, part ii. pp. 520, 521.

§ On the division of the land of Canaan, we are informed (Josh. xv. 20, *et seq.*) that not fewer than 112 walled cities fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah. Many centuries afterwards *Josephus* relates that Galilee alone contained 204 cities and towns, and that the larger cities contained a population of 150,000 inhabitants, while the smallest towns had not less than 15,000. From this small province alone he collected an army of nearly 100,000 men, (Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 20. § 6.) These statements confirm the narratives of the sacred historians relative to the vast population of the Holy Land. Compare Numb. xi. 21. Judg. xx. 17. 1 Sam. xv. 4. 1 Chron. xxvii. 4. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. and 2 Chron. xvii. 14—19. See also Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 277.

country, generally speaking, by no means corresponds with the statements we have of its former exuberant fertility and population, yet this is no contradiction to the narrative of the sacred writers. The devastations of the Holy Land by the Assyrians, Chaldees, Syrians, Romans, Saracens, the European crusaders, and Turks,—together with the oppressions of the inhabitants by the Turks in our own time, (who not only do not encourage agricultural industry, but also extort to the uttermost from the husbandmen),—to which are to be added the depredations of robbers, and the predatory incursions of the Arabs—all concur satisfactorily to account for the present state of this country: and, so far is it from contradicting the assertions of the sacred writings, that it confirms their authority; for, in the event of the Israelites proving unfaithful to their covenant engagements with Jehovah, all these judgments were predicted and denounced against them, (Lev. xxvi. 32. Deut. xxix. 22. *et seq.*); and the exact accomplishments of these prophecies affords a permanent comment on the declaration of the royal psalmist, that God “turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein,” (Psal. cvii. 34.)

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE HOLY LAND.

- I. *Inhabitants before the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites—*
 II. *Division by Joshua—*III. *The kingdoms of Judah and*
*Israel—*IV. *Divisions in the time of Jesus Christ.*

I. **THE** land of Canaan, previously to its occupation by the Israelites, was possessed by the descendants of Canaan, the youngest son of Ham and grandson of Noah; who divided the country among his eleven sons, each of whom was the head of a numerous clan or tribe, (Gen. x. 15—19.) Here they resided upwards of seven centuries, and founded numerous republics and kingdoms. In the days of Abraham, this region was occupied by ten nations; the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, to the east of Jordan; and westward, the Hittites, Perizzites, Rephaims, Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites, and the Jebusites, (Gen. xv. 18—21). These latter in the days of Moses were called the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut. vii. 1. Josh. iii. 10. xxiv. 11.); the Hivites being substituted for the Rephaims. These seven nations were thus distributed:—

“The Hittites,” or sons of Heth, “the Perizzites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwelt in the mountains,” or hill country of Judea, southward; “the Canaanites” dwelt in the midland “by the sea,” westward, and “by the coast of Jordan” eastward; and “the Girgashites,” or Gergesenes, along the eastern side of the sea of Galilee; and “the Hivites” in Mount Lebanon, under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh or Gilead, northward (compare Numb. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3; Judges iii. 3; and Matt. viii. 28.) Of all these nations the Amorites became the most powerful, so as to extend their conquests beyond the river Jordan over the Kadmonites; whence they are sometimes put for the whole seven nations, as in Gen. xv. 16. Josh. xxiv. 15. and 2 Sam. xxi. 2.

These nations were the people whom the children of Israel were commanded to exterminate. Within the period of seven years Moses conquered two powerful kingdoms on the east, and Joshua thirty-one smaller kingdoms on the west of Jordan, and gave their land to the Israelites; though it appears that some of the old inhabitants were permitted by Jehovah to remain there, “to prove” their conquerors, “whether they

would hearken to the commandments of the Lord, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses:" and the nations thus spared were afterwards suffered to oppress the Israelites with great severity (Numb. xxi. 21—35. xxxii. and xxxiv. Deut. ii. 26—37. iii. 1—20. Josh. vi. 21. Judg. i. 4.) Nor were they finally subdued until the reigns of David and Solomon, who reduced them to the condition of slaves: the latter employed 153,000 of them in the most servile parts of his work, in building his temple, palace, &c. (2 Sam. v. 6—8. 1 Chron. xi. 4—8. 1 Kings ix. 20. 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. and viii. 7. 8.)

Besides these devoted nations there were others, either settled in the land at the arrival of the Israelites, or in its immediate environs, with whom the latter had to maintain many severe conflicts: they were six in number.

1. The Philistines were the descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham; who, migrating from Caphtor or the north-eastern part of Egypt, very early settled in a small strip of territory along the sea-shore, in the south-west of Canaan, having expelled the Avites, who had before possessed it, (Deut. ii. 23. Amos ix. 7. Jer. xlvii. 4.) The district occupied by the Philistines was in the time of Joshua distinguished into five lordships, denominated, from the chief towns, Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, and Ekron. They were the most formidable enemies perhaps whom the children of Israel had to encounter; and of the inveteracy of their enmity against the latter, we have abundant evidence in the sacred writings. Though they were subdued by David, and kept in subjection by some succeeding monarchs, yet they afterwards became so considerable, that from them the Holy Land was called by the Greeks Palestine, which appellation it retains to this day.

2. The Midianites were the descendants of Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, (Gen. xxv. 2.) In the Scriptures two different places are assigned as the territory of the Midianites: the one, almost the north-east point of the Red Sea, where Jethro the father in law of Moses was a prince or priest. These western or southern Midianites were also called Cushites, because they occupied the country that originally belonged to Cush. They retained the knowledge of the true God, which appears to have been lost among the eastern or northern Midianites who dwelt on the east of the Dead Sea. (Gen. xxv. 2—6. xxxvii. 28. Exod. ii. iii. xvii.) These northern Midianites were either subject to or allied with the Moabites; and their women were particularly instrumental in seducing the Israelites to idolatry and other crimes: which wicked-

ness was punished by Jehovah with the almost total destruction of their nation, (Numb. xxii. 4—7; xxv. xxxi. Josh. xiii. 21.); although they afterwards recovered so much of their former strength as to render the Israelites their tributaries, and for seven years greatly oppressed them. From this bondage, Gideon delivered his countrymen with a very inferior force, and almost annihilated the Midianites, whose surviving remnants are supposed to have been incorporated with the Moabites or Ammonites.

3. 4. The Moabites and Ammonites were the descendants of the incestuous offspring of Lot, (Gen. xix. 30—38.) The Moabites dwelt on the east of the Jordan, in a tract whence they had expelled the Emims, a gigantic aboriginal race. The Ammonites had their residence north-east of the Moabites, which territory they had wrested from the Zamzummim, another gigantic tribe. The country occupied by these two tribes was exceedingly pleasant and fertile: they were violently hostile to the Israelites, whom they at different times terribly oppressed. They were conquered by David, and for about 150 years continued in subjection to the Israelites. On the division of the kingdom they fell to the share of the ten tribes; and after several attempts to regain their liberty under succeeding kings of Israel (some of whom severely chastised them, and imposed heavy tributes upon them), they are supposed to have effected their complete liberation during the unhappy reign of Ahaz, (2 Chron. xxvi—xxviii.)

5. The Amalekites were descended from Amalek the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, and were very formidable enemies to the Israelites. They were settled on the south coast westward of Jordan, and first opposed the Israelites after their departure from Egypt, but were defeated and doomed to destruction, (Exod. xvii. 8—16. Deut. xxv. 17—19); which was commenced by Saul, and finished by David.

6. The Edomites were the descendants of Esau or Edom; they possessed themselves of the country southward of Judea, which was originally occupied by the Horites, who are supposed to have been finally blended with their conquerors. It was a mountainous tract, including the mountains of Seir and Hor, and the provinces of Dedan, Teman, &c. Inveterate foes to Israel, they were rendered tributary by David, and for 150 years continued subject to the kingdom of Judah. After various attempts, they revolted under the reign of Jehoram, and ultimately succeeded in rendering themselves independent. (2 Chron. xxi. 8—10).

II. On the conquest of Canaan by the children of Israel, Joshua divided it into twelve parts, which the twelve tribes drew by lot. The tribe of Levi, indeed, possessed no lands: God assigned to the Levites, who were appointed to minister in holy things without any secular encumbrance, the tenths and first-fruits of the estates of their brethren. Forty-eight cities were appropriated to their residence, thence called Levitical cities: these were dispersed among the twelve tribes, and had their respective suburbs with land surrounding them. Of these cities the Kohathites received twenty-three, the Gershonites thirteen, and the Merarites twelve; and six of them, three on each side of Jordan, were appointed to be cities of refuge, whither the inadvertent man-slayer might flee, and find an asylum from his pursuers, and be secured from the effects of private revenge, until cleared by a legal process, (Numb. xxxv. 6—15. Deut. xix. 4—10. Josh. xx. 7, 8.) The way to these cities the Israelites were commanded to make good, so that the man-slayer might flee thither without impediment, and with all imaginable expedition: and according to the Rabbins, there was an inscription set up at every cross road—"Asylum Asylum." It has been thought that there is an allusion to this practice in Luke iii. 4—6. where John the Baptist is described "as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." He was the Messiah's forerunner, and in that character was to remove the obstacles to men's flying to him as their asylum, and obtaining the salvation of God*.

In this division of the land into twelve portions, the posterity of Ephraim and Manasseh (the two sons of Joseph) had their portions as distinct tribes, in consequence of Jacob having adopted them; and these two are reckoned instead of Joseph and Levi. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh, had their portion beyond Jordan; the rest settled on this side of the river. Dan was reputed to be the furthest city to the north of the Holy Land, as Beersheba was to the south.

III. Another division of the Holy Land took place after the death of Solomon, when ten tribes revolted from Rehoboam, and erected themselves into a separate kingdom under Jeroboam. This was called the kingdom of Israel, and its metropolis was Samaria. The other two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, continuing faithful to Rehoboam, formed the kingdom of

* Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, p. 78. Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, book ii. ch. v. p. 295. Edinb. 1808.

the new system of taxation for the year 1800
is divided into three parts: the first, the second, and the third.
The first part is the most important, and is divided into three
sections: the first, the second, and the third. The second part
is divided into three sections: the first, the second, and the third.
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sections: the first, the second, and the third. The second section of the first part
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Judah, whose capital was Jerusalem. But this division ceased on the subversion of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, after it had subsisted two hundred and fifty-four years, from the year of the world 3030 to 3283 (B. C. 717.)

IV. In the time of Jesus Christ, the whole of this country was divided into four separate regions, viz. Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa, or the country beyond Jordan.

1. JUDEA.

Of these regions, Judea was the most distinguished, comprising the territories which had formerly belonged to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and part of the tribe of Dan. The southern part of it was called Idumea, and it extended westward from the Dead Sea to the Great (or Mediterranean) Sea. Its metropolis was Jerusalem, of which a separate notice will be found in the ensuing chapter: and of the other towns or villages of note contained in this region, the following are the most remarkable.

1. BETHANY, "the town of Mary and her sister Martha," (John xi. 1.) was a small town or village fifteen furlongs (about two miles) distant from Jerusalem, (John xi. 18.); it derived its name from the dates which grew there in great abundance. Here our Saviour raised Lazarus from the dead, (John xi.) and occasionally abode with his disciples, (Matt. xxi. 17.) It is at present a small village.

2. BETHPHAGE, was a little village, on the western declivity near the foot of the mount of Olives, from which it is conjectured that the whole declivity and part of the valley derived its name. It is situated between Bethany and Jerusalem, whence it is distant about fifteen furlongs.

3. EMMAUS, memorable for the very interesting conversation of Christ with two of his disciples after his resurrection, is also a small village, distant sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, (Luke xxiv. 15.) It was subsequently made a city and a Roman colony, and called Nicopolis.

4. BETHLEHEM was a celebrated city, about six miles southwest from Jerusalem: it was formerly called Ephrath or Ephrata, (Gen. xxxv. 19. xlviii. 7. Mic. v. 2.) It was a city in the time of Boaz (Ruth iii. 11. iv. 1.) and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 6.) In Matt. ii. 1, 5. it is called Bethlehem of Judea, to distinguish it from another town of the same name situated in Lower Galilee, and mentioned in Josh. xix. 15. In Luke ii. 1. it is called the *city of David*, because David was born and educated there, (compare John vii. 42. and 1 Sam. xvi.

1, 18.) This city, though not considerable for its extent or riches, is of great dignity as the appointed birth-place of the Messiah, (Matt. ii. 6. Luke ii. 6—15): it is pleasantly situated on an eminence, in a very fertile soil, which only wants cultivation to render it what the name Bethlehem imports—a *house of bread*. On the north-eastern side of it is a deep valley, where tradition says that the angels appeared to the shepherds of Judea, with the glad tidings of our Saviour's nativity, (Luke ii. 8—14): and in this valley Dr. Clarke halted at the identical fountain for whose delicious water David longed, (2 Sam. xxiii. 15—18.) Of the various pretended holy places which are here shown to Christians, the cave of the nativity is the only spot verified by tradition from the earliest ages of Christianity*. About two miles from this place, on the road to Jerusalem, stands the site of Rachel's tomb, (Gen. xlvii. 7. Matt. ii. 28.)

5. JERICHO was a celebrated city in the tribe of Benjamin, of which frequent mention is made in the New Testament. It was the first city taken from the Canaanites by Joshua, who rased it to the ground, and denounced a severe curse on the person who should rebuild it, (Josh. vi. 20, 26. Heb. xi. 30.) This curse was literally fulfilled, in the days of Ahab, upon Hiel the Bethelite, by whom the city was rebuilt, (1 Kings xvi. 34.) After this event it was ennobled by the schools of the prophets, which were established there, (2 Kings ii. 5.): and near it was a large but unwholesome spring, the waters of which rendered the soil unfruitful, until they were cured by the prophet Elisha, (2 Kings ii. 21.); and from that time they have become exceedingly wholesome and fertilizing. In the time of our Saviour, Jericho yielded only to Jerusalem for its size and the magnificence of its buildings: it is situated in a *bottom*, in that vast plain which was named the *great plain*, (which marks the propriety of the expression *going down from Jerusalem* (Luke x. 30.); and is 150 furlongs, about nineteen miles distant from the capital of Judea. Jericho was one of the cities appropriated for the residence of the priests and Levites, 12,000 of whom dwelt there; and as the way thither from Jerusalem was rocky and desert, it was greatly infested with thieves: this circumstance marks the admirable propriety with which our Lord made it the scene of his beautiful parable of the *good Samaritan*, (Luke x. 30—37.)

6. RAMA, Ramah, or Ramathaim, is a small town in the tribe of Benjamin about six miles north of Jerusalem: it is fre-

* Dr. D. E. Clarke's Travels, part ii. pp. 615—624.

quently mentioned in the Old Testament. As it stood in a pass between the kingdoms of Judah, Baasha king of Israel seized it, and began to fortify it, to prevent his subjects from passing that way into the kingdom of Judah, (1 Kings xv. 17, 21.) Here Nebuzaradan, the Chaldean general, disposed of his Jewish prisoners after their capital was taken, which occasioned a great lamentation among the daughters of Rachel, (Jer. xl. 1—3. xxxi. 15.) The last-cited passage is applied by St. Matthew, (ii. 18.) by accommodation, to the mourning occasioned by the massacre of the children at Bethlehem and its immediate vicinity, in consequence of Herod's command.

7. EPHRAIM was a considerable city, eight miles north of Jerusalem, and near a desert of the same name; whither Jesus Christ retired after he had raised Lazarus from the dead, (John xi. 54.)

8. "JOPPA, called also Japha, and now universally Jaffa, owes all the circumstances of its celebrity, as the principal port of Judea, to its situation with regard to Jerusalem. As a station for vessels, its harbour is one of the worst in the Mediterranean: ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to avoid the shoals and rocks of the place. In antient times it was the only place resorted to as a sea-port in all Judea. Hither Solomon ordered the materials for the temple to be brought from mount Libanus, previous to their conveyance by land to Jerusalem*." It is a place of very great antiquity; and it appears from the Acts of the Apostles (ix. x. xi.) that the Gospel was received here soon after Christ's ascension. Here also St. Peter restored Dorcas to life (Acts ix. 40.) and hence it was that the prophet Jonah, many centuries before, had embarked for Nineveh, (Jonah i. 3.)

9. LYDDA, which in later times was called Diospolis, and is now known by the name of Lyddo, was a large village, and, according to Josephus, little inferior to a city for its size. This place is celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles for the miraculous cure of Eneas by the apostle Peter, (Acts ix. 32, 33.): it was situated at no great distance from Joppa, (ix. 38.) on the way from the latter place to Jerusalem.—Between Lydda and Joppa stood,

10. ARIMATHEA, a small town to which Joseph belonged who begged the body of Jesus from Pilate, (Matt. xxvii. 57.); it was about thirty-six or thirty-seven miles distant from Jerusalem.

* Dr. D. E. Clarke's Travels, part ii. p. 641.

11. AZOTUS, or Ashdod, is situated between Gaza and Jamnia or Jafnia, in a pleasant plain. Here the ark of Jehovah triumphed over the Philistine idol Dagon, (1 Sam. v. 2.) and Philip the evangelist was found, after he had baptized the Ethiopian eunuch, (Acts viii. 40.) It is at present an inconsiderable place, and in its vicinity are numerous reliques of antiquity.

12. GAZA was a very celebrated city of the Jews, distant about 60 miles south-west from Jerusalem: it was one of the five cities of the Philistines, which fell by lot to the tribe of Judah, (Josh. xv. 47.) and which offered their golden emerods to the God of Israel for a trespass offering, (1 Sam. vi. 17.) Its gates were carried away by Samson, (Judg. xvi. 2.) and hither he was conducted when taken by the Philistines, (v. 21.) great numbers of whom perished when he pulled down the house of their god Dagon, (v. 30.) This antient town was laid waste by Alexander, and so *made desolate* agreeably to the prediction of Zephaniah (ii. 14.) confirmed by the statement of Strabo *. After this event a new and smaller town of the same name being built nearer to the sea, the former, or old Gaza, fell to decay: this last is the place mentioned by St. Luke (Acts viii. 26.) as Gaza *which is called desert*.

2. SAMARIA.

This division of the Holy Land derives its name from the city of Samaria, and comprises the tract of country which was originally occupied by the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh within Jordan, lying exactly in the middle between Judea and Galilee; so that it was absolutely necessary for persons, who were desirous of going expeditiously from Galilee to Jerusalem, to pass through this country. This sufficiently explains the remark of St. John, (iv. 4.) which is strikingly confirmed by Josephus †. The three chief places of this division noticed in the Scriptures are, Samaria, Sichem or Sechem, and Antipatris.

1. The city of SAMARIA, antiently the capital of the kingdom of Israel, is very frequently mentioned in the Old Testament: it was situated on a hill which derived its name from Semer or Shemer, of whom it was purchased by Omri king of Israel (B. c. 921), who made it the seat of his government, and called it Samaria (Heb. *Shomeron*) from its former

* Lib. xvi. p. 1080. edit. Oxon.

† Antiq. lib. xx. c. v. § 1. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xii. § 3.

owner. By his successors it was greatly improved and fortified, and, after resisting the repeated attacks of the kings of Assyria, it was destroyed by Shalmaneser (B. c. 717), who reduced it to a heap of stones, (Micah i. 6. 2 Kings xvii. 6.) Samaria seems to have arisen again from its ruins during the reign of Alexander (B. c. 449), after whose death it was subject to the Egyptian and Syrian kings, until it was besieged, taken, and rased to the ground by the high priest Hyrcanus, (B. c. 129 or 130.) It was afterwards wholly rebuilt, and considerably enlarged by Herod surnamed the Great, who gave it the name of Sebaste, and erected a temple there in honour of the emperor Augustus.

2. SYCHAR, SICHEM, or SHECHEM, which was about forty miles distant from Jerusalem, became the metropolis of the Samaritans after the destruction of Samaria by Hyrcanus. In the vicinity of this place is Jacob's well, (John iv. 6.) memorable for our Saviour's conversation with the Samaritan woman. It stands in a delightful situation, and is at present called *Napolose*. The remains of the sect of the Samaritans chiefly reside here *.

3. ANTIPATRIS was a small town which stood in the road from Jerusalem to Cesarea. It was formerly called Capharsalma; but being rebuilt and beautified by Herod the Great, it was by him named Antipatris, in honour of his father Antipater. Hither St. Paul was brought after his apprehension at Jerusalem, (Acts. xxiii. 31.)

3. GALILEE.

This portion of the Holy Land is very frequently mentioned in the New Testament: it exceeded Judea in extent, but its limits probably varied at different times. It comprised the country formerly occupied by the tribes of Issachar, Zebulon, Napthali, and Asher, and part of the tribe of Dan; and is divided by Josephus into Upper and Lower Galilee.

Upper Galilee abounded in mountains; and, from its vicinity to the Gentiles who inhabited the cities of Tyre and Sidon, it is called *Galilee of the Gentiles* (Matt. iv. 15.) and the *coasts of Tyre and Sidon*, (Mark vii. 31.) The principal city in this region was Cæsarea Philippi, antiently called Paneas by the Phœnicians, from mount Paneas, at whose base it was situated: it was enlarged and beautified by Philip the Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis, who made it the seat of his government, and

* Dr. Clarke (Travels, part ii. pp. 506—517) has given a minute and very interesting account of the antiquities of Shechem.

changed its name to Cæsarea in honour of the emperor Tiberius; it was also called Cæsarea Philippi, to distinguish it from the other cities which bore the name of Cæsarea. The main road to Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon, lay through this city.

Lower Galilee, which lay between the Mediterranean Sea and the lake of Gennesareth, was situated in a rich and fertile plain, and according to Josephus was very populous, containing upwards of two hundred cities and towns. This country was most honoured by our Saviour's presence. Here, his miraculous conception took place (Luke i. 26—38.); hither Joseph and Mary returned with him out of Egypt, and here he resided until his baptism by John, (Matt. ii. 22, 23. Luke ii. 39—51. Matt. iii. 13. Luke iii. 21.) Hither he returned after his baptism and temptation, (Luke iv. 14.): and, after his entrance on his public ministry, though he often went into other provinces, yet so frequent were his visits to this country, that he was called a Galilean, (Matt. xxvi. 69.) The population of Galilee being very great our Lord had many opportunities of doing good; and, being out of the power of the priests at Jerusalem, he seems to have preferred it as his abode. To this province our Lord commanded his apostles to come and converse with him after his resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 7, 16.): and of this country most, if not the whole, of his apostles were natives, whence they are all styled by the angels *men of Galilee*, (Acts i. 11.) The following are the principal cities of Galilee which are mentioned in the New Testament:

1. TIBERIAS (John vi. 1—23. xxi. 1.) was built by Herod the Great, and so called in honour of the emperor Tiberius. The privileges, conferred upon its inhabitants by Herod, caused it in a short time to become a place of considerable note: it was situated in a plain near the lake of Gennesareth, which is thence termed the lake or sea of Tiberias*. After the destruction of Jerusalem, this city became eminent for its academy, over which a succession of Jewish doctors presided until the fourth century. The modern population of Tiberias is considerable: it is principally inhabited by Jews, who are said to be the descendants of families resident there in the time of our Saviour. Dr. Clarke conjectures that they are a remnant of refugees who fled hither after the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans†. Tiberias is about ninety miles distant from Jerusalem.

2. CAPERNAUM was situated on the coast of the lake of Gennesareth, on the borders of the tract occupied by the tribes of

* See p. 14. *supra*.

† Travels, part ii. p. 480.

Zebulon and Nepthali. This place is celebrated for the "many mighty works" and discourses performed by our Saviour, which brought a heavy woe upon the inhabitants for their infidelity, (Matt. xi. 23.) In the vicinity of this town or city our Lord delivered his admirable sermon; and near it also was the custom-house, at which Matthew the publican was sitting when Jesus called him to the apostleship, (Matt. ix. 1, 9.) Here the Jews had a synagogue (Mark 1. 23. Luke iv. 33.) as the Christians afterwards had a church. At no great distance from this place stood

3, 4. CHORAZIN and BETHSAIDA, two small cities memorable for our Lord's discourses and miracles, and involved in the same woe as Capernaum, (Matt. xi. 21, 22.); and not far from these cities were the two villages of Dalmanutha and Magdala, where our Saviour preached, (Mark viii. 10. Matt. xv. 39.)

5. CANA was situated to the west of Capernaum: here Jesus Christ performed his first miracle of turning water into wine (John ii. 3—11.) and here he cured the son of an officer belonging to Herod Antipas, (John iv. 50.) It is called Cana of Galilee, to distinguish it from Cana or Kanah (Josh. xix. 28.) which belonged to the tribe of Asher, and was situated in the vicinity of Sidon. Cana is now a small village. Here are shewn the ruins of a church, which is said to have been erected by the empress Helena over the spot where the marriage feast was held. While walking among these ruins, Dr. Clarke "saw large massy stone water-pots answering the description given of the antient vessels of the country (John ii. 6.); not preserved nor exhibited as reliques, but lying about, disregarded by the present inhabitants, as antiquities with whose original use they were unacquainted. From their appearance and the number of them, it was quite evident that the practice of keeping water in large stone pots, each holding from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons, was once common in the country." About a quarter of a mile from Cana there is a spring of delicious limpid water close to the road, whence all the water is taken for the supply of the village. It is usual for pilgrims to halt at this spring, as the source of the water which our Saviour by his first miracle converted into wine*.

6. NAZARETH is a small city, celebrated as having been the place where our Saviour was educated, where he preached, and whence he was called a Nazarene. In the time of Christ it did not possess the best of characters, (John i. 46.) Nazareth stands

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. pp. 444, 445.

on a hill, whence the inhabitants would have precipitated him headlong, (Luke iv. 29.) When visited by Dr. Clarke, he found it much reduced: here are numerous reputed holy places to which pilgrims are conducted*.

7. NAIN was a small city or town, not far from Capernaum: at the gates of which Jesus Christ raised to life a widow's only son, (Luke vii. 11—15.) It derived its name from its pleasant situation.

8. CÆSAREA of *Palestine*, so called as being the metropolis of Palestine and the residence of the Roman proconsul, was formerly named the tower of Strato: but its harbour being extremely incommodious, Herod the Great erected a spacious mole, and greatly enlarged and beautified the city, which he denominated Cæsarea in honour of the emperor Augustus his great patron. It is very frequently mentioned in the New Testament; and is sometimes called by way of eminence Cæsarea. This place was about thirty-five miles from Jerusalem. Here Peter converted Cornelius and his kinsmen, the first fruits of the Gentiles, (Acts x.): here lived Philip the Evangelist, (Acts xxi. 8.); and here Saint Paul so admirably defended himself against the Jews and their orator Tertullus, (Acts xxiv.) Cæsarea now retains nothing of its former splendour: at present it is inhabited only by jackals and beasts of prey; and its ruins, which are considerable, have long been resorted to as a quarry whenever building materials were required at Acre†.

9. PTOLEMAIS, antiently called Accho (Judg. i. 31.) and now known by the name of Acre, is situated on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, on the confines of Lower and Upper Galilee. Here Saint Paul rested for one day on his journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, (Acts xxi. 7.) During the croisades this city suffered exceedingly both from Infidels and Christians, between whom it was the scene of many sanguinary conflicts: it is now in the possession of Djezzar Pacha, under whose government it has revived, and is one of the most considerable towns on the coast. Acre is celebrated for the repulse there given to Napoleon Buonaparte by the Turks under the command of Sir Sydney Smith; who, after a long and memorable siege, compelled the French to retire with great loss, and ultimately to abandon Syria.

4. PERÆA.

This district comprised the six following provinces or cantons, viz. Abilene, Trachonitis, Iturea, Gaulonitis, Batanea,

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, part ii. pp. 426—441.

† Ibid. pp. 645—647.

and Perea, strictly so called, to which some geographers have added Decapolis.

1. ABILENE was the most northern of these provinces, being situated between the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, and deriving its name from the city Abila. It is supposed to have been within the borders of the tribe of Nepthali, although it was never subdued by them; and is one of the four tetrarchies mentioned by Saint Luke (iii. 1.) The evangelist's account is confirmed by the geographer Ptolemy, who states that Abila bore the name of Lysanias.

2. TRACHONITIS was bounded by the desert Arabia on the east, Batanea on the west, Iturea on the south, and the country of Damascus on the north. It abounded with rocks, which afforded shelter to numerous thieves and robbers.

3. ITUREA antiently belonged to the half tribe of Manasseh, who settled on the east of Jordan: it stood to the east of Batanea and to the south of Trachonitis. Of these two cantons Philip the son of Herod the Great was tetrarch at the time John the Baptist commenced his ministry, (Luke iii. 1.) It derived its name from Jetur the son of Ishmael, (1 Chron. i. 31.) and was also called Auranitis from the city of Hauran, (Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18.)

4. GAULONITIS was a tract on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth and the river Jordan, which derived its name from Gaulan or Golan the city of Og, king of Bashan, (Josh. xx. 8.) This canton is not mentioned in the New Testament.

5. BATANEA, the ancient kingdom of Bashan, was situated to the north-east of Gaulonitis: its limits are not easy to be defined. It was part of the territory given to Herod Antipas, and is not noticed in the New Testament.

6. PEREA, in its restricted sense, includes the southern part of the country beyond Jordan, lying south of Iturea, east of Judea and Samaria; and was antiently possessed by the two tribes of Reuben and Gad. Its principal place was the strong fortress of Machærus, erected for the purpose of checking the predatory incursions of the Arabs. This fortress, though not specified by name in the New Testament, is memorable as the place where John the Baptist was put to death, (Matt. xiv. 3—12.)

The canton of Decapolis, (Matt. iv. 25. Mark v. 20. and vii. 31.) which derives its name from the ten cities it contained, is considered by Reland and other eminent authorities as part of the region of Perea. Concerning its limits, and the names of its ten cities, geographers are by no means agreed: among them, however, we may safely reckon Gadara, where our

Saviour wrought some miracles, and perhaps Damascus, chiefly celebrated for the conversion of Saint Paul, which took place in its vicinity. From Gen. xiv. 15. it appears to have been a city of great antiquity. Damascus is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, in some places as a noble and magnificent city, and in others as a place full of pride, violence, and idolatry.

was never subdued by them; and is one of the few cities mentioned by Saint Luke (i. 19). The evangelist's account is confirmed by the geographers, who state that Adila bore the name of a volcano.

2. The country was bounded by the desert, Jordan on the east, Lebanon on the west, Hama on the south, and the country of Damascus on the north. It abounded with rocks, which afforded shelter to numbers of robbers and thieves.

3. It was naturally divided into the half-tribe of Manasse, who settled on the east of Jordan; it stood to the east of the tribe of Gad, and to the south of the tribe of Issachar. Of these two tribes, Gad was the son of Hama, the Gad was situated at the time when the Israelites commenced their journey (Josh. i. 1). It derived its name from Gad, the son of Hama, (Gen. x. 21) and was also called Gad from the city of Hama, (Josh. xiv. 15).

4. Gad was situated on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth, and the river Jordan, which derived its name from Gad, the son of Hama, the city of Gad, (Josh. xiv. 8). This canton is not mentioned in the New Testament.

5. Bashan, the ancient kingdom of Bashan, was situated to the north-east of Gad. Its limits are not easy to be defined. It was part of the territory given to Israel, Judges vi. 33, and is not mentioned in the New Testament.

6. Galilee, in its restricted sense, includes the southern part of the country beyond Jordan, being south of Jesus, east of Judaea and Samaria; and was anciently possessed by the two tribes of Issachar and Gad. Its principal place was the village of Nazareth, erected for the purpose of cherishing the infancy of Jesus. This canton, though not mentioned by name in the New Testament, is mentioned in the place where John the Baptist was put to death (Matt. xiv. 8-12).

The canton of Decapolis, (Matt. iv. 23. Mark v. 20. and vii. 31) which derives its name from the ten cities it contained, is considered by Isidore and other commentators as part of the region of Perea. Concerning its limits, and the names of its ten cities, geographers are by no means agreed: among them, however, we may safely reckon Gadara, where our

CHAPTER III.

A DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM.

I. *Names* — II. *Situation* — III. *Account of the Temple* — IV. *Other Edifices mentioned or alluded to in the Sacred Writings* — V. *Synagogues* — VI. *Sketch of the History and present State of Jerusalem.*

I. JERUSALEM, the metropolis of the Holy Land, is frequently styled in the Scriptures the Holy City, (Isa. xlviii. 2. Dan. ix. 24. Nehem. xi. 1. Matt. iv. 5. Rev. xi. 2.) because “the Lord chose it out of all the tribes of Israel to place his name there,” his temple and his worship (Deut. xii. 5. xiv. 23. xvi. 2. xxvi. 2.); and to be the centre of union in religion and government for all the tribes of the commonwealth of Israel. It is held in the highest veneration by Christians for the miraculous and important transactions which happened there. and also by the Mohammedans, who to this day never call it by any other appellation than *El-Kods*, or The Holy, sometimes adding the epithet *El-Sherif*, or The Noble. The original name of the city was *Salem*, or Peace, (Gen. xiv. 18.): the import of Jerusalem is, the vision or inheritance of peace; and to this it is not improbable that our Saviour alluded in his beautiful and pathetic lamentation over the city, (Luke xix. 41.) It was also formerly called *Jebus* from one of the sons of Canaan, (Josh. xviii. 28.) After its capture by Joshua, (Josh. x.) it was jointly inhabited both by Jews and Jebusites (Josh. xv. 63.) for about five hundred years until the time of David; who, having expelled the Jebusites, made it his residence, (2 Sam. v. 6—9.) and erected a noble palace there, together with several other magnificent buildings, whence it is sometimes styled the *city of David*, (1 Chron. xi. 5.) Being situated on the confines of the two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, it sometimes formed a part of the one, and sometimes of the other: but, after Jehovah had appointed it to be the place of his habitation and temple, it was considered as the metropolis of the Jewish nation, and the *common property* of the children of Israel. On this account it was, that the houses were not let, and all strangers of the Jewish nation had the liberty of lodging there gratis, by right of hospitality. To this custom our Lord probably alludes, (Matt. xxvi. 18. and the parallel passages.)

II. The name of the whole mountain on the several hills and hollows of which the city stood, was called Moriah, or Vision; because it was high land and could be seen afar off, especially from the south, (Gen. xxii. 2—4.): but afterwards that name was appropriated to the most elevated part on which the temple was erected, and where Jehovah appeared to David, (2 Chron. iii. 1. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17.) This mountain is a rocky limestone hill, steep of ascent on every side except the north; and is surrounded on the other sides by a group of hills, in the form of an amphitheatre, (Psal. cxxv. 2.) which situation rendered it secure from the earthquakes, that appear to have been frequent in the Holy Land (Psal. xlv. 2, 3.) and have furnished the prophets with many elegant allusions. On the east stands the mount of Olives, fronting the temple, of which it commanded a noble prospect, (Matt. xxiv. 2, 3. Luke xix. 37—41.) as it does to this day of the whole city, over whose streets and walls the eye roves as if in the survey of a model. This mountain, which is frequently noticed in the evangelical history, stretches from north to south, and is about a mile in length. Between Olivet and the city lies the valley of Kedron, through which flows the brook of that name already noticed*.

“On the south side stood the mount of Corruption, where Solomon, in his declining years, built temples to Moloch, Chemosh, and Ashtaroth, (1 Kings xi. 7. 2 Kings xxiii. 13.): it was separated from the city by the narrow valley of Hinnom, (Josh. xviii. 16. Jer. xix. 2.) where the Israelites burnt their children in the fire to Moloch, (Jer. vii. 31. and xxxii. 35.); thence made the emblem of hell, *Gehenna*, or the place of the damned,” (Matt. v. 22. xxiii. 33. Mark ix. 48.)

Towards the west, and without the walls of the city, agreeably to the law of Moses†, (Levit. iv.) lay mount Calvary or Golgotha, that is, the place of a skull, (Matt. xxvii. 33.) so called by some from its fancied resemblance to a skull, but more probably, either because criminals were executed there, or perhaps because the mountain contained sepulchral caverns for the dead‡.

* See p. 15. *supra*.

† To this St. Paul delicately alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews, (xiii. 12, 13.) where he says, that Christ, as a sacrifice for sin, *suffered without the gate*; and when he exhorts the Hebrew Christians *to go forth unto him without the camp*, that is, out of Jerusalem, this city being regarded by the Jews as the camp of Israel.

‡ These caverns are described by Dr. Clarke, particularly one that strikingly coincides with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. See his *Travels*, part ii. pp. 552—555.

The southern quarter, originally “the city of David,” built on mount Sion, Josephus calls the *upper city*: and the house of Millo was what he calls the *upper market*. In process of time the upper city spread downwards into the winding hollow way, which he calls the valley of the Cheesemongers (Tyropæum), and composed the lower city, by him termed * *Acra*. The circumference of Jerusalem, at the time the Jewish historian wrote, was thirty-three furlongs, or nearly four miles and a half: and the wall of circumvallation, constructed by order of Titus, he states to have been thirty-nine furlongs, or four miles eight hundred and seventy-five paces.

III. During the time of our Saviour, Jerusalem was adorned with numerous edifices, some of which are mentioned or alluded to in the New Testament: but its chief glory was the temple, which “magnificent and extensive structure occupied the northern and lower top of Sion, as we learn from the Psalmist, (xlviii. 2.) “Beautiful for situation, the delight of the whole earth, is mount Sion. On her north side is the city of the great king.”

The tabernacle, which Moses constructed by divine direction, agreeably to the pattern exhibited to him on the mount, was for several ages regarded by the Jews with the utmost reverence. Here their religious worship for many centuries was celebrated with all that solemn splendour which their ritual prescribed. Hither the tribes repaired to offer their sacrifices and oblations, and to pay their devotions and acknowledgments to Jehovah. This sacred structure contained the ark of the covenant, in which were deposited the book of the law and several miraculous monuments, which were preserved from age to age as standing memorials of the divine interposition. All Israel, at various times and on every great occasion, beheld the glory of the Lord rest upon this fabric, and heard the voice of God solemnly articulated from it. To this succeeded the superb and magnificent temple erected by Solomon, which was † dedicated with peculiar solemnity to the worship of the Most High, who on this occasion vouchsafed to honour it with the shekinah or visible manifestation of His glory. But this edifice retained its pristine splendour only for thirty-three or thirty-four years, when Shishak king of Egypt took Jerusalem, and carried away the treasures of the temple ‡: and, after undergoing various

* Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 425—429. Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4.

† In the year of the world, 3001. Before Christ, 999.

‡ In the year of the world, 3033. Before Christ, 967. 1 Kings xiv. 25, &c. 2 Chron. xii.

subsequent profanations and pillages, this stupendous building was finally plundered and burnt by the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar in the year of the world 3416, or before Christ 584, (2 Kings xxv. 13—15. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17—20.)

After the captivity the temple emerged from its ruins, being rebuilt by Zerubbabel*, but with vastly inferior and diminished glory; as appears from the tears of the aged men who had beheld the former structure in all its grandeur, (Ezra iii. 12.) This second temple was profaned by order of Antiochus Epiphanes, (A. M. 3837. B. C. 163.); who caused the daily sacrifice to be discontinued, and erected the image of Jupiter Olympius on the altar of burnt offering. In this condition it continued three years, (1 Macc. i. 62.) when Judas Maccabeus purified and repaired it, and restored the sacrifices and true worship of Jehovah, (A. M. 3840. B. C. 160.)

Some years before the birth of our Saviour, the repairing or rather *gradual* rebuilding of this second temple, which had become decayed in the lapse of five centuries, was undertaken by Herod the Great, who for nine years employed eighteen thousand workmen upon it, and spared no expense to render it equal, if not superior, in magnitude, splendour, and beauty to any thing among mankind. Josephus calls it a work the most admirable of any that had ever been seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth expended upon it, as well as for the universal reputation of its sanctity†. But though Herod accomplished his original design in the time above specified, yet the Jews continued to ornament and enlarge it, expending the sacred treasure in annexing additional buildings to it; so that they might with great propriety assert that their temple had been forty and six years in building‡.

* Ezra i—vi. Josephus Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 4.

† De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 4. § 8.

‡ John ii. 20. There is therefore no real contradiction between the sacred writer and Josephus. The words of the evangelist are “forty and six years was this temple in building.” This, as Calmet well observes, is not saying that Herod had employed forty-six years in erecting it. Josephus acquaints us that Herod began to rebuild the temple, yet so as not to be esteemed a new edifice, in the eighteenth year of his reign, (Antiq. lib. xv. c. 14.) computing from his being declared king by the Romans, or in the fifteenth year (Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 16.) reckoning from the death of Antigonus. He finished it for use in about nine years, (Ant. xv. 14.); but it continued increasing in splendour and magnificence through the pious donations of the people (Bell. Jud. v. 14.) to the time of Nero, when it was completed, and 18,000 workmen were dismissed from that service. From the eighteenth of Herod, who reigned thirty-seven years, to the birth of Christ, more than a year before the death of that prince, was above sixteen years, added to which the age of Christ, now thirty, gives forty-six complete years. Elsley’s Annotations, vol. iii. p. 22.

Before we proceed to describe this venerable edifice, it may be proper to remark, that by the temple is to be understood not only the fabric or house itself which by way of eminence is called *the temple*, viz. the holy of holies, the sanctuary, and the several courts both of the priests and Israelites; but also all the numerous chambers and rooms which this prodigious edifice comprehended, and each of which had its respective degree of holiness, increasing in proportion to its contiguity to the holy of holies. This remark it will be necessary to bear in mind, lest the reader of Scripture should be led to suppose that whatever is there said to be transacted in the temple was actually done in the interior of that sacred edifice. To these various apartments into which the temple was disposed our Lord refers (John xiv. 2.); and, by a very striking and magnificent simile borrowed from them, he represents those numerous seats and mansions of heavenly bliss which his *Father's house* contained, and which were prepared for the everlasting abode of the righteous. The imagery is singularly beautiful and happy, when considered as an allusion to the temple, which our Lord not unfrequently called *his Father's house*.

The second temple, originally built by Zerubbabel after the captivity, and repaired by Herod, differed in several respects from that erected by Solomon, although they agreed in others: and as learned men are by no means unanimous in their descriptions of the *first* temple, we shall chiefly notice the second as described by Josephus (who had himself officiated there as a priest), and as principally illustrating the New Testament; introducing however the more material points in which both the temples corresponded.

The temple erected by Solomon was more splendid and magnificent than the second temple, which was deficient in five remarkable things that constituted the chief glory of the first:—these were the ark and mercy seat,—the shechinah or manifestation of the divine presence in the holy of holies,—the sacred fire on the altar, which had been first kindled from heaven,—the urim and thummim,—and the spirit of prophecy. The second temple however surpassed the first in glory, being honoured by the frequent presence of our divine Saviour, agreeably to the prediction of Haggai, (ii. 9.) Both, however, were erected upon the same site, a very hard rock, encompassed by a very frightful precipice; and the foundation was laid with incredible expense and labour. The superstructure was not inferior to this great work: the height of the temple wall, especially on the south side, was stupendous. In the lowest places it was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty

feet, and in some places even greater. This most magnificent pile was constructed with hard white stones of prodigious magnitude*.

The temple itself, strictly so called, (which comprised the portico, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies), formed only a small part of the sacred edifice on mount Moriah; being surrounded by spacious courts, making a square of half a mile in circumference. It was entered through nine gates, which were on every side thickly coated with gold and silver: but there was one gate, without the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, the most precious metal in antient times, and far surpassed the others in beauty. For, while these were of equal magnitude, the gate composed of Corinthian brass was much larger; its height being fifty cubits and its doors forty cubits, and its ornaments both of gold and silver being far more costly and massive. This is supposed to have been the "gate called Beautiful" in Acts iii. 2., where Peter and John, in the name of Christ, healed a man who had been lame from his birth.

The first or outer court, which encompassed the holy house and the other courts, was named the *court of the Gentiles*; because the latter were allowed to enter into it, but were prohibited from advancing further. It was surrounded by a range of porticoes or cloisters, above which were galleries or apartments supported by pillars of white marble, each consisting of a single piece, and five and twenty cubits in height. One of these was called *Solomon's porch* or piazza, because it stood on a vast terrace, which he had originally raised from a valley beneath, four hundred cubits high, in order to enlarge the area on the top of the mountain, and make it equal to the plan of his intended building: and, as this terrace was the only work of Solomon's that remained in the second temple, the piazza which stood upon it retained the name of that prince. Here it was that our Lord was walking at the feast of dedication, (John x. 23.); and that the lame man, when healed by Peter and John, glorified God before all the people†, (Acts iii. 11.) This superb portico is termed the ROYAL PORTICO by Josephus, who represents it as the noblest work beneath the sun, being elevated to such a prodigious height that no one could look down from its flat roof to the valley below without being seized

* Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. § 5.

† Of the same kind with these porticoes, cloisters, or piazzas, were doubtless the five porticoes which surrounded the pool of Bethesda, (John v. 2.) The pool was probably a pentagon, and the piazzas round it were designed to shelter from the weather the multitude of diseased persons who lay waiting for a cure by the miraculous virtue of those waters. Jennings's Jewish Antiq. p. 267.

with dizziness, the sight not reaching to such an immeasurable depth. The south-east corner of the roof of this portico, where the height was greatest, is supposed to have been the *πτερυγιον*, pinnacle, or extreme angle, whence Satan tempted our Saviour to precipitate himself, (Matt. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9.) This also was the spot where it was predicted that the abomination of desolation, or the Roman ensigns, should stand, (Dan. ix. 27. Matt. xxiv. 15.) Solomon's portico was situated in the eastern front of the temple, opposite to the mount of Olives, where our Lord is said to have sat when his disciples came to shew him the grandeur of its various buildings, of which, grand as they were, he said, the time was approaching when one stone should not be left upon another, (Matt. xxiv. 1—3.) This outermost court being assigned to the Gentile proselytes, the Jews, who did not worship in it themselves, conceived that it might be lawfully put to profane uses: for here we find that the buyers and sellers of animals for sacrifices, and also the money changers, had stationed themselves; until Jesus Christ, awing them into submission by the grandeur and dignity of his person and behaviour, expelled them, telling them that it was the house of prayer *for all nations*, and that it had a relative sanctity, and was not to be profaned, (Matt. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. 15—17.)

Within the court of the Gentiles stood the court of the Israelites divided into two parts or courts, the outer one being appropriated to the women, and the inner one to the men. The court of the women was separated from that of the Gentiles by a low stone wall or partition, of elegant construction, on which stood pillars at equal distances, with inscriptions in Greek and Latin, importing that no alien should enter into the holy place. To this wall Saint Paul most evidently alludes in Eph. ii. 13, 14. "But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometime were afar off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ: for he is our peace, who hath made both one, (united both Jews and Gentiles into one church), and hath broken down the *middle wall of partition* between us;" having abolished the law of ordinances by which, as by the wall of separation, both Jews and Gentiles were not only kept asunder, but also at variance. In this court was the treasury, over against which Christ sat, and beheld how the people threw their voluntary offerings into it for furnishing the victims and other things necessary for the sacrifices (Mark xii. 41. John viii. 20.)

From the court of the women, which was on higher ground than that of the gentiles, there was an ascent of fifteen steps into the inner or men's court; and so called because it was

appropriated to the worship of the male Israelites. In these two courts, collectively termed the court of the Israelites, were the people praying, each apart by himself, for the pardon of his sins, while Zechariah was offering incense within the sanctuary, (Luke i. 10.)

Within the court of the Israelites was that of the priests, which was separated from it by a low wall, one cubit in height. This inclosure surrounded the altar of burnt offerings, and to it the people brought their oblations and sacrifices; but the priests alone were permitted to enter it. From this court twelve steps ascended to the *temple* strictly so called, which was divided into three parts, the portico, the outer sanctuary, and the holy place. In the *portico* were suspended the splendid votive offerings made by the piety of various individuals. Among its other treasures, there was a golden table given by Pompey, and several golden vines of exquisite workmanship as well as of immense size: for Josephus relates that there were clusters as tall as a man. And he adds that all around were fixed up and displayed the spoils and trophies taken by Herod from the Barbarians and Arabians. These votive offerings, it should seem, were visible at a distance: for when Jesus Christ was sitting on the mount of Olives, and his disciples called his attention to the temple, they pointed out to him the *gifts* with which it was adorned, (Luke xxi. 5.) This porch had a very large portal or gate, which, instead of folding doors, was furnished with a costly Babylonian veil, of many colours, that mystically denoted the universe. From this the *sanctuary* or holy place was separated from the holy of holies by a double veil, which is supposed to have been the veil that was rent in twain at our Saviour's crucifixion; thus emblematically pointing out that the separation between Jews and Gentiles was abolished, and that the privilege of the high priest was communicated to all mankind who might thenceforth have access to the throne of grace through the one great mediator Jesus Christ (Heb. x, 19—22.) The holy of holies was twenty cubits square: into it no person was ever admitted but the high priest, who entered it once a year on the great day of atonement, (Exod. xxx. 10. Levit. xvi. 2, 15, 34. Heb. ix. 2—7.)

Magnificent as the rest of the sacred edifice was, it was infinitely surpassed in splendour by the inner temple or sanctuary. Its appearance, according to Josephus, had every thing that could strike the mind or astonish the sight: for it was covered on every side with plates of gold, so that when the sun rose upon it, it reflected so strong and dazzling an effulgence, that the eye of the spectator was obliged to turn away, being

no more able to sustain its radiance than the splendour of the sun. To strangers who were approaching, it appeared at a distance like a mountain covered with snow; for where it was not decorated with plates of gold, it was extremely white and glistening. On the top it had sharp pointed spikes of gold, to prevent any bird from resting upon it and polluting it. There were, continues the Jewish historian, in that building several stones which were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth *. “When all these things are considered, how natural is the exclamation of the disciples when viewing this immense building at a distance: “Master, see what MANNER of STONES (*ποταμοι λιθοι*, what very large stones) and what BUILDINGS are here !” (Mark xiii. 1.); and how wonderful is the declaration of our Lord upon this, how unlikely to be accomplished before the race of men who were then living should cease to exist. “Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down †” Improbable as this prediction must have appeared to the disciples at that time, in the short space of about thirty years after it was exactly accomplished; and this most magnificent temple, which the Jews had literally turned into a den of thieves, through the righteous judgement of God upon that wicked and abandoned nation, was utterly destroyed by the Romans A. M. 4073. (A. D. 73) on the same month, and on the same day of the month, when Solomon’s temple had been rased to the ground by the Babylonians !

Both the first and second temples were contemplated by the Jews with the highest reverence: of their affectionate regard for the first temple and for Jerusalem within whose walls it was built, we have several instances in those psalms which were composed during the Babylonish captivity; and of their profound veneration for the second temple we have repeated examples in the New Testament.

They could not bear any disrespectful or dishonourable thing to be said of it. The least injurious slight of it, real or apprehended, instantly awakened all the choler of a Jew, and was an affront never to be forgiven. Our Saviour, in the course of his public instructions happening to say, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up again” ‡; it was construed into a contemptuous disrespect, designedly thrown out

* Josephus, *Aniq. Jud.* lib. xv. c. ix. § 3. *De Bell. Jud.* l. v. c. 5. § 1—6.

† Mark xiii. 2. Dr. Harwood’s *Introd. to the New Test.* vol. ii. p. 161.

‡ John ii. 19.

against the temple; his words instantly descended into the heart of a Jew and kept rankling there for several years; for upon his trial, this declaration, which it was impossible for a Jew ever to forget or to forgive, was immediately alleged against him as big with the most atrocious guilt and impiety: they told the court they had heard him publicly assert, I am able to destroy this temple *. The rancour and virulence they had conceived against him for this speech, which they imagined had been levelled against the temple, was not softened by all the affecting circumstances of that excruciating and wretched death they saw him die: even as he hung upon the cross, with infinite triumph, scorn, and exultation, they upbraided him with it, contemptuously shaking their heads and saying: "Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself! If thou be the son of God, come down from the cross." (Matt. xxvii. 40.)

The superstitious veneration, which this people had for their temple, further appears from the account of Stephen. When his adversaries were baffled and confounded by that superior wisdom and those distinguished gifts he possessed, they were so exasperated at the victory he had gained over them, that they suborned persons to swear, that they had heard him speak blasphemy against Moses and against God. These inflaming the populace, the magistrates, and the Jewish clergy, the holy man was seized, dragged away, and brought before the Sanhedrim. Here the false witnesses whom they had procured, stood up and said, This person before you, is continually uttering the most reproachful expressions against this sacred place, † meaning the temple. This was blasphemy not to be pardoned. A judicature composed of high priests and scribes would never forgive such impiety.

Thus also when St. Paul went into the temple to give public notice, as was usual, to the priests, of his having purified and bound himself with a religious vow along with four other persons, declaring the time when this vow was made, and the oblations he would offer for every one of them at his own expence when the time of their vow was accomplished, some Jews of Asia Minor, when the seven days prescribed by the law were almost completed, happening to see him in the temple, struck with

* Matt. xxvi. 61. "This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days."

† Acts vi. 13.

horror at the sight of such apprehended profanation, immediately excited the populace, who all at once rushed upon him and instantly seized him, vehemently exclaiming, “Men of Israel, help! this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people,” (the Jews) “and the law, and this place; and further, brought Greeks into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place*.” They said this, because they had a little before seen Trophimus an Ephesian along with him in the city, and they instantly concluded he had brought him into the temple. Upon this the whole city was immediately raised; all the people at once rushed furiously upon him, and dragged him out of the temple, whose doors were instantly shut. Being determined to murder him, news was carried to the Roman tribune that the whole city was in a commotion. The uproar now raised among the Jews, and their determined resolution to imbrue their hands in the blood of a person who had spoken disrespectfully of the temple, and who they apprehended had wantonly profaned it by introducing Greeks into it, verify and illustrate the declaration of Philo; that it was certain and inevitable death for any one who was not a Jew to set his foot within the inner courts of the temple†.

It only remains to add, that from several passages of Scripture it appears that the Jews had a body of soldiers who guarded the temple to prevent any disturbance during the ministration of such an immense number of priests and Levites. To this guard Pilate most probably referred, when he said to the chief priests and Pharisees who waited upon him to desire he would make the sepulchre secure, Ye have a watch‡, go your way and make it as secure as ye can. Over these guards one person had the supreme command, who in several places is called the captain of the temple or officer of the temple guard. “And as they spake unto the people, the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon them,” (Acts iv. 1.) “Then came one and told them saying, Behold the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple and teaching the people,” (Acts v. 25, 26.) “Then went the captain with the officers, and brought them without violence, for they

* Acts xxi. 28.

† Θανατος απαραιτητος ωρισαι κατα των εις τους εντος περιβολους παρελθοντων—των ουχ' ομοθυμων. Philo legat. ad Caium. p. 577. Mangey.

‡ Matt. xxviii. 65. Εχετε κουστωδιαν, Ye have a guard. See Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 267.

feared the people lest they should have been stoned.” “Then the band, and the captain, and officers of the Jews, took Jesus and bound him, (John xviii. 12.) Josephus mentions such an officer*.

IV. Next to the temple in point of splendour, was the very superb palace of Herod, which is largely described by Josephus†; it afterwards became the residence of the Roman procurators, who for this purpose generally claimed the royal palaces in those provinces which were subject to kings‡. These dwellings of the Roman procurators in the provinces were called *prætoria*§: Herod's palace therefore was Pilate's *prætorium*, (Matt. xxvii. 27. John xviii. 28): and in some part of this edifice was the armoury or barracks of the Roman soldiers that garrisoned Jerusalem**, whither Jesus was conducted and mocked by them, (Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 16.) In the front of this palace was the tribunal, where Pilate sat in a judicial capacity to hear and determine weighty causes; being a raised pavement of Mosaic work, (Λιθοστρωτοι), the evangelist informs us that in the Hebrew language it was on this account termed *gabbatha*, (John xix. 13) i. e. an elevated place. In this tribunal the procurator Florus sat, A. D. 66; and, in order to punish the Jews for their seditious behaviour, issued orders for his soldiers to plunder the upper market place in Jerusalem, and to put to death such Jews as they met with; which commands were executed with savage barbarity††.

On a steep rock adjoining the north-west corner of the temple stood the *tower of Antonia*, on the site of a citadel that had been erected by Antiochus Epiphanes‡‡ in order to annoy the Jews; and which, after being destroyed by them || ||, was rebuilt by the Maccabean prince John Hyrcanus, B. C. 135 §§. Herod the Great repaired it with great splendour, uniting in its interior all the conveniences of a magnificent palace, with ample accommodations for soldiers. This citadel (in which a

* Τον στρατηγον Ανανον, Ananias, the commander of the temple, Antiq. Jud. lib. xx. c. vi. § 2. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 17. § 2. Αφορωντες εις τον Ελεαζαρον στρατηγοντα, having the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 17. § 2. edit. Hudson. Harwood's Introd. vol. ii. p. 166, 170. and Dr. Lardner's Credibility, book i. ch. xi. § 1. (Works, 8vo. vol. i. p. 237, 8.) and book i. ch. ix. § 4. (vol. i. p. 205, 206.)

† Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. ix. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. xxi. § 1. et lib. v. c. iv. § 3.

‡ Cicero contra Verrem, action. ii. lib. v. c. 12. (op. tom. iv. p. 96. ed. Bipont.)

§ Ibid. lib. v. c. 35. & 41. (tom. iv. p. 125, 142.)

** Compare Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. xv. § 5. cap. xvii. § 8.

†† Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. § 8.

‡‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. v. § 4.

|| || Ibid. lib. xiii. c. vi. § 6.

§§ Ibid. lib. xv. c. xi. § 4.

Roman legion was always quartered) overlooked the two outer courts of the temple, and communicated with its cloisters by means of secret passages, through which the military could descend and quell any tumult that might arise during the great festivals. This was the guard to which Pilate alluded, as already noticed, (Matt. xxviii. 65.) The tower of Antonia was thus named by Herod, in honor of his friend Mark Antony: and this citadel is the castle into which St. Paul was conducted, (Acts xxi. 34, 35.) and of which mention is made in Acts xxii. 24. As the temple was a fortress that guarded the whole city of Jerusalem, so the tower of Antonia was a guard that entirely commanded the temple*.

Besides the preceding edifices, Josephus mentions a house or palace at the extremity of the upper city, which had been erected by the princes of the Asmonean family, from whom it was subsequently called the Asmonean Palace. It appears to have been the residence of the princes of the Herodian family (after the Romans had reduced Judea into a province of the empire) whenever they went up to Jerusalem. In this palace, Josephus mentions Berenice and Agrippa as residing†: and it is not improbable that it was the residence of Herod the tetrarch of Galilee when he went to keep the solemn festivals at that city; and that it was here that our Saviour was exposed to the wanton mockery of the soldiers, who had accompanied Herod thither, either as a guard to his person, or from ostentation, (Luke xxiii. 7—11.)

V. Although sacrifices could only be offered at the holy tabernacle or temple, yet it does not appear that the Jews were restricted to any particular place for the performance of other exercises of devotion. Hence, formerly, the praises of Jehovah were sung in the schools of the prophets, which the more devout Israelites seem to have frequented on sabbath days and new moons for the purpose of instruction and prayer, (1 Sam. x. 5—11. xix. 18—24. 2 Kings iv. 23.) During the Babylonish captivity, the Jews, being deprived of the solemn ordinances of divine worship, resorted to the house of some prophet, or other holy man, who was in the practice of giving religious instruction to his own family, and of reading the Scriptures. (Compare Ezek. xiv. 1. xx. 1. and Dan. vi. 11. with Neh. viii. 18.) At length these domestic congregations became fixed in certain places; a regular order of conducting divine worship was introduced; and hence arose the synagogues so

* Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 5. § 8.

† Ibid. lib. ii. c. xv. § 1. and c. xvi. § 3.

often mentioned in the New Testament, and of which it is said there were not fewer than four hundred and eighty at Jerusalem. Philo* thinks these edifices were originally instituted by Moses: but as no mention is made of them during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, their origin in Jerusalem is referred to the reigns of the Asmonean princes, under whom they were first erected, and were soon greatly multiplied; though in Alexandria and other foreign places, where the Jews were dispersed, they were certainly of much greater antiquity†. In the evangelical history we find, that wherever a number of Jews resided, they had one or more synagogues constructed after those at Jerusalem. It does not appear that the synagogues had any peculiar form: each of them however had an altar, or rather table, on which the book of the law was spread; and on the east side there was an ark or chest in which the volume of the law was deposited. The seats were so disposed that the people always sat with their faces towards the elders, and the place where the law was kept: and the elders sat in the opposite direction, that is to say, with their backs to the ark and their faces to the people. The seats of the latter, as being placed nearer the ark, were accounted the more holy, and hence they are in the New Testament termed the “chief seats in the synagogue,” which the Pharisees affected, and for which our Lord inveighed against them, (Matt. xxiii. 6.) A similar precedence seems to have crept into the places of worship even of the very first Christians, and hence we may account for the indignation of St. James (ii. 3.) against the undue preference that was given to riches‡. The women were separated from the men, and sat in a chamber which joined the synagogue, so that they could both see and hear all that passed there.

It is a question with some learned men whether the *pro-seuchæ* or oratories, places appropriated to prayer, (Luke vi. 12. Acts xvi. 13, 16.) were synonymous with the synagogues, or distinct edifices from the latter. Both Josephus and Philo (to whom may be added Juvenal) appear to have considered them as synonymous; and with them agree Grotius, Whitby, Ernesti, Drs. Doddridge and Lardner §; but Calmet, Drs. Prideaux

* Philo Judæus de vita Mosis, lib. iii. p. 685.

† Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 3. § 3.

‡ Lamy de Tabernaculo, lib. iv. c. 8. § 4. Grotius on Matt. xxiii. 6.

§ Philo de Legatione ad Caium, p. 1011. Josephus de vita sua, § 54. Juvenal sat. iii. 14. Grotius, Whitby, and Doddridge on Luke vi. 12. Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, pp. 363, 364. edit. 4ta. 1792. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. iii. § 3. (Works, vol. i. pp. 111—113.) Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 171—180.

and Hammond, and others, have distinguished between these two sorts of buildings, and have shewn that though they were *nearly* the same, and were sometimes confounded by Philo and Josephus, yet that there was a real difference between them; the synagogues being in cities, while the proseuchæ were without the walls, in sequestered spots, and (particularly in heathen countries) were usually erected on the banks of rivers, or on the sea-shore, (Acts xvi. 13.) without any covering but galleries or the shade of trees. Dr. Prideaux thinks the proseuchæ were of greater antiquity than the synagogues, and were formed by the Jews in open courts; in order that those persons who dwelt at a distance from Jerusalem might offer up their private prayers in them as they were accustomed to do in the courts of the temple or of the tabernacle. In the synagogues, he further observes, the prayers were offered up in public forms, while the proseuchæ were appropriated to private devotions: and from the oratory, where our Saviour spent a whole night in prayer, being erected on a mountain, (Luke vi. 12.) it is highly probable that these proseuchæ were the same as the “high places,” so often mentioned in the Old Testament*.

VI. During the reigns of David and Solomon, Jerusalem was the metropolis of the land of Israel; but, after the defection of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, it was the capital of the kings of Judah, during whose government it underwent various revolutions. It was captured four times without being demolished, viz. by Shishak sovereign of Egypt, (2 Chron. xii.) from whose ravages it never recovered its former splendour; by Antiochus Epiphanes, who treated the Jews with singular barbarity; by Pompey the Great, who rendered the Jews tributary to Rome; and by Herod, with the assistance of a Roman force under Sosius. It was first entirely destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and again† by the emperor Titus, the repeated insurrections of the turbulent Jews having filled up the measure of their iniquities, and drawn down upon them the implacable vengeance of the Romans. Titus ineffectually endeavoured to save the temple: it was involved in the same ruin with the rest of the city, and, after it had been reduced to ashes, the foundations of that sacred edifice were ploughed up by the Roman soldiers. Thus literally was fulfilled the prediction of our Lord, that not one stone should be left upon another that should

* Dr. Hammond on Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13—16. Calmet's Dict. voce proseucha. Prideaux's Connexion, part i. book vi. sub anno 444. vol. i. pp. 387—390. edit. 1720.

† A. D. 74, or 71 of the vulgar era.

not be thrown down*, (Matt. xxiv. 2.) The emperor Adrian erected a city on part of the former site of Jerusalem, which he called *Ælia Capitolina*: it was afterwards greatly enlarged and beautified by Constantine the Great, who restored its antient name. During that emperor's reign the Jews made various efforts to rebuild their temple, which however were always frustrated: nor did better success attend the attempt made A. D. 363 by the apostate emperor Julian. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption compelled the workmen to abandon their design †.

From the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans to the present time, that city has remained, for the most part, in a state of ruin and desolation; "and has never been under the government of the Jews themselves, but oppressed and broken down by a succession of foreign masters, the Romans, the Saracens, the Franks, the Mamelukes, and last by the Turks, to whom it is still subject. It is not therefore only in the history of Josephus, and in other antient writers, that we are to look for the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions:—we see them verified at this moment before our eyes, in the desolate state of the once celebrated city and temple of Jerusalem, and in the present condition of the Jewish people, not collected together into any one country, into one political society, and under one form of government, but dispersed over every region of the globe, and every where treated with contumely and scorn ‡."

* The most compendious view of the accomplishment of prophecy in the destruction of Jerusalem is that given by the late Bishop Porteus, in his *Lectures on St. Matthew's Gospel*, vol. ii. lect. xix, xx. pp. 166—218. But the fullest discussion of this subject is to be found in the second volume of Bishop Newton's *Dissertations on Prophecy*. Diss. xviii, xix, xx, xxi.

† The evidence for the miraculous interruption of Julian's plan is so incontestable as to extort the involuntary assent of the elegant but infidel historian Mr. Gibbon: and this memorable proof of divine power, as well as of the truth of the Christian revelation, is most ably vindicated by Bishop Warburton, in his discourse intitled *Julian*. (Works, vol. viii. pp. 1—236. 8vo edit.)

‡ Bishop Porteus's *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 215. Beside the authorities cited in the preceding pages, our geographical account of the Holy Land has been compiled from a careful examination of the works of Josephus and Strabo, of Reland, Wells, Jahn, Pritius, Schulze, and Dr. Hales, of whose laborious researches an account is given in the second part of this volume. For the modern state of that country the *Travels* of Dr. Clarke, part ii. may be implicitly relied on; and considerable amusement, as well as information, is to be found in the earlier travels of Sandys and Maundrell, and in the recent travels of M. Chateaubriand.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE ISRAELITES AND JEWS, FROM THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES TO THE SUBVERSION OF THE JEWISH POLITY.

SECTION I.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

I. *Patriarchal government*—II. *Government under Moses*—III. *Government of the judges*—IV. *Regal government instituted—the functions and privileges of the kings—inauguration of the kings—scriptural allusions to the courts of sovereigns and princes explained—revenues of the kings of Israel*—V. *Schism between the twelve tribes—the kingdoms of Israel and Judah founded—their duration and end.*

I. OF the forms of government which obtained among mankind from the earliest ages to the time of Moses, we have but little information communicated in the Scriptures. The simplicity of manners which then prevailed would render any complicated form of government unnecessary: and accordingly we find that the patriarchs exercised the chief power and command over their families, children, and domestics, without being responsible to any superior authority. Such was the government of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph: afterwards, however, as their posterity increased, it became necessary to have magistrates or governors, invested with more extensive authority; these are termed *elders*, (Exod. iii. 16.) being probably chosen on account of their age and wisdom. The *shoterim* or “officers of the children of Israel,” (Exod. v. 14, 15, 19.) have been conjectured to be a kind of magistrates elected by them: but, from the context of the sacred historian they rather appear to have been appointed by the Egyptians, and placed over the Israelites in order to oversee their labour.

II. On the departure of the Israelites from the land of their oppressors, under the guidance of Moses, Jehovah was pleased to institute a new form of government, which has been rightly termed a *theocracy*; the supreme legislative power being ex-

clusively vested in GOD or his ORACLE, who alone could enact or repeal laws. Hence the judges and afterwards the kings were merely temporal viceroys, or the first magistrates in the state: their office was, to command the army in war, to summon and preside in the senate or council of princes and elders, and in the general assembly of the congregation of Israel, and to propose public matters to the deliberation of the former, and to the ratification of the latter. During the life of Moses, the chief magistracy was lodged in him: but, his strength being inadequate to determine all matters of controversy between so numerous a nation, the sanhedrim or council of seventy princes or elders was instituted at his request, to assist him with their advice, and to lighten the burthen of government*, (Exod. xviii. 13—26.)

III. On the death of Moses, the command of the children of Israel was confided to Joshua, who had been his minister, (Exod. xxiv. 13. Josh. i. 1.); and under whom the land of Canaan was subdued, and divided agreeably to the divine injunctions: but, his office ceasing with his life, the government of Israel was committed to certain supreme magistrates termed *judges*. Their dignity was for life; but their office was not hereditary, neither was their succession constant. There also were anarchies, or intervals of several years continuance, during which the Israelites groaned under the tyranny of their oppressors, and had no governors. But though God himself did regularly appoint the judges of the Israelites, the people nevertheless on some occasions elected him, who appeared to them most proper, to deliver them from their immediate oppression: thus Jephthah was chosen by the Israelites beyond Jordan. As, however, it frequently happened that the oppressions, which rendered the assistance of judges necessary, were not felt equally over all Israel, so the power of those judges, who were elected in order to procure their deliverance from such servitudes, did not extend over all the people, but only over that district which they had delivered. Thus, Jephthah did not exercise his authority on this side Jordan, neither did Barak exercise his judicial power beyond

* This council is generally supposed to have been a permanent institution: but, from the silence of the sacred writers after Moses, concerning it, Michaelis is of opinion that it was only a temporary institution, which ceased with the peregrinations of the Israelites in the wilderness; and that the Sanhedrim so frequently mentioned or alluded to in the New Testament, was an imitation of the first Mosaic synedrium or council. *Mosaische Recht*, § 50. or pp. 247—249 of vol. i. of Dr. Smith's translation, intitled "Commentaries on the Law of Moses."

that river. The authority of the judges was not inferior to that of kings: it extended to peace and war. They decided causes without appeal; but they had no power to enact new laws, nor to impose new burthens upon the people. They were protectors of the laws, defenders of religion, and avengers of crimes, particularly of idolatry, which was high treason against Jehovah their Sovereign. Further, these judges were without pomp or splendour, and destitute of guards, train, or equipage; unless indeed their own wealth might enable them to make an appearance suitable to their dignity. Their income or revenue arose solely from presents. This form of administration subsisted from Joshua to Saul, during a period of about 339 years.

IV. At length the Israelites, weary of having God for their king, and provoked by the misconduct of the sons of the judge and prophet Samuel, who in his old age had associated them with himself for the administration of affairs, desired a king to be set over them, "to judge them like all the nations," (1 Sam. viii. 5.), thus undesignedly fulfilling the designs of the Almighty, who had ordained that in the fulness of time the Messiah should be born of a royal house. Such a change in their government Moses foresaw, and accordingly prescribed certain laws for the direction of their future sovereigns, (Deut. xvii. 14—20.) *. From 1 Sam. x. 25. compared with 2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Kings xii. 22—24. and 2 Kings xi. 17. it appears that the Israelitish kings were by no means possessed of unlimited power, but were restricted by a solemn stipulation; although they had a tendency to despotism, (1 Sam. xi. 5—7. and xxii. 17, 18.) They had, however, the right of making war and peace, as well as the power of life and death; and could on particular occasions put criminals to death, without the formalities of justice, (2 Sam. i. 5—15. iv. 9—12): but, in general, they administered justice; sometimes in a summary way by themselves where the case appeared clear, as David did, (see 2 Sam. xii. 1—5. xiv. 4—11. and 1 Kings, ii. 5—9), or by judges duly constituted, to hear and determine causes in the king's name, (1 Chron. xxiii. 4. xxvi. 29—32.) Michaelis thinks it probable that there were superior courts established at Jerusalem, in which David's sons presided, and that Psal. cxxii. 5. is an allusion to them; but no mention is made of a supreme tribunal in that city earlier than the reign of Jehoshaphat, (2 Chron. xix. 8—11.) Although the kings enjoyed the

* These regulations of the great Legislator are fully considered and ably elucidated by Michaelis in his "Commentaries on the Law of Moses," vol. i. § 54. pp. 266—283.

privilege of granting pardons to offenders at their pleasure without consulting any person; and in ecclesiastical affairs exercised great power, sometimes deposing or condemning to death even the high priest himself, (1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.) and at other times reforming gross abuses in religion, of which we have examples in the zealous conduct of Hezekiah and Josiah: yet this power was enjoyed by them not as *absolute* sovereigns in their own right. They were merely the viceroys of Jehovah, who was the sole legislator of Israel: and therefore as the kings could neither enact a new law nor repeal an old one, the government continued to be *theocracy*, as well under their permanent administration, as we have seen that it was under the occasional administration of the judges. The only difference, that can be discovered between the two species of government is that the conduct of the judges was generally directed by *urim*, and that of the kings either by the inspiration of God vouchsafed to themselves, or by prophets raised up from time to time to reclaim them when deviating from their duty, as laid down by the law*.

The inauguration of the kings was performed with various ceremonies and with great pomp. The principal of these was anointing with holy oil, (Psal. lxxxix. 20), which was sometimes privately performed by a prophet, (1 Sam. x. 1. xvi. 1—13. 1 Kings xix. 16. 2 Kings ix. 1—6. which was a symbolical prediction that the person so anointed would ascend the throne); but after the monarchy was established this unction was performed by a priest, (1 Kings i. 39), at first in some public place, (1 Kings i. 32—34.) and afterwards in the temple, the monarch elect being surrounded by his guards, (2 Kings xi. 12—20. 2 Chron. xxiii. 1—21.) It is probable also that he was at the same time girded with a sword, (Psalm xlv. 3). From this ceremony of anointing, kings are in the scriptures frequently termed the “anointed of the Lord,” and “of the God of Jacob,” (1 Sam. xxiv. 6. 10. xxvi. 9, 11, 16, 23. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. Psal. ii. 2. lxxxix. 38. Habak. iii. 13.) A diadem or crown was also placed upon the sovereign’s head and a sceptre put into his hand, (Ezek. xxi. 26. Psal. xlv. 6. 2 Kings xi. 12.) after which he entered into a solemn covenant with his subjects that he would govern according to its conditions, and to the law of Moses, (2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Chron. xi. 3. 2 Kings xi. 12. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. compare Deut. xvii. 18.) The nobles in their turn promised obedience, and appear to have confirmed this pledge with a kiss, either of the knees or feet, (Psal. ii. 12). Loud acclamations accompanied with music then followed, after which the king

* See Bishop Gleig’s edition of Stackhouse’s History of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 159.

entered the city, (1 Kings i. 39, 40. 2 Kings xi. 12, 19. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11.) To this practice there are numerous allusions both in the Old Testament (Psal. xlvii. 2—9. xcvi. 1. xcix. 1. &c.) as well as in the New, (Matt. xxi. 9, 10. Mark xi. 9, 10. Luke xix. 35—38); in which last cited passages the Jews, by welcoming our Saviour in the same manner as their kings were formerly inaugurated, manifestly acknowledged him to be the Messiah whom they expected.

Numerous are the allusions in the sacred writings to the courts of princes, and to the regal state which they antiently enjoyed. The eastern monarchs were ever distinguished for studiously keeping up the majesty of royalty, and thus inspiring their subjects with the most reverential awe. They were difficult of access*, very rarely shewing themselves to their people, and lived in the depths of their vast palaces, surrounded with every possible luxury, and gratifying every desire as it arose. In these kingdoms of slaves it was accounted the summit of human grandeur and felicity to be admitted into that splendid circle which surrounded the person of their sovereign; whence the expression of seeing God (Matt. v. 8.) is to be explained of the enjoyment of the highest possible happiness, namely, his favour and protection, especially in the life to come. And as only a select few in the oriental courts were permitted to behold the face of the monarch, it is in reference to this custom that the angel Gabriel replied to Zachariah (who hesitated to believe his annunciation of the Baptist's birth), that he was Gabriel who stood in the presence of God; thus intimating that he stood in a state of high favour and trust with Jehovah, (Luke i. 19.) *To dwell, or to stand in the presence of a sovereign* is an oriental idiom, importing the most eminent and dignified station at court.

This allusive phraseology beautifully illustrates another very striking passage of Scripture. When the disciples, from their very low conceptions of the nature of Christ's kingdom, were contending among themselves who should be the greatest, our Saviour, in order to dispel these animosities, took a child; and, placing him before them, in the most solemn manner assured them that, *unless they were converted*, and purified their minds from all ambition and worldly thoughts, *they should not enter the kingdom of heaven*, should not be deemed proper subjects of the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. But, continued Jesus Christ, "whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same

* Among the Persians it was death to enter the royal presence without being called for, Esther iv. 11. Herodotus (book i. c. 99.) states Deioces the Mede to have been the first who instituted this ordinance.

is greatest in the kingdom of heaven :” and, after urging various cautions against harshly treating sincere and humble Christians, he added, “ Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones : for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always *behold the face of my Father which is in heaven*,” (Matt. xviii. 1—10.) ; referring to the custom of oriental courts, where the great men, those who are highest in office and favour, are most frequently in the prince’s palace and presence, (Esth. i. 14. 1 Kings x. 8. xii. 6. 2 Kings xxv. 19.) On another occasion, after our Lord had promised the apostles that they should sit on twelve thrones to judge the tribes of Israel, still mistaking the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the mother of James and John came to Jesus with her sons, and requested that he would grant that they might sit, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left hand, in his kingdom, (Matt. xx. 20—23.) This alludes to the custom which in those times obtained in the courts of princes ; where two of the noblest and most dignified personages were respectively seated, one on each side, next the sovereign himself, thus enjoying the most eminent places of dignity*, (compare 1 Kings ii. 19. Psal. xlv. 9. and Heb. i. 3.) In reply to the request of Salome, our Saviour stated that seats of distinguished eminence in his kingdom were not to be given through favour or partiality, but to those only whom God should see properly prepared for them.

The eastern monarchs were never approached but with presents of some kind or other, according to the ability of the individual, who accompanied them with expressions of the profoundest reverence, prostrating themselves to the ground : and the same practice continues to this day. Thus Jacob instructed his sons to carry a present to Joseph, when they went to buy food of him as governor of Egypt, (Gen. xliii. 11, 26.) In like manner the magi, who came from the east to adore Jesus Christ, as king of the Jews, brought him presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, (Matt. ii. 11.) Allusions to this practice occur in Gen. xxxii. 13. 1 Kings x. 2, 10, 25. 2 Kings v. 5. see also 1 Sam. ix. 7. and 2 Kings viii. 8.

Further, whenever the oriental sovereigns go abroad, they are uniformly attended by a numerous and splendid retinue : the Hebrew kings and their sons either rode on asses or mules (2 Sam. xiii. 29. 1 Kings i. 33, 38.) or in chariots, (1 Kings i. 5. 2 Kings ix. 21. x. 15.) preceded or accompanied by their royal guards. Further, whenever the Asiatic monarchs entered

* Among the antient Persians, to sit *next* the person of the king, was the highest possible honour. See 1 Esdras iii. 7. iv. 42. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. iii. § 2.

upon an expedition, or took a journey through desert and untravelled countries, they sent harbingers before them to prepare all things for their passage, and pioneers to open the passes, level the ways, and remove all impediments. To this practice the prophet Isaiah manifestly alludes (Isa. xl. 3. compared with Mal. iii. 1. and Matt. iii. 3.); and we shall obtain a clear notion of the preparation of the way for a royal expedition, and the force and beauty of the prophetic declaration will fully appear if we attend to the following narrative of the marches of Semiramis into Media, recorded by Diodorus Siculus*:

“In her march to Ecbatane, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs and being full of *craggy precipices* and *deep hollows*, could not be passed without making a long circuit. Being desirous, therefore, of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as to make a shorter way, she ordered the *precipices to be digged down*, and the *hollow places to be filled up*; and at a great expense she made a shorter and more expeditious road, which to this day is called the road of Semiramis. Afterwards she made a progress through Persia, and all her other dominions in Asia; and, wherever she came, she commanded the *mountains and craggy precipices to be cut down*, and at a vast expense made the *ways level and plain*. On the other hand, in *low places* she raised *mounds*, on which she erected monuments in honour of her deceased generals, and sometimes whole cities.”

The writer of the apocryphal book of Baruch (v. 7.) expresses the same subject by the same images, either taking them from Isa. xl. 3. (or perhaps from lxii. 10—12.) or from the common notions of his countrymen: “For God,” says he, “hath appointed that every high *hill*, and banks of long continuance, should be *cast down*, and *vallies filled up*, to make even the *ground* that Israel may go safely in the glory of God.” The Jewish church was that desert country to which John the Baptist was sent (Matt. iii. 1—4.), to announce the coming of the Messiah. It was at that time destitute of all religious cultivation, and of the spirit and practice of piety: and John was sent to *prepare the way of the Lord* by preaching the doctrine of repentance. The desert is therefore to be considered as a proper emblem of the rude state of the Jewish church, which was the true wilderness meant by the prophet, and in which John was to prepare the way of the promised Messiah†.

* Bibliotheca Historica, lib. ii. c. 13, 14. (vol. ii. pp. 44—46. edit. Bipont.

† Bishop Lowth on Isa. xl. 3. vol. ii. pp. 252—254. A practice, similar to that above described, is recorded by the chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the

With regard to the revenues of the kings of Israel as none were appointed by Moses, so he left no ordinances concerning them; we may, however, collect from the sacred writings, that they were derived from the following sources:

1. Voluntary offerings, or presents, which were made to them conformably to the oriental custom, (1 Sam. x. 27. xvi. 20.) Michaelis is of opinion that they were confined to Saul only, as no trace of them is to be found after his time.

2. The produce of the royal flocks (1 Sam. xxi. 7. 2 Sam. xiii. 23. 2 Chron. xxxii. 28, 29.): and as both king and subjects had a common of pasture in the Arabian deserts, Michaelis thinks that David kept numerous herds there, (1 Chron. xxvii. 29—31.) which were partly under the care of Arabian herdsmen.

3. The produce of the royal demesnes, consisting of arable lands, vineyards, olive and sycamore grounds, &c. which had originally been uninclosed and uncultivated, or were the property of state criminals confiscated to the sovereign: these demesnes were cultivated by bondsmen and perhaps also by the people of conquered countries; (1 Kings xxi. 15. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.) and it appears from 1 Sam. viii. 14. xxii. 7. and Ezek. xlvi. 17. that the kings assigned part of their domains to their servants in lieu of salary.

4. Another source of the royal revenue was the tenth part of all the produce of the fields and vineyards, the collection and management of which seem to have been confided to the officers mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 6—9. and 1 Chron. xxvii. 25. It is also probable from 1 Kings x. 14. that the Israelites likewise paid a tax in money. These imposts Solomon appears to have increased; and Rehoboam's refusal to lessen them is stated by the sacred historian as the cause of the rebellion of the ten tribes against him, (1 Kings xii. 4, 18.) There is an allusion in Mal. i. 8. and Neh. v. 18. to the custom of paying dues in kind to governors, which obtains to this day in Abyssinia*.

5. Not only did the most precious part of the plunder of the conquered nations flow into the royal treasury (2 Sam. viii.);

Mogul court in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; who says (p. 128.) that, making a progress with the ambassador and the emperor, they came to a wilderness, "where, (by a very great company sent before us to make those passages and places fit for us) a way was cut out and made even, broad enough for our convenient passage. And in the place, where we pitched our tents, a great compass of ground was rid and made plain for them, by grubbing a number of trees and bushes: yet there we went as readily to our tents, as we did when they were set up in the plains." *Fragments supplemental to Calmet's Dictionary, No. 171.*

* Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 353.

but the latter also had tributes imposed on them, which were termed MINCHA, or presents, and were paid partly in money, and partly in agricultural produce, (1 Kings iv. 21. Psal. lxxii. 10. compared with 1 Chron. xxvii. 25—31.)

6. Lastly, the customs paid to Solomon by the foreign merchants who passed through his dominions (1 Kings x. 15), afforded a considerable revenue to that monarch; who, as the Mosaic laws did not encourage foreign commerce, carried on a very extensive and lucrative trade (1 Kings x. 22.) particularly in Egyptian horses and the byssus or fine linen of Egypt*, (1 Kings x. 28, 29.)

V. The kingdom which had been founded by Saul, and carried to its highest pitch of grandeur and power by David and Solomon, subsisted entire for the space of 120 years; until Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, refused to mitigate the burthens of his subjects, when a division of the twelve tribes took place: ten of which adhering to Jeroboam formed the kingdom of Israel, while the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, continuing faithful in their allegiance to Rehoboam, constituted the kingdom of Judah.

The kingdom of Israel subsisted under various sovereigns during a period of 264 or 271 years, according to some chronologers; its metropolis Samaria being captured by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, B. C. 717 or 719, after a siege of three years; of the Israelites, whose numbers had been reduced by immense and repeated slaughters, some of the lower sort were suffered to remain in their native country; but the nobles and all the more opulent persons were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates†.

* Jahn, *Archæologia Biblica*, pp. 330—332. Michaelis's *Commentaries*. vol. i. pp. 299—307.

† It was the belief of some of the antient fathers of the Christian church, that the descendants of the ten tribes did afterwards return into their own country: and the same notion has obtained among some modern Jews, but neither of these opinions is supported by history. In the New Testament, indeed, we find mention of the twelve tribes, (Matt. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 30. Acts xxvi. 7.); and St. James (i. 1.) directs his epistle to them; but it cannot be concluded from these passages, that they were at that time gathered together; all that can be inferred from them, is, that they were still in being. Perhaps the whole body of the Jewish nation retained the name of the *twelve tribes* according to the antient division; as we find the disciples called the *twelve* after the death of Judas and before the election of Matthias. This conjecture becomes the more probable, as it is certain from the testimony of the sacred writers and of Josephus that there were considerable numbers of Israelites mingled with the Jews, sufficient indeed to authorise the former to speak of the twelve tribes as constituting but one body with the Jewish nation. Beausobre's *Introd. to the New Test.* (Bishop Watson's *Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 114—116.)

The kingdom of Judah continued 388, or, according to some chronologers, 404 years; Jerusalem its capital being taken, the temple burnt, and its sovereign Zedekiah being carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; the rest of his subjects (with the exception of the poorer classes who were left in Judea) were likewise carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates, where they and their posterity remained seventy years agreeably to the divine predictions.

SECTION II.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE JEWS AFTER THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY, UNDER THE ASMONEAN PRINCES, AND THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

I. *Brief account of the Asmonean princes* — II. *Herod the Great* — *St. Matthew's narrative of his murder of the infants at Bethlehem confirmed* — III. *Archelaus* — IV. *Herod Antipas* — V. *Philip* — VI. *Herod Agrippa* — VII. *Agrippa junior*.

I. ON the subversion of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus the founder of the Persian monarchy, (B. c. 543), he authorized the Jews by an edict to return into their own country, with full permission to enjoy their laws and religion, and caused the city and temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt. In the following year, part of the Jews returned under Zerubbabel, and renewed their sacrifices: the theocratic government, which had been in abeyance during the captivity, was resumed: but the re-erection of the city and temple being interrupted for several years by the treachery and hostility of the Samaritans or Cutheans, the avowed enemies of the Jews, the completion and dedication of the temple did not take place until the year 511 B. c. six years after the accession of Cyrus. The re-building of Jerusalem was accomplished, and the reformation of their ecclesiastical and civil polity was effected by the two divinely inspired and pious governors Ezra and Nehemiah. After their death the Jews were governed by their high priests, in subjection however to the Persian kings, to whom they paid tribute, (Ezra iv. 13. vii. 24.) but with the full enjoyment of their other magistrates, as well as their liberties, civil and religious. Nearly three centuries of uninterrupted prosperity ensued, until the reign

of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, when they were most cruelly oppressed, and compelled to take up arms in their own defence.

Under the able conduct of Judas surnamed Maccabeus *, and his valiant brothers, the Jews maintained a religious war for twenty-six years with five successive kings of Syria: and, after destroying upwards of 200,000 of their best troops, the Maccabees finally established the independence of their own country and the aggrandizement of their family. This illustrious house, whose princes united the regal and pontifical dignity in their own persons, administered the affairs of the Jews during a period of one hundred and twenty-six years; until, disputes arising between Hyrcanus II. and his brother Aristobulus, the latter was defeated by the Romans under Pompey, who captured Jerusalem, and reduced Judea to a tributary province of the republic (B. c. 59.)

II. Julius Cæsar, having defeated Pompey, continued Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, but bestowed the government of Judea upon Antipater, an Idumean by birth, who was a Jewish proselyte, and the father of Herod surnamed the Great, who was subsequently king of the Jews. Antipater divided Judea between his two sons Phasael and Herod, giving to the former the government of Jerusalem, and to the latter the province of Galilee; which being at that time greatly infested with robbers, Herod signalised his courage by dispersing them, and shortly after attacked Antigonus the competitor of Hyrcanus in the priesthood, who was supported by the Tyrians. In the mean time, the Parthians having invaded Judea, and carried into captivity Hyrcanus the high priest and Phasael the brother of Herod; the latter fled to Rome, where Mark Antony, with the consent of the senate, conferred on him the title of king of Judea. By the aid of the Roman arms Herod kept possession of his dignity; and after three years of sanguinary and intestine war with the partisans of Antigonus, he was confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus.

This prince is characterised by Josephus as a person of singular courage and resolution, liberal and even extravagant in his expenditure, magnificent in his buildings, especially in

* He is generally supposed to have derived this name from a cabalistical word, formed of M. C. B. I. the initial letters of the Hebrew text, *Mi Chamoka Baelim Jehovah*, i. e. *who among the Gods is like unto thee, O Jehovah* (Exod. xv. 11.), which letters might have been displayed on his sacred standard, as the letters S. P. Q. R. *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*, were on the Roman ensigns. Dr. Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. p. 599.

the temple of Jerusalem, and apparently disposed to promote the happiness of every one. But under this specious exterior he concealed the most consummate duplicity: studious only how to attain and to secure his own dignity, he regarded no means, however unjustifiable, which might promote that object of his ambition; and in order to supply his lavish expenditure, he imposed oppressive burthens on his subjects. Inexorably cruel, and a slave to the most furious passions, he imbrued his hands in the blood of his wife, his children, and the greater part of his family*: such indeed was the restlessness and jealousy of his temper, that he spared neither his people, nor the richest and most powerful of his subjects, not even his very friends. It is not at all surprising that such a conduct should procure Herod the hatred of his subjects, especially of the Pharisees, who engaged in various plots against him: and so suspicious did these conspiracies render him, that he put the innocent to the torture lest the guilty should escape. These circumstances sufficiently account for Herod and all Jerusalem with him being troubled at the arrival of the Magi, to inquire where the Messiah was born, (Matt. ii. 1—3.): the former dreaded the consequences of new tumults, and Herod, who was a foreigner and usurper, was apprehensive lest he should lose his

* "When Herod," says the accurate Lardner," had gained possession of Jerusalem by the assistance of the Romans, and his rival Antigonus was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the Roman general Sosius, and by him carried to Mark Antony, Herod by a large sum of money persuaded Antony to put him to death. Herod's great fear was, that Antigonus might sometime revive his pretensions, as being of the Asmonean family. Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, was murdered by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at Jerusalem had shewn some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of Antigonus, he put to death Hyrcanus, grandfather of Mariamne, then eighty years of age, and who had saved Herod's life when he was prosecuted by the sanhedrim; a man who in his youth, and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune, had shewn a mild and peaceable disposition. His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous Mariamne, had a public execution, and her mother Alexandra followed soon after. Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, were strangled in prison by his order upon groundless suspicions, as it seems, when they were at man's estate, were married and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest son Antipater. If Josephus's character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted; in his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout Judea, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at Jericho. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to Jericho, he had them all shut up in the circus, and calling for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, he told them, My life is now but short; I know the dispositions of the Jewish people, and nothing will please them more than my death. 'You have these men in your custody; as soon as the breath is out of my body, and before my death can be known, do you let in the soldiers upon them and kill them. All Judea and every family will then, though unwillingly, mourn at my death.' Nay Josephus says, 'That with tears in his eyes he conjured

crown by the birth of a rightful heir. Hence we are furnished with a satisfactory solution of the motive that led him to command all the male children to be put to death, who were under two years of age, in Bethlehem and its vicinity, (Matt. ii. 16.)

There is an idle tradition that the number of children thus massacred amounted to 15,000; and of this tradition Voltaire has availed himself in his philosophical dictionary, to ridicule and impugn the evangelical history: and from the omission of Josephus to notice this transaction, others have inferred that it never could have taken place. The following considerations will obviate these supposed difficulties. 1. Saint Matthew's gospel was published about the year of our Lord 38, at which time there doubtless were persons living, who could, and (from the hostility then manifested against the christian faith) who would, have contradicted his assertion if it had been false or erroneous: their silence is a tacit proof that the evangelist has stated the fact correctly. But, 2. St. Matthew's narrative is confirmed by Macrobius, a heathen author who lived about the end of the fourth century, and who mentions this massacre in the following terms: "Augustus," says he, "having been informed that Herod had ordered a son of his own to be killed, *among the male infants, about two years old*, whom he had put to death in Syria, said, "it is better to be Herod's HOG than his SON*." 3. With regard to the silence of

' them by their love to him and their fidelity to God, not to fail of doing him this honour; and they promised they would not fail;' these orders indeed were not executed. But, as a modern historian of very good sense observes, 'the history of this his most wicked design takes off all objection against the truth of murdering the innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act. For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this man was not capable of doing.' It may also be proper to observe, that almost all the executions I have instanced in were sacrifices to his state jealousy, and love of empire." Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 23, 25, 26, 28. lib. xvi. c. 7, 8, 11, 12. lib. xvii. c. 6. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. c. ii. § 1. (Works, vol. i. p. 330, 331.)

* Macrobius, Saturn. lib. ii. c. 4. The emperor, according to this writer, seems to have played upon the Greek words *uν* a hog, and *uiov* a son; the point of the saying perhaps consists in this, that Herod, professing Judaism, was by his religion prohibited from killing swine, or having any thing to do with the flesh; and therefore that his hog would have been safe where his son lost his life. Macrobius, with singular propriety, states this massacre to have been perpetrated in Syria, because Judea was at that time part of the province of Syria. Gilpin and Dr. Clarke on Matt. ii. 16. The massacre of the infants is likewise noticed in a rabbinical work called Toldoth Jeshu, in the following passage; "and the king gave orders for putting to death every infant to be found in Bethlehem; and the king's messengers killed every infant according to the royal order." Dr. G. Sharpe's First Defence of Christianity, &c. p. 40.

Josephus, we may further remark, that no historian, not even an *annalist*, can be expected to record every event that occurs within the period of which he writes. 4. Contemporary historians do not relate the same facts: Suetonius tells us many things which Tacitus has omitted; and Dion Cassius supplies the deficiencies of both. 5. The cruelty of the deed agrees with the known character of Herod*. 6. It is unreasonable to make the silence of the Jewish historian an objection to the credibility of the sacred writer, while there is equal and even superior reason to confide in the fidelity of the latter. 7. Herod would naturally be disposed to take such precautions as he might think necessary without being scrupulous concerning the means. 8. The slaughter could not have been so great as our adversaries have represented. Voltaire and others treat the fact, as stated by the poet Marius, who exaggerates the number of slain to 15,000. Now these being only males *two years old and under*, it is obvious, by the fairest calculation, that, according to this statement, more children must be born annually in the village of Bethlehem, than there are either in Paris or London. 9. It is not improbable that Herod caused the infants at Bethlehem to be put to death by assassins, whom he kept in his pay. 10. Lastly, As the male infants that were to be slain could easily be ascertained from the public tables of birth or genealogies, that circumstance will account for the reputed parents of our Saviour fleeing into Egypt, rather than into any city of Judea†.

Any of these arguments would be sufficient to vindicate the evangelist's narrative, but altogether they form a cloud of witnesses, abundantly sufficient to overbalance the negative evidence attempted to be drawn from the silence of Josephus.

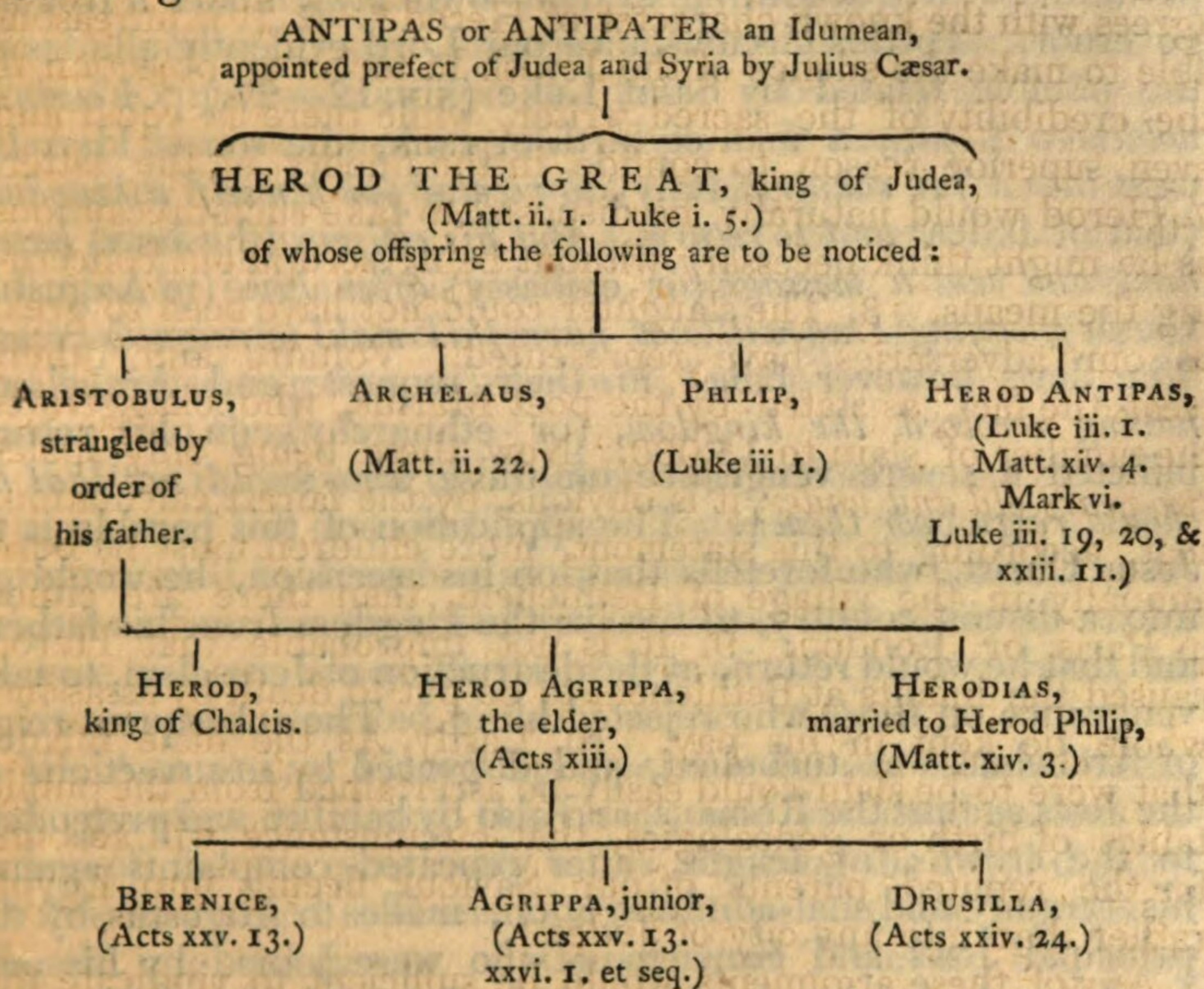
No very long time after the perpetration of this crime, Herod died, having suffered the most excruciating pains, in the thirty-seventh year of his being declared king of the Jews by the Romans. The tidings of his decease were received by his oppressed subjects with universal joy and satisfaction.

Herod had a numerous offspring by his different wives, although their number was greatly reduced by his unnatural cruelty in

* See note * p. 56, *supra*.

† Lardner's *Credibility*, part i. book ii. ch. ii. § 1. (Works, vol. i. p. 329—338. Volborth, *causæ cur Josephus cædem puerorum Bethlemeticorum*, Matt. ii. 16. *narratam silentio præterierit*. 4to. Gottingen, 1788, as analysed in the *Monthly Review* (O.S.) vol. lxxx. p. 617. Schulzii *Archæologia Hebraica*, pp. 52, 53.

putting many of them to death: but, as few of his descendants are mentioned in the sacred volume, we shall notice only those persons of whom it is requisite that some account should be given for the better understanding of the New Testament. The annexed table will perhaps be found useful in distinguishing the particular persons of this family, whose names occur in the Evangelical Histories.



HEROD, misnamed the Great, by his will divided his dominions among his three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

III. To Archelaus he assigned Judea, Samaria, and Idumea with the regal dignity, subject to the approbation of Augustus, who ratified his will as it respected the territorial division, but conferred on Archelaus the title of *ethnarch* or chief of the nation, with a promise of the regal dignity, if he should prove himself worthy of it. Archelaus entered upon his new office amid the loud acclamations of his subjects, who considered him as a king; hence the evangelist says that he *reigned*, (Matt. ii. 22.) His reign, however, commenced inauspiciously; for, after the death of Herod and before Archelaus could go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of his father's will, the Jews having become very tumultuous at the temple in consequence of his refusing them some demands, Archelaus ordered his

soldiers to attack them; on which occasion upwards of three thousand were slain *. On Archelaus going to Rome to solicit the regal dignity, (agreeably to the practice of the tributary kings of that age, who received their crowns from the Roman emperor), the Jews sent an embassy, consisting of fifty of their principal men, with a petition to Augustus that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws, under a Roman governor. To this circumstance our Lord evidently alludes in the parable related by Saint Luke (xix. 12—27.) *A certain nobleman* (εὐγενής, a man of birth or rank, the son of Herod), *went into a far country* (Italy), *to receive for himself a kingdom* (that of Judea) *and to return. But his citizens* (the Jews) *hated him, and sent a message* (or embassy) *after him* (to Augustus Cæsar), *saying 'we will not have this man to reign over us.'* The Jews however failed in their request; and Archelaus, *having received the kingdom*, (or ethnarchy), on his return inflicted a severe vengeance on those *who would not that he should reign over them* †. The application of this parable is to Jesus Christ, who foretells that, on his ascension, he would go into a distant country, to receive the kingdom from his father; and that he would return, at the destruction of Jerusalem, to take vengeance on those who rejected him ‡. The subsequent reign of Archelaus was turbulent, and disgraced by insurrections of the Jews against the Romans, and also by banditti and pretenders to the crown: at length, after repeated complaints against his tyranny and mal-administration, made to Augustus by the principal Jews and Samaritans who were joined by his own brothers, Archelaus was deposed and banished to Vienne in Gaul, in the tenth year of his reign; and his territories were annexed to the Roman province of Syria §.

IV. HEROD ANTIPAS (or Antipater), another of Herod's sons, received from his father the district of Galilee and Peræa with the title of tetrarch ||. He is described by Josephus as a crafty

* This circumstance probably deterred the Holy Family from settling in Judea on their return from Egypt; and induced them by the divine admonition to return to their former residence at Nazareth in Galilee, (Matt. ii. 22, 23.) Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 717.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. ix. § 3. c. xi.

‡ There is an impressive application of this parable in Mr. Jones's Lectures on the figurative language of Scripture, lect. v. near the beginning, (Works, vol. iii. p. 35. 36.)

§ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. xiii. § 2.

|| Concerning the meaning of this term learned men are by no means agreed. In its primary and original signification it implies a governor of the fourth part of a country; and this seems to have been the first meaning affixed to it. But afterwards it was given to the governors of a province whether their government was the fourth part of a country or not: for Herod divided his kingdom only into three parts. The tetrarchs

and incestuous prince, with which character the narratives of the evangelists coincide; for, having deserted his wife, the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, he forcibly took away and married Herodias the wife of his brother Herod Philip, a proud and cruel woman, to gratify whom he caused John the Baptist to be beheaded, (Matt. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. Luke iii. 19.) who had provoked her vengeance by his faithful reproof of their incestuous nuptials; though Josephus ascribes the Baptist's death to Herod's apprehension, lest the latter should by his influence raise an insurrection among the people. It was this Herod that laid snares for our Saviour; who, detecting his insidious intentions, termed him *a fox*, (Luke xiii. 32.) and was subsequently ridiculed by him and his soldiers, (Luke xxiii. 7—11.) Some years afterwards, Herod aspiring to the regal dignity in Judea was banished together with his wife, first to Lyons in Gaul, and thence into Spain*.

V. PHILIP, tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanea, is mentioned but once in the New Testament, (Luke iii. 1.) He is represented by Josephus as an amiable prince, beloved by his subjects whom he governed with mildness and equity†: on his decease without issue, after a reign of thirty-seven years, his territories were annexed to the province of Syria‡.

VI. AGRIPPA, or Herod Agrippa, was the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, and sustained various reverses of fortune previously to his attaining the royal dignity. At first he resided at Rome as a private person, and ingratiated himself into the favour of the emperor Tiberius; but being accused of wishing him dead that Caligula might reign, he was thrown into prison by order of Tiberius. On the accession of Caligula to the empire, Agrippa was created king of Batanea and Trachonitis, to which Abilene, Judea, and Samaria were subsequently added by the emperor Claudius. Returning home to his dominions, he governed them much to the satisfaction of his subjects (for whose gratification he put to death the apostle James, and meditated that of St. Peter who was miraculously delivered, Acts xii. 2—17) but, being inflated with pride on account of his increasing power and grandeur, he was struck

however were regarded as princes, and sometimes were complimented with the title of *king*, (Matt. xiv. 9.) Beausobre's Introd. to the New Test. (Bp. Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 123.) The Romans conferred this title on those princes whom they did not chuse to elevate to the regal dignity: the tetrarch was lower in point of rank than a Roman governor of a province. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. p. 18, 19.

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 7.

† Ibid. lib. xvii. c. viii. § 1. lib. xviii. c. v. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. xxxiii. § 8. lib. ii. c. vi. § 3.

‡ Ibid. lib. xviii. c. 4. § 6.

with a noisome and painful disease of which he died at Cæsarea in the manner related by St. Luke*, (Acts xii. 21—23.)

VII. AGRIPPA junior, was the son of the preceding Herod Agrippa: being only seventeen years of age at the time of his father's death, he was judged to be unequal to the task of governing the whole of his dominions. These were again placed under the direction of a Roman procurator or governor, and Agrippa was first king of Chalcis, and afterwards of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abilene, to which other territories were subsequently added. It was before this Agrippa and his two sisters Berenice and Drusilla the wife of the Roman governor Felix, that St. Paul delivered his masterly defence† (Acts xxvi.)

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. vi. et vii. The evangelist says that "he was eaten of worms;" Josephus relates (Antiq. lib. xix. c. viii. § 2.) "that he died worn out by the excruciating pain in his bowels." These narratives are perfectly consistent. St. Luke relates the *cause*, Josephus the *effect* of his decease: on the nature of which see Dr. Mead's *Medica Sacra*, c. 5.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xix. c. ix. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xii. xiii.

SECTION III.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE JEWS UNDER THE ROMAN PROCURATORS.

I. *Powers and functions of the Roman procurators*; — *collection of the tribute-money*; — *account of the publicans or tax-gatherers* — II. *Political and civil state of the Jews* — III. *Account of Pontius Pilate* — IV. *And of the procurators Felix and Festus.*

I. THE Jewish kingdom, which the Romans had created in favour of Herod the Great, was of short duration; expiring on his death, by his division of his territories, and by the dominions of Archelaus, which comprised Samaria, Judea, and Idumea, being reduced to a Roman province, annexed to Syria, and governed by the Roman procurators. These officers not only had the charge of collecting the imperial revenues, but also had the power of life and death in capital causes: and on account of their high dignity they are sometimes called *governors* (ἡγεμόνες). They usually had a council, consisting of their friends and other chief Romans in the province; with whom they con-

ferred on important questions*. During the continuance of the Roman republic, it was very unusual for the governors of provinces to take their wives with them: but under the emperors the contrary custom obtained, and several instances of it are to be found in Tacitus†. This circumstance will account for Pilate's wife being at Jerusalem, (Matt. xxvii. 19.)

The procurators of Judea resided principally at Cæsarea‡, which was reputed to be the metropolis of that country, and occupied the splendid palace which Herod the Great had erected there. On the great festivals, or when any tumults were apprehended, they repaired to Jerusalem, that, by their presence and influence, they might restore order. For this purpose they were accompanied by *cohorts* (Σπεῖραι, Acts x. 1.) or bands of soldiers, not legionary cohorts, but distinct companies of military: each of them was about one thousand strong§. Six of these cohorts were constantly garrisoned in Judea; five at Cæsarea, and one at Jerusalem, part of which was quartered in the tower of Antonia, so as to command the temple, and part in the prætorium or governor's palace.

These procurators were Romans, sometimes of the equestrian order, and sometimes freedmen of the emperor: Felix (Acts xxiii. 24—26. xxiv. 3, 22—27.) was a freedman of the emperor Claudius||, with whom he was in high favour. These governors were sent, not by the senate, but by the Cæsars themselves, into those provinces which were situated on the confines of the empire, and were placed at the emperor's own disposal. Their duties consisted in collecting and remitting tribute, in the administration of justice, and the repression of tumults: some of them held independent jurisdictions, while others were subordinate to the proconsul or governor of the nearest province. Thus Judea was annexed to the province of Syria.

The provincial tributes were usually farmed by Roman knights**, who had under them inferior collectors: Josephus has made mention of several Jews who were Roman knights††,

* Acts xxv. 12. Josephus (Ant. lib. xx. c. iv. § 4. and De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvi. § 1.) mentions instances in which the Roman procurators thus took council with their assessors.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 40, 41. lib. ii. c. 54, 55. lib. iii. c. 33. Dr. Lardner cites the particular instances at length. Credibility, part i. book i. ch. vii. § 3. (Works, vol. i. p. 145.)

‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iii. § 1. lib. xx. c. v. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. ix. § 2. Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. c. lxxix.

§ Biscoe on the Acts, ch. ix. § 1. pp. 330—335.

|| Suetonius in Claudio, c. xxviii.

** Cicero in Verrem, lib. iii. c. 72. Orat. pro Plancio, c. 9. De Petitione Consulatus, c. 1. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 6.

†† De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. § 9.

whence Dr. Lardner thinks it probable that they had merited the equestrian rank by their good services in some part of the revenue. Zaccheus (Luke xix. 2, 9.) is styled a *chief publican* or tax-gatherer (Αρχιτελωνης); and St. Matthew (Matt. ix. 9. Luke v. 29. Mark ii. 14.), a publican or tax-gatherer (Τελωνης). These officers, at least the inferior ones, were generally rapacious, extorting more than the legal tribute; whence they were reckoned infamous among the Greeks; and various passages in the gospels shew how odious they were to the Jews, (Mark ii. 15, 16. Luke iii. 13.) insomuch that the Pharisees would hold no communication whatever with them, and imputed it to our Saviour as a crime that he 'sat at meat' with publicans. (Matt. ix. 10, 11. xi. 19. xxi. 31, 32.) The payment of taxes to the Romans was accounted by the Jews an intolerable grievance: hence those who assisted in collecting them were detested as plunderers in the cause of the Romans, as betrayers of the liberties of their country, and as abettors of those who had enslaved it; this circumstance will account for the contempt and hatred so often expressed by the Jews in the evangelical histories against the collectors of the taxes or tribute*.

II. But, galling as the payment of tribute was to the Jews, they enjoyed in other respects a large measure of national liberty. It appears from the whole tenor of the New Testament, (for the particular passages are too numerous to be cited†,) that they practised their own religious rites, worshipped in the temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. Thus, they had their high priests, and council or senate; they inflicted lesser punishments; they could apprehend men and bring them before the council; and, if a guard of soldiers were necessary, could be assisted by them, on requesting them of the governor. Further, they could bind men and keep them in custody; the council could likewise summon witnesses and take examinations; they could excommunicate persons, and they could inflict scourging in their synagogues. (Deut. xxv. 3. Matt. x. 17. Mark xiii. 9.) Beyond this, however, they were not allowed to go; for, when they had any capital offenders, they carried them before the procurator, who usually paid a regard to what they stated, and, if they brought evidence of the fact, pro-

* Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. ix. § 10, 11. (Works, vol. i. pp. 216—221.)

† See Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. ii. where the various passages are adduced and fully considered.

nounced sentence according to their laws. He was the proper judge in all capital causes; for, after the council of the Jews had had under their consideration the case of Jesus Christ, which they pretended was of this kind, they went with it immediately to the governor, who re-examined it and pronounced sentence. That they had not the power of life and death is evident from Pilate's granting to them the privilege of judging, but not of condemning Jesus Christ, and also from their acknowledgment to Pilate—*It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*, (John xviii. 31.); and likewise from the power vested in Pilate of releasing a condemned criminal to them at the passover, (John xviii. 39, 40.) which he could not have done if he had not had the power of life and death, as well as from his own declaration that he had power to crucify and power to release Jesus Christ*, (John xix. 10.)

III. Of the various procurators that governed Judea under the Romans, Pontius Pilate is the best known, and most frequently mentioned in the sacred writings. He is supposed to have been a native of Italy, and was sent to govern Judea about the year A. D. 26 or 27. Pilate is characterised by Josephus as an unjust and cruel governor, sanguinary, obstinate, and impetuous; who disturbed the tranquillity of Judea by persisting in carrying into Jerusalem the effigies of Tiberius Cæsar that were upon the Roman ensigns, and by other acts of oppression, which produced tumults among the Jews†. Dreading the extreme jealousy and suspicion of Tiberius he delivered up the Redeemer to be crucified, contrary to the conviction of his better judgment; and in the vain hope of conciliating the Jews whom he had oppressed. After he had held his office for ten years, having caused a number of innocent Samaritans to be put to death, that injured people sent an embassy to Vitellius, proconsul of Syria; by whom he was ordered to Rome, to give an account of his mal-administration to the emperor. But, Tiberius being dead before he arrived there, his successor

* Dr. Lardner's Credibility, c. ii. § 6. (Works, vol. i. pp. 48—50.) The case of the Jews stoning Stephen (Acts vii. 56, 57.) has been urged by some learned men as a proof that the former had the power of life and death, but the circumstances of that case do not support this assertion. Stephen, it is true, had been examined before the great council, who had heard witnesses against him, but no where do we read that they had collected votes or proceeded to the giving of sentence, or even to pronounce him guilty: all which ought to have been done, if the proceedings had been regular. Before Stephen could finish his defence, a sudden tumult arose; the people who were present rushed with one accord upon him, and, casting him out of the city, stoned him before the affair could be taken before the Roman procurator. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. p. 592.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iii. § 1, 2.

Caligula banished him to Gaul; where he is said to have committed suicide, about the year of Christ 41*.

IV. On the death of king Herod Agrippa, Judea being again reduced to a Roman province, the government of it was confided to Antonius Felix; who had originally been the slave, then the freedman of Nero, and, through the influence of his brother Pallas, also a freedman of that emperor, was raised to the dignity of procurator of Judea. He liberated that country from banditti and impostors, (the *very worthy deeds* alluded to by Tertullus, Acts xxiv. 2.): but he was in other respects a cruel and avaricious governor, incontinent, intemperate, and unjust. So oppressive at length did his administration become, that the Jews accused him before Nero, and it was only through the powerful interposition of Pallas that Felix escaped condign punishment. His wife, Drusilla, (mentioned Acts xxiv. 24.) was the sister of Agrippa junior, and had been married to Azizus king of the Emesenes: Felix, having fallen desperately in love with her, persuaded her to abandon her legitimate husband and live with him†. The knowledge of these circumstances materially illustrates Acts xxiv. 25, and shews with what singular propriety St. Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come. On the resignation of Felix, A. D. 60, the government of Judea was committed to Portius Festus, before whom Paul defended himself against the accusations of the Jews, (Acts xxv.) and appealed from his tribunal to that of Cæsar. Finding his province overrun with robbers and murderers, Festus strenuously exerted himself in suppressing their outrages. He died in Judea about the year 62‡.

The situation of the Jews under the procurators was truly deplorable, particularly the two last mentioned. Distracted by tumults, excited on various occasions, their country was overrun with robbers that plundered all the villages whose inhabitants refused to listen to their persuasions to shake off the Roman yoke. Justice was sold to the highest bidder; and even the sacred office of high priest was exposed to sale. But, of all the procurators, no one abused his power more than Gessius Florus, a cruel and sanguinary governor, and so extremely avaricious that he shared with the robbers in their booty, and

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iv. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. vii. viii.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. liv. Hist. lib. v. c. ix. Sueton. in Claudio, c. xxviii. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. vii. § 2. c. viii. § 5. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xii. § 8.

‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. § 9, 10. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. § 1.

allowed them to follow their nefarious practices with impunity. Hence considerable numbers of the wretched Jews, with their families, abandoned their native country; while those who remained, being driven to desperation, took up arms against the Romans, and thus commenced that war, which terminated in the destruction of Judea, and the *taking away of their name and nation**.

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. xi. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. ix x.

SECTION IV.

OF THE ROMAN JUDICATURE, MANNER OF TRIAL, AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS, AS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Judicial proceedings of the Romans* — II. *Privileges and treatment of Roman citizens, when prisoners* — III. *Appeals to the imperial tribunal* — IV. *The Roman method of fettering and confining criminals* — V. *The Roman tribunals*.

WHEREVER the Romans extended their power they also carried their laws; and though, as we have seen in the preceding section*, they allowed their conquered subjects to enjoy the free performance of their religious worship, as well as the exercise of some inferior courts of judicature, yet in all cases of a capital nature the tribunal of the Roman prefect or president was the last resort. Without his permission no person could be put to death, at least in Judea. And, as we find numerous allusions in the New Testament to the Roman judicature, manner of trial, treatment of prisoners, and infliction of capital punishment, a brief account of these subjects (so intimately connected with the political state of Judea under the Romans) naturally claims a place in the present sketch†.

* See pp. 72, 73, *supra*.

† This and the following section, (with the alteration and omission of a few exceptionable passages,) are extracted from Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament (a work of very rare occurrence), vol. ii. sections xvi. and xxiv., the texts cited being carefully verified and corrected. The subjects of these two sections are also discussed by Dr. Lardner, Credibility, book i. c. x. § 9—11.; and especially by Calmet in his elaborate *Dissertation sur les supplices dont il est parlé dans l'Ecriture*, inserted in his *Commentaire Litterale*, tom. i. part ii. pp. 387—402. See also Merrill's *Notæ philologicæ in passionem Christi*, and Wyssenbach's *Notæ Nomico-philologicæ in passionem*, in vol. iii. of Crenius's *Fasciculus Opusculorum*, pp. 583—691.; and Lydius's *Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi*, 18mo., Dordrecht, 1672.

I. "The judicial proceedings of the Romans were conducted in a manner worthy the majesty, honour, and magnanimity of that people. Instances indeed occur of a most scandalous venality and corruption in Roman judges, and the story of Jugurtha and Verres will stand a lasting monument of the power of gold to pervert justice and shelter the most atrocious villany. But in general in the Roman judicatures, both in the imperial city and in the provinces, justice was administered with impartiality; a fair and honourable trial was permitted; the allegations of the plaintiff and defendant were respectively heard; the merits of the cause weighed and scrutinized with cool unbiassed judgment; and an equitable sentence pronounced. The Roman law, in conformity to the first principle of nature and reason, ordained that no one should be condemned and punished without a previous public trial. This was one of the decrees of the twelve tables: *No one shall be condemned before he is tried**. Under the Roman government, both in Italy and in the provinces, this universally obtained. After the cause is heard, says Cicero, a man may be acquitted: but, his cause unheard, no one can be condemned†. To this excellent custom among the Romans, which the law of nature prescribes, and all the principles of equity, honour, and humanity dictate, there are several allusions in Scripture. We find the holy apostles, who did not, like frantic enthusiasts and visionaries, court persecution, but embraced every legal method which the usages and maxims of those times had established to avoid it, and to extricate themselves from calamities and sufferings, pleading this privilege, reminding the Romans of it when they were going to infringe it, and in a spirited manner upbraiding their persecutors with their violation of it. When Lysias, the Roman tribune, ordered St. Paul to be conducted into the castle, and to be examined by scourging, that he might learn what he had done that enraged the mob thus violently against him, as the soldiers were fastening him with thongs to the pillars to inflict this upon

* *Interfici indemnatum quemcunque hominem, etiam xii Tabularum decreta vetuerant.* Fragment xii. Tab. tit. 27.

† *Causâ cognitâ multi possunt absolvi: incognitâ quidem condemnari nemo potest.* In Verrem, lib. i. c. 25. "Producing the laws which ordain that no person shall suffer death without a legal trial." Dion. Halicarn. lib. iii. p. 153. Hudson. "He did not allow them to inflict death on any citizen uncondemned." Ibid. lib. vi. p. 370. lib. vii. p. 428. edit. Hudson, Oxon. 1704. "They thought proper to call him to justice, as it is contrary to the Roman customs to condemn any one to death without a previous trial." Appian Bell. Civil. lib. iii. p. 906. Tollii, 1670. "Did not you miserably murder Lentulus and his associates, without their being either judged or convicted?" Dion Cassius, lib. 46. p. 463. Reimar.

him, Paul said to the centurion who was appointed to attend and see this executed, Doth the Roman law authorize you to scourge a freeman of Rome uncondemned, to punish him before a legal sentence hath been passed upon him? (Acts xxii. 25.) The centurion hearing this went immediately to the tribune, bidding him be cautious how he acted upon the present occasion, for the prisoner was a Roman citizen! The tribune upon this information went to him, and said, Tell me the truth, Are you a freeman of Rome? He answered in the affirmative. It cost me an immense sum, said the tribune, to purchase this privilege*. But I was the son of a freeman†, said the apostle. Immediately, therefore, those who were ordered to examine him by torture desisted; and the tribune was extremely alarmed that he had bound a Roman citizen. In reference to this also, when Paul and Silas were treated with the last indignity at Philippi by the multitude abetted by the magistrates, were beaten with rods, thrown into the public jail, and their feet fastened in the stocks, the next morning upon the magistrates sending their lictors to the prison with orders to the keeper for the two men, whom they had the day before so shamefully and cruelly treated, to be dismissed, Paul turned to the messengers and said, We are Roman citizens. Your magistrates have ordered us to be publicly scourged without a legal trial. They have thrown us into a dungeon. And would they now have us steal away in a silent and clandestine manner? No! Let them come in person and conduct us out themselves. The lictors returned and reported this answer to the governors, who were greatly alarmed and terrified when they understood they were Roman citizens. Accordingly they went in person to the gaol, addressed them with great civility, and begged them in the most respectful terms that they would quietly leave the town, (Acts xvi. 37.)

* Dion Cassius confirms what the tribune here asserts, that this honour was purchased at a very high price. "The freedom of Rome formerly," says the historian, "could only be purchased for a large sum;" but he observes, "that in the reign of Claudius, when Messalina and her freedmen had the management of every thing, this honour became so cheap that any person might buy it for a little broken glass." Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 955. Reimar.

† "But I was free born." Probably St. Paul's family was honoured with the freedom of Rome for engaging in Cæsar's party, and distinguishing themselves in his cause during the civil wars. This thought struck me on reading the following passage in Appian: "He made the Laodiceans and Tarsensians free, and exempted them from taxes, and those of the Tarsensians who had been sold for slaves he ordered them by an edict to be released from servitude." Appian B. Civil. p. 1077. Tollii, 1670.

“Here we cannot but remark the distinguished humanity and honour which St. Paul experienced from the tribune Lysias. His whole conduct towards the apostle was worthy a Roman. This most generous and worthy officer rescued him from the sanguinary fury of the mob, who had seized the apostle, shut the temple doors, and were in a tumultuous manner dragging him away instantly to shed his blood. Afterwards, also, when above forty Jews associated and mutually bound themselves by the most solemn adjurations, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had assassinated him; when the tribune was informed of this conspiracy, to secure the person of the apostle from the determined fury of the Jews, he immediately gave orders for seventy horsemen and two hundred spearmen to escort the prisoner to Cæsarea where the procurator resided; writing a letter in which he informed the president of the vindictive rage of the Jews against the prisoner, whom he had snatched from their violence, and whom *he afterwards discovered to be a Roman citizen. In consequence of this epistle Felix gave the apostle a kind and candid reception: when he read it, he turned to him and said, When your accusers come hither before me, I will give your cause an impartial hearing †. And accordingly when the high priest Ananias and the Sanhedrim went down to Cæsarea with one Tertullus an orator, whose eloquence they had hired to aggravate the apostle’s crimes before the procurator; Felix, though a man of a mercenary and profligate character ‡, did not depart from the Roman honour in this regard; and would not violate the usual processes of judgment to gratify this body of men, though they were the most illustrious personages of the province he governed, by condemning the apostle unheard, and yielding him, poor and friendless as he was, to their fury, merely upon their impeachment. He allowed the apostle to offer his vindication and exculpate himself from the charges they had alleged against him; and was so far satisfied with his apology as to give orders for him to be treated as a prisoner at large, and for all his friends to have free access to him; disappointing those who thirsted for his blood, and drawing down upon

* Acts xxiii. 27. “I have since learned that he is a Roman citizen.”

† Acts xxiii. 35. Literally, “Hear it through: give the whole of it an attentive examination.” Similar expressions occur in Polybius, lib. i. pp. 39, 170, 187. lib. iv. p. 328. edit. Hanov. 1619. See also Dion Halicarn. lib. x. p. 304.

‡ Felix per omnem fœvitium ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tacitus Hist. lib. v. p. 397. edit. Dublin. Felix cuncta maleficia impune ratus. Annal. xii. 54. He hoped also that money, &c. Acts xxiv. 26.

himself the relentless indignation of the Jews, who, undoubtedly, from such a disappointment, would be instigated to lay all his crimes and oppressions before the emperor.

“The same strict honour in observing the usual forms and processes of the Roman tribunal appears in Festus the successor of Felix. Upon his entrance into his province, when the leading men among the Jews waited upon him to congratulate him upon his accession, and took that opportunity to inveigh with great bitterness and virulence against the apostle, soliciting it as a favour (Acts xxv. 3.) that he would send him to Jerusalem, designing, as it afterwards appeared, had he complied with their request, to have hired ruffians to murder him on the road, Festus told them, that it was his will that Paul should remain in custody at Cæsarea; but that any persons whom they fixed upon might go down along with him, and produce at his tribunal what they had to allege against the prisoner. This was worthy the Roman honour and spirit. How importunate and urgent the priests and principal magistrates of Jerusalem, when Festus was in this capital, were with him to pass sentence of death upon the apostle merely upon their impeachment, and upon the atrocious crimes with which they loaded him, appears from what the procurator himself told king Agrippa and Bernice upon a visit they paid him at Cæsarea, to congratulate him upon his new government. I have here, said he, a man whom my predecessor left in custody when he quitted this province. During a short visit I paid to Jerusalem, upon my arrival I was solicited by the priests and principal magistrates to pass sentence of death upon him. To these urgent entreaties I replied, that it was not customary for the Romans to gratify (xxv. 16.) any man with the death of another; that the laws of Rome enacted that he who is accused should have his accuser face to face; and have license to answer for himself concerning the crimes laid against him*.

II. “It appears from numberless passages in the classics that a Roman citizen could not legally be scourged†. This was deemed to the last degree dishonourable, the most daring indignity and insult upon the Roman name. ‘A Roman citizen, judges!’ ex-

* ‘Senators,’ saith Piso, ‘the law ordains that he who is accused should hear his accusation, and after having offered his defence to wait the sentence of the judges.’ Appian, Bell. Civil. lib. iii. p. 911. Tollii, Amst. 1670. “He said that what he now attempted to do was the last tyranny and despotism, that the same person should be both accuser and judge, and should arbitrarily dictate the degree of punishment.” Dion. Halicarn. lib. vii. p. 428. Hudson.

† *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum: scelus verberari*, In Verrem, lib. v. 170.

claims Cicero in his oration against Verres, 'was publicly beaten with rods in the forum of Messina: during this public dishonour, no groan, no other expression of the unhappy wretch was heard amidst the cruelties he suffered, and the sound of the strokes that were inflicted, but this, I am a Roman citizen! By this declaration, that he was a Roman citizen, he fondly imagined that he should put an end to the ignominy and cruel usage to which he was now subjected*.' The orator afterwards breaks forth into this pathetic prosopopœia: 'O transporting name of liberty! O the distinguished privilege of Roman freedom! O Porcian and Sempronian laws! Are things at last come to this wretched state, that a Roman citizen in a Roman province, in the most public and open manner, should be beaten with rods†!' The historian Appian, after relating how Marcellus, to express his scorn and contempt of Cæsar, seized a person of some distinction, to whom Cæsar had given his freedom, and beat him with rods, bidding him go and show Cæsar the marks of the scourges he had received, observes, that this was an indignity which is never inflicted upon a Roman citizen for any enormity whatever‡. Agreeably to this custom, which also obtained at Athens, in the *Adelphi* of Terence, one of the persons of the drama saith to another, If you continue to be troublesome and impertinent, you shall be instantly seized and dragged within, and there you shall be torn and mangled with scourges within an inch of your life. What! a freeman scourged, replies Sannio§. To this privilege of Roman citizens, whose freedom exempted them from this indignity and dishonour, there are several references in Scripture. St. Paul pleads this immunity. He said to the centurion, as they were fastening him to the pillar with thongs to inflict upon him this punishment, Is it lawful for you to scourge a Roman||? So also at Philippi he told the messengers of the magistrates, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast

* Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messinæ civis Romanus, judices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc, Civis Romanus sum. Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Cicero in Verrem. lib. v. 162.

† O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Sempronie! Huccine tandem omnia recederunt, ut civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani, delegatis in foro virgis caderetur. Ibid. 163.

‡ Appian Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 731. Tollii.

§ Nam si molestus pergis esse, jam intro abripiere, atque ibi

Usque ad necem operiere loris. S. loris liber! *Adelphi*, act ii. scena 1. ver. 28.

|| Acts xxii. 25. The consul Marcellus scourged with rods one of the magistrates of that place who came to Rome, declaring he inflicted this as a public token that he was no Roman citizen. Plutarch Cæsar, p. 1324. edit. Gr. Stephan.

us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privately; no verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out. And the sergeants told these words to the magistrates, and they feared when they heard that they were Romans, and were conscious they had used them with a contumely and dishonour which subjected them to the just displeasure of the Roman senate.

“Neither was it lawful for a Roman citizen to be bound*, to be examined by the question, or to be the subject of any ingenious and cruel arts of tormenting to extort a confession from him. These punishments were deemed servile; torture was not exercised but upon slaves†; freemen were privileged from this inhumanity and ignominy. It is a flagrant enormity, says Cicero, for a Roman citizen to be bound‡: not meaning by this, that it was unlawful for a Roman to be fettered and imprisoned; but it was in the highest degree unjustifiable and illegal for a freeman of Rome to be bound in order to be tortured for the discovery of his crimes. Dion Cassius, particularizing the miseries of Claudius’s government, observes, that Messalina and Narcissus, and the rest of his freemen, seized the occasion that now offered to perpetrate the last enormities. Among other excesses they employed slaves and freedmen to be informers against their masters. They put to the torture several persons of the first distinction, not merely foreigners, but citizens; not only of the common people, but some even of the Roman knights and senators: though Claudius, when he first entered upon his government, had bound himself under a solemn oath that he would never apply the torture to any Roman citizen§. These two passages from Cicero and Dion illustrate what St. Luke relateth concerning Lysias the tribune. This officer, not knowing the dignity of his prisoner, had, in violation of this privilege of Roman citizens, given orders for the apostle to be bound and examined with thongs, (Acts xxii. 24, 25.) When he was afterwards informed by his centurion that St. Paul was a freeman of Rome, the sacred historian observes, that upon receiving this intelligence, the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him, (xxii. 29.)

III. “We find that St. Paul, when he discovered that Festus his judge was disposed to gratify the Jews, appealed

* *Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum.* Cicero in *Verr.* lib. v. 170.

† *Q. Gallium prætorem, servilem in modum torsit.* Sueton. in *vita Augusti*, cap. 27. p. 192. *variorum.*

‡ See the last note but one.

§ *Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 953. Reimar.*

from a provincial court to the imperial tribunal; transferred his cause, by appeal, from the jurisdiction of the Roman procurator to the decision of the emperor. This appears to be another singular privilege a freeman of Rome enjoyed. The sacred historian relateth, that after Festus had stayed about ten days in the metropolis, he went down to Cæsarea, and the next day after his arrival he summoned a court, ascended the bench, and ordered Paul to be brought before him. Here, as he stood at the bar, his prosecutors from Jerusalem with great virulence charged him with many heinous and atrocious crimes, none of which, upon strict examination, they were able to prove against him. For in his apology he publicly declared, in the most solemn terms, that they could not convict him of any one instance of a criminal behaviour, either to the law, the temple, or to the Roman emperor. Festus then, being (Acts xxv. 9.) desirous to ingratiate himself with the Jews, asked him if he was willing his cause should be tried at Jerusalem. To this proposal Paul replied, I am now before Cæsar's tribunal, where my cause ought to be impartially canvassed and decided. You yourself are conscious that I have been guilty of nothing criminal against my countrymen. If I have injured them, if I have perpetrated any capital crime, I submit without reluctance to capital punishment. But if all the charges they have now brought against me are proved to be absolutely false and groundless, no person can condemn me to death merely to gratify them. I appeal to the emperor. Festus, after deliberating with the Roman council, turned and said to him, Have you appealed to the emperor? You shall then go and be judged by the emperor. From the above-mentioned particulars, which are corroborated by several other similar incidents in the Roman history, it appears that a Roman citizen could by appeal remove his cause out of the provinces to Rome. 'It was,' says Mr. Melmoth, 'one of the privileges of a Roman citizen, secured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the suffrage of the people, which seems to have been still so far in force as to make it necessary to send the person here mentioned to Rome*.' We are informed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that the ever-memorable Poplicola enacted this law, that if any Roman governor showed a disposition to condemn any one to death, to scourge him, or despoil him of his property, that any private person

* Mr. Melmoth's note on the 97th letter in the 10th book of Pliny's Epistles, vol. ii. p. 672. 3rd edit.

should have liberty to appeal from his jurisdiction to the judgment of the people, that in the mean time he should receive no personal harm from the magistracy till his cause was finally decided by the people*. This law, which was instituted at the first establishment of the commonwealth, continued in force under the emperors. If a freeman of Rome, in any of the provinces, deemed himself and his cause to be treated by the president with dishonour and injustice, he could by appeal remove it to Rome to the determination of the emperor. Suetonius informs us that Augustus delegated a number of consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of people in the provinces, and that he appointed one person to superintend the affairs of each province†. A passage in Pliny's epistle confirms this right and privilege which Roman free-men enjoyed of appealing from provincial courts to Rome, and, in consequence of such an appeal, being removed, as St. Paul was, to the capital, to take their trial in the supreme court of judicature. In that celebrated epistle to Trajan, who desired to be informed concerning the principles and conduct of the Christians, he thus writeth: 'The method I have observed towards those who have been brought before me as Christians is this—I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time, when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved correction. There were others also brought before me, possessed with the same infatuation, but, being citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither'‡.

IV. "The Roman method of fettering and confining criminals was singular. One end of a chain, that was of a commodious length, was fixed about the right arm of the prisoner, and the other end was fastened to the left of a soldier. Thus a soldier was coupled to the prisoner, and every where attended and guarded him ||. This manner of confinement is frequently mentioned,

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. v. p. 281. edit. Oxon. 1704. See also p. 334. ejusdem edit.

† Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit; ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cujusque provinciæ negotiis reposuisset. Sueton. vit. August. cap. 33. p. 208. edit. var. Lug. Bat. 1662.

‡ Plinii Epistolæ, lib. x. epist. 97. p. 722, 723. ed. var. 1669.

|| Quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam et militem copulat, sic ista quæ tam dissimilia sunt, paritur incedunt. Senecæ Epist. 5. tom. ii. p. 13. Gronovii 1672. So also Manilius.

Vinctorum dominus, sociusque in parte catenæ,
Interdum pænis innoxia corpora servat Lib. V. v. 628, 629.

and there are many beautiful allusions to it in the Roman writers. Thus was St. Paul confined. Fettered * in this manner, he delivered his apology before Festus, king Agrippa, and Bernice. And it was this circumstance that occasioned one of the most pathetic and affecting strokes of true oratory that ever was displayed either in the Grecian or Roman senate. Would to God that not only YOU, but also ALL that hear me this day, were not almost but altogether such as I am, except these bonds! What a prodigious effect must this striking conclusion and the sight of the irons held up † to enforce it, make upon the minds of the audience! During the two years that St. Paul was a prisoner at large, and lived at Rome in his own hired house, he was subjected to this confinement. Paul was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him. The circumstance of publicly wearing this chain, and being thus coupled to a soldier, was very disgraceful and dishonourable, and the ignominy of it would naturally occasion the desertion of former friends and acquaintance. Hence the apostle immortalizes the name of Onesiphorus, and fervently intercedes with God to bless his family, and to remember him in the day of future recompenses for a rare instance of distinguished fidelity and affection to him when all had turned away from him and forsaken him. *The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not ASHAMED of my CHAIN, but immediately upon his arrival in Rome he sought me out very diligently till he found me! The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day,* (2 Tim. i. 16, 17, 18.)

“ Sometimes the prisoner was fastened to two soldiers, one on each side, wearing a chain both on his right and left hand. St. Paul at first was thus confined. When the tribune received him from the hands of the Jews, he commanded him to be bound with two chains, (Acts xxi. 33.) In this manner was Peter fettered and confined by Herod Agrippa. “ The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains,” (Acts xii. 6.)

“ It further appears that if the soldiers, who were thus appointed to guard criminals, and to whom they were chained, suffered the prisoner to escape, they were punished with death. Thus, when Peter was delivered out of prison by a miracle, the next morning we read there was no small confusion among the

* In like manner the brave but unfortunate Eumenes addressed a very pathetic speech to his army, with his fetters on. Plutarch, Eumenes. Justin, lib. xiv. cap. 3.

† Prolatam, sicut erat catenatus, manum ostendit. Justin, lib. xiv. cap. 3. p. 395. Gronovii.

soldiers who were appointed his guards, and to whom he had been chained, what was become of Peter.

“ Whence it appears that this deliverance had been effected, and his shackles had been miraculously unloosed, without their knowledge, when they were sunk in repose. Upon which Herod, after making a fruitless search for him, ordered all those who had been intrusted with the custody of Peter to be executed, (Acts xii. 19.) In like manner also keepers of prisons were punished with death, if the confined made their escape. This is evident from what is related concerning the imprisonment of Paul and Silas at Philippi. These, after their bodies were mangled with scourges, were precipitated into the public dungeon, and their feet were made fast in the stocks. At midnight these good men prayed and sang praises to God in these circumstances; when suddenly a dreadful earthquake shook the whole prison to its foundation, all the doors in an instant flew open, and the shackles of all the prisoners dropped to the ground. This violent concussion awakening the keeper, when he saw the doors of the prison wide open, he drew his sword, and was going to plunge it in his bosom, concluding all the prisoners had escaped. In that crisis Paul called to him with a loud voice, entreating him not to lay violent hands upon himself, assuring him all the prisoners were safe.

V. “ The Roman tribunal, if we may judge of it from what is related concerning Pilate’s, was erected on a raised stage, the floor of which was embellished with a tessellated pavement. This consisted of little square pieces of marble, or of stones of various colours, which were disposed and arranged with great art and elegance, to form a chequered and pleasing appearance*. Pliny informs us that this refinement was first introduced among the Romans by Sylla†. Their great men were so fond of this magnificence, and thought it so essential to the elegance and splendour of life, that they appear to have carried with them these splendid materials to form and compose these elaborate floors, for their tents, for their houses, for their tribunals, wherever they removed‡—from a depraved and most wretchedly vitiated taste, at last deeming them a necessary and

* Opus tessellatum ex parvulis coloris varii lapillis quadratis constabat, quibus solum pavimenti incrustabatur. Varro de re rustica, lib. iii. 1.

† Lithostrota acceptavere sub Sylla. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. p. 60.

‡ In expeditionibus tessella et sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse. Suetonius vita J. Cæsaris. cap. 46. p. 74. edit. variorum Lug. Bat. 1662. Vid. etiam not. Salmasii in loc.

indispensable furniture, not merely a vain and proud display of grandeur and greatness. With this variegated pavement, composed of pieces of marble or stone thus disposed and combined, the evangelist informs us, that the floor of Pilate's tribunal was ornamented, (John xix. 13.) Such an embellishment of a tribunal was only a proud ostentatious display to the world of Italian greatness and magnificence, calculated less for real use than to strike the beholders with an idea of the boundless prodigality and extravagance of the Romans.

“ Having mentioned Pilate the Roman procurator, we cannot close this section without remarking the efforts he repeatedly made, when he sat in judgment upon Jesus, to save him from the determined fury of the Jews. Five successive attempts are enumerated by commentators and critics. He had the fullest conviction of his innocence—that it was merely through malice, and a virulence which nothing could placate, that they demanded his execution. Yet though the governor for a long time resisted all their united clamour and importunity, and, conscious that he had done no thing worthy of death, steadily refused to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon him; yet one argument, which in a menacing manner they addressed to him, at last totally shook his firmness, and induced him to yield to their sanguinary purpose. The Jews, after aggravating his guilt, and employing every expedient in vain to influence the president to inflict capital punishment upon him, at last cried out: If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend; whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar. Then delivered he him, therefore, to them to be crucified. Upon hearing this, all his former firmness instantly vanished; he could stem the torrent of popular fury no longer; to this he yielded, and immediately ordered his execution. This conduct of Pilate arose from his perfect knowledge of the character and temper of his master Tiberius, who was a gloomy old tyrant, day and night incessantly haunted with the fiends of jealousy and suspicion—who would never forgive any innovations in his government, but punished the authors and abettors of them with inexorable death*. Pilate therefore, hearing the Jews reiterating this with menaces, that if he let him go he was not Cæsar's friend—knowing the jealousy and cruelty of Tiberius†, and fearing that the dis-

* See Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius.

† Philo makes the very same remark concerning Pilate, p. 390. edit. Mangey.

appointed rage of the Jews would instigate them to accuse him to the old tyrant, as abetting and suffering a person to escape with impunity, who had assumed the regal title and character in one of his provinces, was alarmed for his own safety; and rather than draw down upon his devoted head the resentment of the sovereign, who would never forgive or forget an injury, real or imaginary, contrary to his own judgment and clear persuasion of the innocence of Jesus, sentenced him to be crucified!"

SECTION V.

OF CRUCIFIXION.

- I. *Prevalence of this mode of punishment among antient nations —*
 II. *Ignominy of crucifixion —* III. *The circumstances of our Saviour's crucifixion considered and illustrated.*

I. "CRUCIFIXION was a punishment, which the antients inflicted only on the most notorious criminals and malefactors. It is one of the most cruel and excruciating deaths which the art of ingeniously tormenting and extinguishing life ever devised. The wretch doomed to this dire end was distended on a cross, had great nails driven through his hands and feet, the most exquisitely tender and sensible parts of the human frame; and he was left slowly to consume and die in this lingering and most miserable manner. There are instances of crucified persons living in this exquisite torture several days. The wise and adorable Author of our being hath formed and constituted the fabric of our bodies in such a merciful manner, that nothing violent is lasting. Friendly death sealed the eyes of those wretches generally in two days. Hunger, thirst, and acute pain dismissed them from their intolerable sufferings. The rites of sepulture were denied them. Their dead bodies were generally left on the crosses on which they were first suspended, and became a prey to every ravenous beast and carnivorous bird *. Crucifixion obtained among several antient nations,

* *Pasces in cruce corvos.* Horat. Epist. lib. i. epist. 16. ver. 48.

Vultur, jumento et canibus, crucibusque relictis

Ad fœtus properat, partemque cadaveris affert. Juvenal. Satyr. 14. ver. 77.

the Egyptians *, Persians, Greeks †, and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians generally adjudged to this death their unfortunate and unsuccessful commanders ‡. There are many unhappy instances of this. They crucified Bomilcar §, whom Justin calls their king, when they detected his intended design of joining Agathocles. They erected a cross in the midst of the forum, on which they suspended him, and from which, with a great and unconquered spirit, amidst all his sufferings, he bitterly inveighed against them, and upbraided them with all the black and atrocious crimes they had lately perpetrated.

“ But this manner of executing criminals prevailed most among the Romans. It was generally a servile punishment, and chiefly inflicted on vile, worthless, and incorrigible slaves ||. In reference to this, the apostle, describing the condescension of Jesus and his submission to this most opprobrious death, represents him as taking upon him the form of a servant, (Phil. ii. 7, 8.) and becoming obedient to death, even the death of the cross.

II. “ It was universally and deservedly reputed the most shameful and ignominious death to which a wretch could be exposed. In such an exit were comprised every idea and circumstance of odium, disgrace, and public scandal.” Hence the apostle magnifies and extols the great love of our Redeemer, “ in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us,” and “ for the joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame;” (Rom. v. 8. Heb. xii. 2.) disregarding every circumstance of public indignity and infamy with which such a death was loaded. “ It was from the idea they connected with such a death, that the Greeks treated the apostles with the last contempt and pity for publicly embarking in the cause of a person who had been brought to this reproachful

* Thucydides, lib. i. sect. 110. p. 71. edit. Duker. Justin, treating of the affairs of Egypt, says: *Concursu multitudinis et Agathocles occiditur, et mulieres in ultionem Eurydices patibulis suffiguntur.* Justin, lib. 30. cap. 2. p. 578. edit. Gronovii.

Herodoti Erato. p. 451. edit. Wesseling, 1763. See also Thalia, p. 260. and Polyhymnia, p. 617. ejusdem editionis.

† Alexander crucified two thousand Tyrians. *Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis; duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium, dependerunt.* Q. Curtii, lib. iv. cap. 4. p. 187. edit. Snakenburgh, 1724. See also Plutarch in vita Alex. and Justin, lib. 18. cap. 3.

‡ *Duces bella pravo consilio gerentes, etiamsi prospera fortuna subsecuta esset, cruci tamen suffigebantur.* Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 191. edit. Torren. Leidæ, 1726.

§ Bomilcar rex Pœnorum in medio foro a pœnis patibulo suffixus est. De summa cruce, veluti de tribunali, in Pœnorum scelera concionaretur. Justin, lib. xxii. cap. 7. p. 505. ed. Gronovii.

|| *Pone crucem servo.* Juvenal, Sat. 6. ver. 218.

and dishonourable death by his own countrymen. The preaching of the cross was to them foolishness, (1 Cor. 1. 23.); the promulgation of a system of religion that had been taught by a person who, by a national act, had publicly suffered the punishment and death of the most useless and abandoned slave, was, in their ideas, the last infatuation; and the preaching Christ crucified, publishing in the world a religion whose founder suffered on a cross, appeared the last absurdity and madness *. The Heathens looked upon the attachment of the primitive Christians to a religion, whose publisher had come to such an end, as an undoubted proof of their utter ruin, that they were destroying their interest, comfort, and happiness, by adopting such a system founded on such a dishonourable circumstance †.

“The same inherent scandal and ignominy had crucifixion in the estimation of the Jews. They indeed annexed more complicated wretchedness to it, for they esteemed the miscreant who was adjudged to such an end not only to be abandoned of men, but forsaken of God. He that is hanged, says the law, is accursed of God, (Deut. xxi. 23.) Hence St. Paul, representing to the Galatians the grace of Jesus, who released us from that curse to which the law of Moses devoted us, by being made a curse for us, by submitting to be treated for our sakes as an execrable malefactor, to show the horror of such a death as Christ voluntarily endured, adds, It is written in the law, Cursed is every one that is hanged on a tree! (Galat. iii. 13.) And from this express declaration of the law of Moses concerning persons thus executed, we may account for that aversion the Jews discovered against Christianity, and perceive the reason of what St. Paul asserts, that their preaching of Christ crucified was to the Jews a stumbling-

* “From this circumstance,” says Justin Martyr, “the Heathens are fully convinced of our madness for giving the second place after the immutable and eternal God, and father of all, to a person who was crucified!” Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 2. p. 60, 61. edit. Paris, 1636. Et qui hominem summo supplicio pro facinore punitum, et crucis ligna feralia ceremonias fabulatur, congruentia perditis sceleratisque tribuit altaria; ut id colant quod merentur. Minucius Felix, p. 57. edit. Davis. Cantab. 1712. Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis. Min. Felix, p. 147. ejusdem editionis.

† That this was the sentiment of the Heathens concerning the Christians, St. Paul informeth us, and he exhorts the Philippians not to be discouraged by it, *Philip.* i. 28. Not intimidated in any thing by your adversaries; for though they look upon your attachment to the gospel as an undoubted proof of your utter ruin, yet to you it is a demonstration of your salvation—a salvation which hath God for its author.

block, (1 Cor. i. 23.) The circumstance of the cross caused them to stumble at the very gate of Christianity *.

III. The several circumstances related by the four evangelists as accompanying the crucifixion of Jesus were conformable to the Roman custom in such executions, and, frequently occurring in antient authors, do not only reflect beauty and lustre upon these passages, but happily corroborate and confirm the narrative of the sacred penmen. We will exhibit before our readers a detail of these as they are specified by the evangelists.

“When Pilate had pronounced the sentence of condemnation on our Lord, and publicly adjudged him to be crucified, he gave orders that he should be scourged. “Then Pilate took Jesus and scourged him. And when he had scourged Jesus,” says another of the evangelists, “he delivered him to be crucified.” Among the Romans, scourging was always inflicted previously to crucifixion. Many examples might be produced of this custom. Let the following suffice. Livy, speaking of the fate of those slaves who had confederated and taken up arms against the state, says, that many of them were slain, many taken prisoners, and others, after they had been whipped or scourged †, were suspended on crosses. Philo, relating the cruelties which Flaccus the Roman prefect exercised upon the Jews of Alexandria, says, that after they were mangled and torn with scourges ‡ in the theatres, they were fastened to crosses. Josephus also informeth us that at the siege of Jerusalem great numbers of the Jews were crucified, after they had been previously whipped, and suffered every wanton cruelty §.

“After they had inflicted this customary flagellation, the evangelist informs us that they obliged our Lord to carry to the

* Trypho the Jew every where affects to treat the Christian religion with contempt, on account of the crucifixion of its author. He ridicules its professors for centering all their hopes in a man who was crucified! Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 33. The person whom you call your Messiah, says he, incurred the last disgrace and ignominy, for he fell under the greatest curse in the law of God; he was crucified! p. 90. Again we must hesitate, says Trypho, with regard to our believing a person, who was so ignominiously crucified, being the Messiah; for it is written in the law, Cursed is every one who is hanged on a cross. Justin Martyr Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 271, edit. Jebb. London, 1719. See also pages 272, 283, 378, 392. See also Eusebii Hist. Eccl. p. 171, 744. Cantab.

† Multi occisi, multi capti, alii verberati crucibus affixi. Livii, lib. xxxiii. 36.

‡ Philo in Flac. p. 529. edit. Mangey. See also pages 527, 528. ejusdem editionis. The Roman custom was to scourge before all executions. The magistrates bringing them out into the forum, after they had scourged them according to custom, they struck off their heads. Polybii Hist. lib. i. p. 10. tom. 1. edit. Gronovii. 1670.

§ Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 353. Havercamp. Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. cap. 14. § 9. p. 182. Haverc.

place of execution the cross, or at least the tranverse beam of it, on which he was to be suspended. Lacerated, therefore, with the stripes and bruises he had received, faint with the loss of blood, his spirits exhausted by the cruel insults and blows that were given him when they invested him with robes of mock royalty, and oppressed with the incumbent weight of his cross; in these circumstances our Saviour was urged along the road. We doubt not but in this passage to Calvary every indignity was offered him. This was usual*. Our Lord, fatigued and spent with the treatment he had received, could not support his cross. The soldiers therefore who attended him compelled one Simon, a Cyrenean, who was coming from the country to Jerusalem, and happened then to be passing by them, to carry it for him. This circumstance here mentioned of our Lord bearing his cross was agreeable to the Roman custom. Slaves and malefactors who were condemned to this death, were compelled to carry the whole or part of the fatal gibbet on which they were destined to die. This constituted a principal part of the shame and ignominy of such a death. Cross-bearer was a term of the last reproach among the Romans. The miserable wretch, covered with blood from the scourges that had been inflicted upon him, and groaning under the weight of his cross, was, all along the road to the place of execution, loaded with every wanton cruelty†. He was pushed, thrown down, stimulated with goads, and impelled forwards by every act of insolence and inhumanity that wretchedness is heir to§. There is great reason to think that our blessed Redeemer in his way to Calvary experienced every abuse of this nature, especially when he proceeded slowly along, through languor, lassitude, and faintness, and the soldiers and rabble found his strength incapable of sustaining and dragging his cross any farther. On this occasion I imagine our Lord suffered very cruel treatment from those who attended him. Might not the scourging that was inflicted, the blows he had received from the soldiers

* Vid. Justi Lipsii de cruce, lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 1180. Vesaliæ.

† Plutarch de tardâ Dei vindictâ, p. 982. edit. Gr. 8vo. Steph. Dionysii Halicar. lib. vii. tom. i. p. 456. Oxon. 1704.

‡ O carnificium cribrum, quod credo fore:

Ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias

Stimulis, si huc reveniat senex. Plautus Mostel.

Act. i. sc. 1. ver. 53. edit. var. 1684.

§ Nec dubium est quin impulerint, dejecerint, erexerint, per sævitiam aut per lusum. Lipsius de cruce, tom. vi. p. 1180. Vesaliæ.

when in derision they paid him homage, and the abuse he suffered in his way to Calvary, greatly contribute to accelerate his death, and occasion that speedy exit at which one of the evangelists tells us Pilate marvelled?

“When the malefactor had carried his cross to the place of execution, an hole was dug in the earth, in which it was to be fixed; the criminal was stripped, a stupefying potion was given him, the cross was laid on the ground, the wretch distended upon it, and four soldiers, two on each side, at the same time were employed in driving four large nails through his hands and feet. After they had deeply fixed and rivetted these nails in wood, they elevated the cross with the agonizing wretch upon it; and, in order to infix it the more firmly and securely in the earth, they let it violently fall into the cavity they had dug to receive it. This vehement precipitation of the cross must give the person that was nailed to it a most dreadful convulsive shock, and agitate his whole frame in a dire and most excruciating manner. These several particulars the Romans observed in the crucifixion of our Lord. Upon his arrival at Calvary he was stripped; a stupefying draught was offered him, which he refused to drink. This, St. Mark saith, was a composition of myrrh and wine. The design of this potion was, by its inebriating and intoxicating quality, to blunt the edge of pain, and stun the quickness of sensibility*. Our Lord rejected this medicated cup, offered him perhaps by the kindness of some of his friends, it being his fixed resolution to meet death in all its horrors; not to alleviate and suspend its pains by any such preparation, but to submit to the death, even this death of crucifixion, with all its attendant circumstances.” He had the joy that was set before him, in procuring the salvation of men, in full and immediate view. “He wanted not, therefore, on this great occasion, any thing to produce an unnatural stupor, and throw oblivion and stupefaction over his senses†. He cheerfully and voluntarily drank the cup, with all its bitter ingredients, which his heavenly Father had put into his hands. Our Lord was fastened

* Sese multimodis conculcat ictibus, myrrhæ contra præsumptione munitus. Apuleii Metamorph. lib. viii. Again: Obfirmatus myrrhæ presumptione nullis verberibus, ac ne ipsi quidem succubuit igni. Lib. x. Apuleii Met. Usque hodie, saith St. Jerome, Judæi omnes increduli Dominicæ resurrectionis aceto et felle potant Jesum, et dant ei vinum myrrhatum, ut dum consopiant, et mala eorum non videat. Hieronymus ad Matth. xxvii.

† See Dr. Benson's *Life of Christ*, p. 508.

to his cross, as was usual, by four soldiers *, two on each side, according to the respective limbs they severally nailed. While they were employed in piercing his hands and feet, it is probable that he offered to Heaven that most compassionate and affecting prayer for his murderers, in which he pleaded the only circumstance that could possibly extenuate their guilt: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!

“ It was customary for the Romans, on any extraordinary execution, to put over the head of the malefactor an inscription denoting the crime for which he suffered. Several examples of this occur in the Roman history †. In conformity to this usage, a title or inscription, by Pilate’s order, was fixed above the head of Jesus, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, specifying what it was that had brought him to this end.

“ After the cross was erected, a party of soldiers was appointed to keep guard ‡, and to attend at the place of execution till the criminal breathed his last. Thus also we read that a body of Roman soldiers with a centurion were deputed to guard our Lord and the two malefactors that were crucified with him, (Matt. xxvii. 54.)

“ While they were thus attending them, it is said, our Saviour complained of thirst. This is a natural circumstance. The exquisitely sensible and tender extremities of the body being thus perforated, the person languishing and faint with loss of blood, and lingering under such acute and excruciating torture—these causes must necessarily produce a vehement and excessive thirst. One of the guards, hearing this request, hasted and took a sponge, and filled it from a vessel that stood by, that was full of vinegar. The usual drink of the Roman soldiers was vinegar and water §. The knowledge of this custom illustrates this passage of sacred history. We thought

* Monet nos quoque non parum evangelista, qui quatuor numerat milites crucifigentes, scilicet juxta quatuor membra figenda. Quod clarum etiam est ex tunicæ partitione, quæ quatuor militibus facienda erat. Cornelii Curtii de Clavis Dominicis p. 35. edit. Antwerpiae, 1670. The four soldiers who parted his garments, and cast lots for his vesture, were the four who raised him to the cross, each of them fixing a limb, and who, it seems, for this service had a right to the crucified person’s clothes. Dr. Macknight, p. 604, second edition.

† Dion Cassius, lib. liv. p. 732. edit. Reimar, 1750. See also Sueton. in Caligula, c. 32. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. v. p. 206. Cantab. 1720.

‡ Miles cruces asservabat, ne quis corpora ad sepulturam detraheret. Petronius Arbiter, cap. 111. p. 513. edit. Burman. Traject. ad Rhen. 1709. Vid. not. ad loc.

§ The Roman soldiers, says Dr. Huxham, drank posca (viz. water and vinegar) for their common drink, and found it very healthy and useful. Dr. Huxham’s Method for preserving the Health of Seamen, in his Essay on Fevers, p. 263. 3d edition. See also Lamy’s Apparatus Biblicus, vol. ii, 278. See also Macknight in loc.

it not improper to remark this, because the question has been often asked, for what purpose was this vessel of vinegar? After receiving this, Jesus “cried with a loud voice, and uttered, with all the vehemence he could exert, that comprehensive word on which a volume might be written, It is finished!” the important work of human redemption is finished; after which he reclined his head upon his bosom, and dismissed his spirit,” (Matt. xxvii. 50.)

“The last circumstance we shall mention relative to the crucifixion of Jesus was the petition of the Jews to Pilate, that the death of the sufferers might be accelerated. There is an express command in the law, that the bodies of those who were hanged should not be suffered to remain all night upon the tree*. The next day, therefore, after the crucifixion, being, as one of the evangelists says, a high day†, a number of leading men among the Jews waited on Pilate in a body, to desire that he would hasten the death of the malefactors hanging on their crosses. Pilate therefore dispatched his orders to the soldiers on duty, who broke the legs of the two criminals who were crucified along with Christ; but when they came to Jesus, finding he had already breathed his last, they thought this violence and trouble unnecessary; but one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, whose point appears to have penetrated into the pericardium, or membrane surrounding the heart; for St. John, who says he was an eye-witness of this, declares that there issued from the wound a mixture of blood and water. This wound, had he not been dead, must necessarily have been fatal. This circumstance St. John saw, and hath solemnly recorded and attested‡.”

* Deut. xxi. 23.

† John xix. 31.

‡ And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe, John xix. 35.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF THE JEWS.

SECTION I.

OF THE JEWISH CHURCH, AND ITS MEMBERS.

I. *The whole nation accounted holy* — II. *Members of the Jewish Church; Hebrews of the Hebrews* — III. *Proselytes* — IV. *Jews of the Dispersion* — V. *Hellenistic Jews* — VI. *The Libertines* — VII. *Devout Men* — VIII. *Circumcision* — IX. *Proselytes how introduced into the Jewish Church.*

I. JEHOVAH, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, having been pleased to prefer the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, before every other nation, and to select them from every other people for the purposes of revelation, and of preserving the knowledge and worship of the true God; He is thence said to have chosen them, and they are in many passages of Scripture represented as his chosen and elect people*. And because they were by the will of God set apart, and appropriated in a special manner to his honour and obedience, and furnished with extraordinary motives to holiness, God is therefore said to have sanctified them, (Lev. xx. 8. xxi. 8. xxii. 9, 16, 32.) For these reasons they are termed a holy nation, a kingdom of priests, and also saints†; and their covenant relation to God is urged upon them as a motive to holiness of heart and practice, (Lev. xix. 2. xx. 7, 8, 26. xi. 45. Exod. xxii. 31.) But the Jews of later times, becoming proud of these titles and of their ecclesiastical privileges, extended their charity only to those of their own faith; while towards the rest of mankind they cherished a sullen and inveterate hatred, accounting them to be profane persons and sinners‡. This relative or imputed holiness of the Jews as a

* Compare Deut. iv. 37. vii. 6. x. 15. 1 Kings viii. 22 *et seq.* 1 Chron. xvi. 13. Psal. cv. 6. xxxiii. 12. cv. 43. cvi. 5. cxxxv. 4. Isa. xli. 8, 9. xliii. 20. xlv. 1, 2. xlv. 4. and Ezek. xx. 5.

† Compare Exod. xix. 6. Lev. xi. 44, 45. xix. 2. xx. 26. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2, 21. xxvi. 19. xxviii. 9. xxxiii. 3. 2 Chron. vi. 41. Psal. xxxiv. 9. l. 5, 7. lxxix. 2. cxxxii. 9. cxlviii. 14.

‡ Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Such is the character of the Jews, given by the Roman historian, as they were in the time of our Saviour; (Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 5. tom. iii. p. 267. edit. Bipont.) which is abundantly confirmed by the sacred writers. See Matt. ix. 10, 11. xxvi. 45. Luke v. 8. Gal. ii. 15, 17. 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.

covenant people, separated and consecrated to the worship of the true God, was perpetual, (in other words it was to subsist until the institution of the gospel dispensation); although the Jews were often extremely corrupt in their manners, as the numerous denunciations of the prophets sufficiently indicate. Hence some of the rabbinical writers call the most wicked kings of Israel and Judah holy,—holy, or righteous, and Israelite, being with them convertible terms, (compare Wisd. x. 15, 17, 20. xviii. 1, 7, 9, 20.): and in the time of our Lord the Jews held the preposterous notion, that though they should continue in their sins, yet, because they were the offspring of Abraham, God would not impute their sins to them.*

The apostles being Jews by birth, though they wrote in Greek, have retained their national idiom, and have borrowed the Old Testament phraseology, which they have applied to Christians, in order to convey to them accurate ideas of the magnitude of God's love to them in Christ. Thus, the apostles not only call them disciples and brethren, that is, friends united in the same profession of faith by bonds equally close as those of brothers, "having one Lord, one faith, one baptism;" but, because all true Christians are by the will of God set apart and appropriated in an especial manner to his honour, service, and obedience, and are furnished with extraordinary helps and motives to holiness, they are therefore said to be *sanctified*, (1 Cor. i. 2. vi. 11. Heb. ii. 11. x. 29. Jude 1.); and are further styled holy, holy brethren, a holy nation, and saints.†

II. The first members of this church were the immediate descendants of Abraham by Isaac and Jacob, whom God, having delivered from their oppressive bondage in Egypt, chose for himself to be his peculiar people, and their direct issue, without any intermixture of Gentile blood or language. These are termed by St. Paul "Hebrews of the Hebrews," (Phil. iii. 5.) and "Israelites," as opposed to the Hellenistic Jews, or those who, in the dispersion having lost the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, used the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament in their public worship. The privileges of the Hebrews of the Hebrews were very highly esteemed: they are enumerated by St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans in a very animated manner.‡

* See Whitby on Matt. iii. 9.

† See Col. iii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 27. Heb. iii. 9. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Acts ix. 32, 41. xxvi. 10. Rom. i. 7. xii. 13. xv. 25, 26. xvi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. i. 1. xiii. 13. Phil. iv. 22. Eph. i. 1. Phil. i. 1. and Col. i. 2. Bishop Watson's Coll. of Tracts, vol. iii. p. 328, 356. Jahn, Archæol. Hebr. p. 492, 493.

‡ See Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, A. Clarke, or Messrs. Scott, Henry, &c. on Rom. ix. 4.

III. Although the constitution of the Jewish polity and the laws of Moses allowed no other nations to participate in their sacred rites, yet they did not exclude from them such persons as were willing to qualify themselves for conforming to them. Hence they admitted proselytes, who renounced the worship of idols, and joined in the religious services of the Jews; although they were not held in the same estimation as Jews by birth, descent, and language, who, we have just seen, were termed Hebrews of the Hebrews. During the time of Jesus Christ, the Jews, especially the Pharisees, greatly exerted themselves in making proselytes to their religion and sect.*

Calmet, and some other learned men after him, have distinguished two kinds of proselytes, namely, 1. *Proselytes of the gate*, who dwelt either in or out of the land of Israel, and worshipped the true God, observing the seven precepts of Noah†, but without obliging themselves to circumcision or any other legal ceremony; and, 2. *Proselytes of justice or of righteousness*, who were converts to Judaism, and engaged themselves to receive circumcision, as well as to observe the whole of the Mosaic law. There does not however appear to be any foundation in the Scriptures for such a distinction: nor can any with propriety be termed proselytes, except those who *fully* embraced the Jewish religion. The Scriptures mention only two classes of persons, viz. the Israelites or Hebrews of the Hebrews above mentioned, and the Gentile converts to Judaism, which last are called by the names of strangers and sojourners, or proselytes. ‡

* Compare Acts vi. 5. xiii. 43. and Matt. xxiii. 15. with Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. ix. § 1. and lib. xx. c. iii. § 4.

† These precepts are by the Jewish doctors termed the seven precepts of Noah, and (they pretend) were given by God to the sons of Noah: they are as follow, 1. Not to commit idolatry; 2. Not to blaspheme the name of God; 3. To constitute upright judges for the maintenance of justice, and its impartial administration to all persons; 4. Not to commit incest; 5. Not to commit murder; 6. Not to rob or steal; 7. Not to eat a member of any living creature. "Every one," says a living Jewish writer, "that observes these seven commandments, is entitled to happiness." But to observe them merely from a sense of their propriety, is deemed by Maimonides insufficient to constitute a pious Gentile, or to confer a title to happiness in the world to come; it is requisite that they be observed, *because they are divine commands.*" See Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 107. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 148, 149.

‡ These two classes are very frequently mentioned in the books of Moses; thus in Levit. xxv. we have "the children of Israel" (ver. 2.) and "the strangers that sojourn" among them, (ver. 45.) See also Ezek. xiv. 7.—"Every one of the house of Israel, or of the stranger that sojourneth in Israel, that separateth himself from me, and setteth up idols in his heart:"—It is evident that, by the "stranger," in this passage, is meant a proselyte who had been converted to the worship of Jehovah, otherwise he could not have been separated from him. Schulzii, Archæol. Hebr. *ut supra.* Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. iii. pp. 63—80. Dr. Lardner has remarked that the notion of two sorts of proselytes is not to be found in any Christian writer before the fourteenth century; see his arguments at large, Works, vol. vi. pp. 522—533. and vol. xi. pp. 313—324. 8vo edit.

IV. In consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the Jews were dispersed among the various provinces of the great Babylonian empire: and though a large portion of them returned under Zerubbabel, it appears that a considerable part remained behind. From this circumstance, as well as from various other causes, it happened, in the time of our Lord, that great numbers of Jews were to be found in Greece, and all the other parts of the Roman empire, which at that time had no other limits but those of the then known world*. It was of the Jews “dispersed among the Gentiles” that our Lord spoke in John vii. 37.: and to them he is also supposed to have alluded when he said that he had other sheep, (John x. 16.) but without excluding the Gentiles, who also were to enter into his sheepfold, or be admitted into his church. To these dispersed Jews it was, that St. Peter and St. James inscribed their respective epistles; the former, to those who were scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, (1 Pet. i. 1.); and the latter, to the twelve tribes who were dispersed throughout the then known world, (James i. 1.) The Jews who were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, were of the dispersion, (Acts ii. 5—11.)

V. There were also Jews who lived in those countries where Greek was the living language, and perhaps spoke no other. These are distinguished in the New Testament from the Hebrews or *native* Jews, who spoke what was then called Hebrew (a kind of Chaldaico-Syriac), by the appellation of Hellenists, or Grecians as they are termed in our authorized English version. These in all other respects were members of the Jewish church: they are repeatedly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and it was a party of the Hellenistic Jews that requested to see Jesus†.

VI. During the time of our Saviour there was a considerable number of Jews resident at Rome: Josephus estimates them at eight thousand; and Philo, who relates that they occupied a large quarter of the city, says that they were chiefly such as had been taken captive at different times, and had been carried into Italy, where they had subsequently acquired their freedom, and were called *Libertines*. The synagogue of the Libertines, mentioned in Acts vi. 9. belonged to this class of Jews‡.

* Philo de Legatione ad Caium, p. 1031. et in Flaccum, p. 971. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvi. c. 6. lib. xii. c. 3. lib. xiv. c. 10. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco, c. 28.

† John xii. 20. See also Acts vi. 1. ix. 29. and xi. 20. and the Commentators on those passages.

‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 11. (al. 13.) lib. xviii. c. 3. (al. 4.) § 4, 5. Philo de Legat. ad Caium, p. 1014. Tacitus, Annal. lib. ii. c. 85. Suetonius in Tiberio, c. 36. Lardner's Works, vol. i. pp. 113, 114. Wolfius on Acts vi. 1. has detailed the various opinions of learned men respecting the Libertines.

VII. In consequence of this dispersion of the Jews throughout the Roman empire, and the extensive commerce which they carried on with other nations, their religion became known, and the result was the prevalence of a somewhat purer knowledge of the true God among the Gentiles. Hence we find, that there were many who, though they did not adopt the rite of circumcision, yet had acquired a better knowledge of the Most High than the Pagan theology furnished, and who in some respects conformed to the Jewish religion. Of this description appear to be the '*devout men, who feared God,*' who are frequently mentioned in the New Testament*, and particularly the pious centurion Cornelius, of whom the sacred writer has given us so pleasing an account, (Acts x.)

VIII. All these persons, with the exception of the last class, were members of the Jewish church, participated in its worship, and regulated themselves by the law of Moses (or at least professed to do so) and the other inspired Hebrew books, whence their sacred rites and religious instruction were derived†. No person however was allowed to partake of the sacred ordinances, until he had undergone the rite of circumcision. This rite is first mentioned in Gen. xvii. 10—12, where we read that it was a seal of the covenant which God made with Abraham and his posterity. Afterwards, when God delivered his law to the children of Israel, he renewed the ordinance of circumcision, which from that time became a sacrament of the Jewish religion. Hence the protomartyr Stephen calls it the '*covenant of circumcision,*' (Acts vii. 8.); and Jesus Christ also ascribes its institution to Moses, though it was derived from the patriarchs; (John vii. 22.) Besides the design which God proposed to himself in establishing this ceremony, he appointed it for some other ends, suited to the circumstances of the Israelites; a brief consideration of which will illustrate many important passages of Scripture. In the first place it included in it so solemn and indispensable an obligation to observe the whole law, that circumcision did not profit those who transgressed, (Rom. ii. 25.) Hence the Jews are in the Scriptures frequently termed the *circumcision*, that is, persons circumcised, as opposed to the uncircumcised Gentiles, who are styled the *uncircumcision*, (Rom. iii. 1, 30. iv. 12. Gal. ii. 7—9. Eph. ii. 11. Phil. iii. 5.); the abstract being put for the concrete. Thus, our Saviour is called the minister of circumcision; and therefore St. Paul

* See Acts xiii. 43, 50. xvi. 14. xvii. 4, 17. and xviii. 7.

† On the divisions, &c. of the Jewish scriptures, see vol. ii. book i. ch. 1. § I—V.

says, that whoever is circumcised, is bound to keep the whole law, (Gal. v. 3.) For the same reason Jesus Christ was circumcised, that he might be made under the law, to fulfil the promise of the Messiah, and redeem those who were under the law, (Gal. iv. 4.) Secondly, as only circumcised persons were deemed to be visible members of the Jewish church, so none but these were permitted to celebrate the great festivals, particularly the passover. On this account it was that Joshua commanded all the Israelites, who having been born in the wilderness remained uncircumcised, to undergo the rite of circumcision, previously to their entering the land of Canaan, (Josh. v. 4, 6, 9.); on which occasion God told them that he had removed or rolled away the reproach of Egypt from them; in other words, that they should thenceforth be regarded as his peculiar people, and no longer as the slaves of Egypt. The knowledge of this circumstance beautifully illustrates Eph. ii. 11—13.; where St. Paul, describing the wretched state of the Gentiles before their conversion, represents them as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and consequently excluded from all its privileges and blessings. Thirdly, circumcision was an open profession of the worship of the true God, and consequently an abjuration of idolatry: on this account we are told that during the persecution of Antiochus the heathen put to death those Jewish women who had caused their children to be circumcised*; and such Jews as apostatised to heathenism took away as much as possible every vestige of circumcision. As this rite was an open profession of the Jewish religion, some zealous converts from that faith to Christianity strenuously urged its continuance, especially among those who were of Jewish origin; but this was expressly prohibited by St. Paul, (1 Cor. vii. 18.)

Lastly, circumcision was appointed for mystical and moral reasons: it was, as baptism is with us, an external sign of inward purity and holiness: hence these expressions of “circumcising the foreskin of the heart,” the “circumcision of the heart,” the “circumcision made without hands,” the “uncircumcised in heart,” &c. so often occurring in the Scriptures†.

* 1 Macc. i. 63. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. 7.

† See Lev. xxvi. 41, 42. Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4. ix. 25, 26. Rom. ii. 25—29. Col. ii. 11. Acts vii. 51. “Circumcision was that rite of the law by which the Israelites were taken into God’s covenant; and (in the spirit of it) was the same as baptism among Christians. For as the form of baptism expresses the putting away of sin, circumcision was another form to the same effect. The Scripture speaks of a “circumcision made without hands,” of which that made with hands was no more than an outward sign, which denoted “the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh,” (Col.

The sacrament of circumcision was enjoined to be observed on the eighth day, (Gen. vii. 12.) including the day when the child was born, and that on which it was performed; and so scrupulous were the Jews in obeying the letter of the law, that they never neglected it, even though it happened on the sabbath day, (John vii. 22, 23.) This they termed “driving away the sabbath.” If they were obliged to perform circumcision, either sooner or later, it was considered as a misfortune, and the circumcision so administered, though valid, was not deemed equally good with that done on the eighth day: and when this ceremony was deferred, it was never used to drive away the sabbath. It was for this reason that St. Paul accounted it no small privilege to have been circumcised on the eighth day. Accordingly John the Baptist (Luke i. 59.) and Jesus Christ (Luke ii. 21.) were circumcised exactly on that day. There was a peculiar fitness in the circumcision of Jesus Christ: for, as the Jews reckoned it dishonourable to associate with uncircumcised persons, (Acts xi. 3.) it was necessary that he should be circumcised in order to qualify him for conversing familiarly with them, and also for discharging the other duties of his ministry. Besides, as the Messiah was to be descended from Abraham, whose posterity were distinguished from the rest of mankind by this rite, he received the seal of circumcision to show that he was rightly descended from that patriarch: and as every person that was circumcised was “a debtor to the whole law,” (Gal. v. 3.) it was further necessary that Jesus Christ the true Messiah should be circumcised; because, being thus subjected to the

ii. 11.) and becoming a new creature; which is the sense of our baptism. Of this inward and spiritual grace of circumcision the apostle speaks expressly in another place: “He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter,” (Rom. ii. 28.) Some may suppose that this spiritual application of circumcision, as a sacrament, was invented after the preaching of the gospel, when the veil was taken from the law; but this doctrine was only enforced to those who had it before, and had departed from the sense of their own law: for thus did Moses instruct the Jews, that there is a “foreskin of the heart” which was to be “circumcised” in a moral or spiritual way, before they could be accepted as the servants of God; and again, that the Lord would “circumcise their heart, to love him with all their heart, and with all their soul,” (Deut. x. 16. and xxx. 6.); which was the same as to say, that he would give them what circumcision signified, making them Jews inwardly, and giving them the inward grace with the outward sign: without which the letter of baptism avails no more now than the letter of circumcision did then: and we may say of the one as is said of the other, “He is not a Christian which is one outwardly, and baptism is not the putting away the filth of the flesh by washing with water, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,” (1 Pet. iii. 21.) Rev. W. Jones on the Figurative Language of Scripture, (Works, vol. iii. pp. 77, 78.) On this subject Dr. Graves has some excellent remarks, in his Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 241—250.

law of Moses, he was put in a condition to fulfil all righteousness, and redeem those who were under the law*, (Gal. iv. 4, 5.)

At the same time that the child was circumcised, we learn from the Gospel, that it was usual for the father, or some near relation, to give him a name. Thus John the Baptist and Jesus Christ both received their names on that day, (Luke i. 59. ii. 21.) It appears, however, that the Jews had several names during the period comprised in the evangelical history. Thus it was customary with them, when travelling into foreign countries, or familiarly conversing with the Greeks and Romans, to assume a Greek or Latin name of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own country, by which name they were usually called among the Gentiles. So Thomas was called Didymus, (John xi. 16.); the one a Syriac and the other a Greek word, but both signifying *a twin*, (see Acts i. 23. xii. 12. 2 Pet. i. 1. Col. iv. 11. &c.) Sometimes the name was added from their country, as Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, (Matt. x. 4.); but more frequently from their assuming a new and different name upon particular occurrences in life, (see 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. 2 Kings xxiv. 17. John i. 42.) The same practice obtains in the east to this day†.

However necessary circumcision was while the ceremonial law remained in force, it became equally indifferent and unnecessary on the abrogation of that law by the destruction of the temple. Until that time the apostles allowed it to be performed by the Jewish converts to Christianity; but they expressly prohibited the imposition of such a yoke on the necks of the Gentile converts: and therefore St. Paul, who has fully proved how unprofitable and unnecessary it is, (1 Cor. vii. 19.) thought it proper to have Timothy circumcised, because his mother was of Jewish extraction, (Acts xvi. 3.); though he would not, on the other hand, allow this ceremony to be performed on Titus, because he was a Greek, (Gal. ii. 3.):—thus giving to the church in all ages a most excellent pattern, either of condescension or resolution, in insisting upon or omitting things indifferent, according to the difference of times and circumstances‡.

* Macknight and Whitby on Luke ii. 21.

† See Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. pp. 431—433.

‡ Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introd. to the New Test. (Bishop Watson's Coll. of Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 205, 206.) Schulzii, Archæol. Hebr. pp. 159—166. Ikenii, Antiq. Hebr. pp. 343—347. Stosch. Compend. Archæol. Œconomicæ Nov. Test.

IX. In the initiation of proselytes to the Jewish religion, according to the rabbinical writers, the three following observances were appointed, namely, circumcision, baptism, and the offering of sacrifice.

1. *Circumcision* was the seal of the covenant into which the proselyte entered with God, and of the solemn profession which he made to observe the entire law of Moses: and if the proselyte were a Samaritan, or of any other nation that used that rite, blood was to be drawn afresh from the part circumcised.

2. The second ceremony was *washing* or *baptism*; which must be performed in the presence of at least three Jews of distinction. At the time of its performance the proselyte declared his abhorrence of his past life, and that no secular motives, but a sincere love for the law of Moses, induced him to be baptized: and he was then instructed in the most essential parts of the law. He promised, at the same time, to lead a holy life, to worship the true God, and to keep his commandments.

3. The third ceremony to be performed was that of *offering sacrifice*.

All these rites, except circumcision, were performed by the women, as well as the men, who became proselytes: and it was a common notion among the Jews, that every person who had duly performed them all was to be considered as a new-born infant. Thus Maimonides expressly says:—"A Gentile who is become a proselyte, and a slave who is set at liberty, are both as it were new-born babes; which is the reason why those who before were their parents, are now no longer so*."

§ 32—36. Edwards on the Authority, &c. of Scripture, vol. ii. pp. 313—330. Mr. Allen has given an interesting account of the mode of circumcision that obtains among the Jews of the present time, in his "Modern Judaism," pp. 283—296.

* Some learned men have supposed that our Lord alluded to this rabbinical tradition when he reproached Nicodemus with being a master in Israel, (John iii. 10.) and yet being at the same time ignorant how a man could be born a second time. But it is most probable that Jesus Christ referred to that spiritual meaning of circumcision above noticed, (see p. 102. and note † *supra*); because there are no traces of Jewish proselyte baptism *earlier than the middle of the second century*. Consequently it is more likely that the Jews took the hint of proselyte baptism from the Christians, *after* our Saviour's time, than that he borrowed his baptism from theirs; which, whenever it came into practice, was one of those additions to the law of God so severely censured by him, (Matt. xv. 9.) The arguments on the much disputed question, Whether baptism was in use, or not, before the time of our Saviour, are reviewed by Carpzov in his Apparatus Antiquitatum Sacrarum, p. 49. and by Dr. Jennings in his Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 3. pp. 65—68. See also Dr. Whitby's Paraphrase and Notes on John iii. 4, 5, 6. It may not be irrelevant to remark that the learned Dr. Campbell refers our Lord's censure of Nicodemus, not to the rabbinical notion above mentioned, but rather to his entire ignorance of that effusion of the Spirit which would take place under the Messiah, and which had been so clearly foretold by the prophets. Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. p. 515. 3d edit.

SECTION II.

ON THE MINISTERS OF THE TEMPLE, AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL OR SACRED PERSONS.

I. *Of the Levites*—II. *The priests, their functions, maintenance, and privileges*—III. *The high priest—succession to the pontifical dignity—his qualifications, functions, dress, and privileges*—IV. *Officers of the synagogue*—V. *Mode of conducting the synagogue worship*—VI. *The Nazarites; nature of their vows*—VII. *The Rechabites*—VIII. *The Prophets*.

THE Jews, on the establishment of their republic, had no king but Jehovah himself; and the place appointed for their sacrifices and prayers was at the same time both the temple of their God and the palace of their sovereign. This circumstance will account for the pomp and splendour of their worship, as well as the number, variety, and gradations in rank of their ministers; which were first established by Moses, and afterwards renewed by David, with increased splendour, for the service of the temple. To this service the tribe of Levi was especially devoted, instead of the first-born of the tribes of Israel, and was disengaged from all secular labours. The honour of the priesthood, however, was reserved to the family of Aaron alone, the rest of the tribe being employed in the inferior offices of the temple: so that all the priests were Levites, but all the Levites were not priests.

I. Originally, the tribe of Levi was divided into the three families and orders of Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, (1 Chron. vi. 16, &c.) but afterwards they were divided by David (1 Chron. xxiii.) into four classes. Some of these studied the law, and were the ordinary judges of the country, but subordinate to the priests: others were appointed to attend the priests in the ministrations of the temple, (Numb. iv. viii. 19.): hence, on a great emergency, they discharged the priestly office, on which it was otherwise unlawful for any person to intrude, (2 Chron. xxix. 34.) To others, again, was committed the musical part of divine service, some of them playing on instruments, and others singing psalms; but all were divided into companies, over whom a president was placed, (1 Chron. xxv.) Others had the charge of the sacred treasures, (1 Chron. ix. 29.) Lastly, some were door-keepers, and kept watch, first at the tabernacle, and afterwards at the doors or gates of the several courts of the temple: these were placed under the command of the *captain* of the temple,

(Luke xxii. 4, 52. Acts iv. 1. v. 24.) As the Levites were subordinate to the priests, so they had persons under them, whose business it was to carry the water and wood which was required for the temple service. For this purpose the Gibeonites were at first selected and employed by Joshua, (Josh. ix. 3—27.); and afterwards people of other nations, who were called *Nethinims*, that is, persons who had devoted or given themselves up, (1 Kings ix. 20, 21. Ezra ii. 58. and viii. 20.)

The age at which the Levites entered upon their functions varied at different periods of the Jewish polity. During the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, those who were occupied immediately about the tabernacle entered upon their office at thirty years of age, and were discharged after twenty years service, (Numb. iv. 3.); though they appear to have been admitted to other functions at twenty-five years of age, (Numb. viii. 24.) At a later period, however, some were deemed of a fit age at thirty, and some at twenty years old, (1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 24. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. Ezra iii. 8.); but the labours of all classes terminated on attaining their fiftieth year.

In order to enable the Levites to devote themselves to the service of the temple, forty-eight cities were assigned to them for their residence on the division of the land of Canaan; thirteen of these were appropriated to the priests*, to which were added the tithes of corn, fruit, and cattle. The Levites, however, paid to the priests a tenth part of all their tithes; and as they were possessed of no landed property, the tithes which the priests received from them were considered as the first-fruits which they were to offer to God, (Numb. 6. xviii. 21—26.)

II. Next to the Levites, but superior to them in dignity, were the ordinary priests, who were chosen from the family of Aaron exclusively. They served immediately at the altar, prepared the victims, and offered the sacrifices. They kept up a perpetual fire on the altar of the burnt-sacrifices, and also in the lamps of the golden candlestick in the sanctuary; they kneaded the loaves of shewbread, which they baked, and offered on the golden altar in the sanctuary; and changed them every sabbath day. Every day, morning and evening, a priest (who was appointed at the beginning of the week by lot) brought into the sanctuary a smoking censer of incense, which he set upon the golden table, and which on no account

* See p. 28. *supra*.

was to be kindled with strange fire, that is, with any fire but that which was taken from the altar of burnt-sacrifice, (Lev. x. 1, 2.) And as the number and variety of their functions required them to be well read in their law, in order that they might be able to judge of the various *legal* uncleannesses, &c. this circumstance caused them to be consulted as interpreters of the law, (Hos. iv. 6. Mal. ii. 7, &c. Lev. xiii. 14. Numb. v. 14, 15.) as well as judges of controversies, (Deut. xxi. 5. xvii. 8—13.) In the time of war, their business was to carry the ark of the covenant, to sound the holy trumpets, and animate the army to the performance of its duties. To them also it belonged publicly to bless the people in the name of the Lord.

The priests were divided by David into twenty-four classes, (1 Chron. xxv.) ; which order was retained by Solomon; (2 Chron. viii. 14.) and at the revivals of the Jewish religion by the kings Hezekiah and Josiah, (2 Chron. xxxi. 2. xxxv. 4, 5.) As, however, only four classes returned from the Babylonish captivity, (Ezra ii. 36—39. Neh. vii. 39—42. xii. 1.) these were again divided into twenty-four classes, each of which was distinguished by its original appellation. This accounts for the introduction of the class or order of Abiah, mentioned in Luke i. 5, which we do not find noticed among those who returned from the captivity. One of these classes went up to Jerusalem every week to discharge the sacerdotal office, and succeeded one another on the sabbath day, till they had all attended in their turn. To each order was assigned a president, (1 Chron. xxiv. 6, 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.) whom some critics suppose to be the same as the *chief priests* so often mentioned in the New Testament, and in the writings of Josephus*. The prince or prefect of each class appointed an entire family to offer the daily sacrifices; and at the close of the week they all joined together in sacrificing. And as each family consisted of a great number of priests, they drew lots for the different offices which they were to perform. It was by virtue of such lot that the office of burning incense was assigned to Zecharias the father of John the Baptist, “when he went into the temple of the Lord,” (Luke i. 9.)

The sacerdotal dignity being confined to certain families, every one who aspired to it was required to establish his descent from those families: on this account the genealogies

* See Matt. xxvii. 1. Acts iv. 23. v. 24. ix. 14, 21. xxii. 30. xxiii. 14. xxv. 15. xxvi. 10.; and also Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8. § 8. De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 3. § 7. c. 4. § 3. et de vita sua, § 2, 5.

of the priests were inscribed in the public registers, and were preserved in the archives of the temple*. Hence, in order to preserve the purity of the sacerdotal blood, no priest was permitted to marry a harlot or profane woman, or one who had been divorced: and if any one laboured under any bodily defect, this excluded him from serving at the altar. Purity of body and sanctity of life were alike indispensable; nor could any one undertake the priestly office, in the early period of the Jewish polity, before he had attained thirty years, or, in later times, the age of twenty years†. According to Maimonides, the priest, whose genealogy was defective in any respect, was clothed in black, and veiled in black, and sent without the verge of the court of the priests; but every one that was found perfect and right was clothed in white, and went in and ministered with his brethren the priests. It is not improbable that St. John refers to this custom of the Jewish sanhedrim in Rev. iii. 5. Those priests, whose birth was pure, lived in certain apartments of the temple, in which was deposited wood for the altar, and were employed in splitting and preparing it, to keep up the sacred fire‡. No particular ceremony appears to have taken place at the consecration of the ordinary priests, who were admitted to the exercise of their functions by "*filling their hands*," as the Scriptures term it—that is, by making them perform the offices of their order. But when the priests had departed from their religion, or had been a long time without discharging their functions, (which happened under some of the later kings of Judah), it was deemed necessary to sanctify anew such priests, as well as those who had never exercised their ministry, (2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxxv. 11.

The priests were not distinguished by their sacerdotal habits, unless when engaged in the service of the altar. Of these garments there are four kinds mentioned in the books of Exodus (xxviii.) and Leviticus (viii.) viz. 1. Linen drawers; 2. A linen tunic, which reached down to the ancles, fitting closely to the body, and the sleeves of which were tightly drawn round the arms: it was without seam, and woven from the top throughout. Such was the tunic worn by Jesus Christ,

* Ezra ii. 62. Neh. vii. 64. Josephus contra Apion. lib. i. § 7. et in vita sua, § 1.

† Levit. xxi. 7, 17—23. Numb. iv. 3. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. Maimonides has enumerated not fewer than 140 bodily defects which disqualified persons for the priesthood. See Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 12. § 2. and compare Carpzov's Apparatus Antiquitatum Sacrarum, p. 89 et seq.

‡ Lamy, Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 213.

for which the soldiers cast lots*; 3. A girdle; and, 4. A Tiara, which was originally a pointed kind of bonnet or turban, made of several rolls of linen cloth twisted round the head. But in the time of Josephus it approached somewhat to a globular form†.

In order that the priests, as well as the Levites, might be wholly at liberty to follow their sacred profession, they were exempted from all secular burthens or labours. Of the Levitical cities thirteen were assigned for the residence of the priests; who derived their support from the tithes offered by the Levites out of the tithes by them received, from the first fruits, from the first clip of wool when the sheep were shorn, from the offerings made in the temple, and from their share of the sin-offerings and thanksgiving-offerings sacrificed in the temple, of which certain parts were appropriated to the priests. Thus, in the peace-offerings, they had the shoulder and the breast, (Lev. vii. 33, 34.): in the sin-offerings, they burnt on the altar the fat that covered certain parts of the sacrifice; the rest belonged to the priest, (Lev. vii. 6, 10.) To him also was appropriated the skin or fleece of every victim; and when an Israelite killed an animal for his own use, there were certain parts assigned to the priest, (Deut. xviii. 3.) All the first-born also, whether of man or beast, were dedicated to God, and by virtue of that devotion belonged to the priests. The men were redeemed for five shekels, (Numb. xviii. 15, 16.): the first-born of impure animals were redeemed or exchanged, but the clean animals were not redeemed. They were sacrificed to the Lord; their blood was sprinkled about the altar, and the rest belonged to the priests, who also had the first-fruits of trees, that is, those of the fourth year, (Numb. xviii. 13. Lev. xix. 23, 24.) as well as a share in the tithes of the spoils taken in war, (Numb. xxxi. 28—41.) Such were the principal revenues of the priests, which, though they were sufficient to keep them above want, yet were not (as some writers have imagined) so ample as to enable them to accumulate riches, or to impoverish the laity; thus their political influence, arising from their sacred station, as well as from their superior learning

* Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 7. § 2. See also the observations of Ernesti, *Inst. Interp. Nov. Test.* part ii. c. 10. § 88. pp. 371—373. It was for a long time supposed that the art of making such vests was irrecoverably lost. Braunius however re-discovered it, and procured a loom to be made, in which tunics were woven all of one piece. See his *Treatise de Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebræorum*, lib. i. c. 16. p. 264. A similar tunic was exhibited in London, while this sheet was passing through the press.

† Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 7. § 3.

and information, was checked by rendering them dependent on the people for their daily bread.

III. Over all the priests was placed the HIGH PRIEST, who enjoyed peculiar dignities and influence. He alone could enter the Holy of Holies in the temple: the supreme administration of sacred things was confided to him; he was the final arbiter of all controversies; in later times he presided over the sanhedrim, and held the next rank to the sovereign or prince. His authority therefore was very great at all times, especially when he united the pontifical and regal dignities in his own person. In the Old Testament he is sometimes called *the priest* by way of eminence (Exod. xix. 30. Neh. vii. 65.) and sometimes the head or chief of the high priests, because the appellation of high priests was given to the heads of the sacerdotal families or courses.

Although the high priesthood was elective, yet it was annexed to the family of Aaron, (Numb. iii. 10.); who was the first person invested with this dignity, (Lev. viii. 1. *et seq.* Heb. v. 4, 5.) From Aaron it descended to Eleazar his eldest son, from whom it passed in long succession to Eli; from him, on account of the wickedness of his sons, the dignity subsequently devolved to the descendants of Ithamar the second son of Aaron, (1 Sam. ii. 35, 36.) In the reign of Solomon, however, it returned again into the family of Eleazar by Zadok, (1 Kings ii. 35.); in which it remained until the Babylonian captivity. During this period the high priest was elected by the other priests, or else by an assembly partly consisting of priests.

The first high priest, after the return from the captivity, was Joshua the son of Josedek, of the family of Eleazar; whence the succession went into a private Levitical family. The office was then filled by some of the princes of the Maccabean family. According to the law it was or ought to be held for life; but this was very ill obeyed under the Roman government, especially during the time of our Saviour, and in the latter years of the Jewish polity, when election and the right of succession were totally disregarded. The dignity, sanctity, and authority of the high priest were then almost annihilated; and this office was not unfrequently sold to the highest bidder, to persons who had neither age, learning, nor rank to recommend them; nay, even to individuals who were not of the sacerdotal race; and sometimes the office was made annual*. This circumstance

* Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 3. § 7, 8.

will account for the variations in the lists of the succession to the high priesthood contained in the Scriptures, in Josephus, and in the Talmudical writers *; and will also explain the circumstance of several high priests being in existence at the same time, or rather of there being several pontifical men, who, having once held the office for a short time, seem to have retained the original dignity attached to the name †.

Of those who discharged the functions of high priest during the decline of the Jewish polity, there are two particularly mentioned in the New Testament, namely Annas (John xviii. 13, 14. Acts iv. 6.) and Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi. 3, 57. John xviii. 13, 24, 28.) The former is by Josephus called Ananus, of which name Annas is an abridgment: the latter he calls Joseph, intimating also that he was known by the name of Caiaphas ‡. Annas enjoyed the singular felicity, (which indeed had never happened to any other of the Jewish high priests), not only of having himself held the supreme pontifical office for many years, but also of seeing it filled by several successors out of his own family, five of them being his sons, and others his sons-in-law. Hence, although he was deprived of the high priesthood by the Romans, he afterwards, continued to take the chief sway in the administration of the Jewish affairs; and is represented in the sacred history, together with Caiaphas, as being chief priest and exercising supreme authority. In order that the person of the high priest might be more holy, he was inaugurated with great splendour; being invested (after ablution was performed) with the sacred habiliments which conferred this dignity, and anointed with a precious oil prepared and preserved for this exclusive purpose, (Exod. xxix. 7. xxx. 23, *et seq.* Lev. viii. 12.) But, after the erection of the second temple, this anointing ceased, and the inauguration of the high priest was accomplished by arraying him with the pontifical robes worn by his predecessor.

* That this was the case with Annas and Caiaphas, is fully proved by Dr. Lardner's *Credibility*, book ii. c. 4. § 1. (Works, vol. i. pp. 383—386.) The various successions of the high priests are given at length by Reland, *Antiq. Hebr. pars ii. cap. 2.* pp. 160—168. Utrecht, 12mo. 1717; and by Calmet, *Dict. voce Priest*, from whom it has been copied by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Jones, in their respective dictionaries, article *Priest*.

† *Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. c. 2. § 2. c. 4. § 3.*

‡ Luke iii. 2. Acts iv. 6. In like manner Josephus (*de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12. § 6.*) places Jonathan, who had been high priest, (*Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 4. § 3*) and who still continued to possess great authority, before Ananias, who at that time discharged the functions of sovereign pontiff, (*Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 5. § 2.*) See also Lardner's *Credibility*, book i. c. 7. § 1. and book ii. c. 4. (Works, vol. i. p. 143, 383—389.)

Besides the garments which were common to the high priest, as well as to the inferior members of the sacerdotal order, there were four peculiar to himself, viz. 1. The *coat or robe of the ephod*, which was made of blue wool; on its hem there were seventy-two golden bells, separated from one another by as many artificial pomegranates*. 2. The *ephod*, a vest which was fastened on the shoulders, the hinder part reaching down to the heels, while the fore part descended only a little below the waist. It was of fine twisted linen splendidly wrought with gold and purple: to each of the shoulder-straps of this ephod was fastened a precious stone, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. 3. The *breastplate of judgment* or oracle, a piece of cloth doubled, one span square, and of similar texture and workmanship with the ephod: on it were set twelve precious stones, containing the engraved names of the twelve sons of Jacob, and also the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, signifying “lights and perfections,” and emblematical of divine illumination. Concerning the nature of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, learned men are not agreed. All that we know with certainty is, that when the high priest went to ask counsel of Jehovah, he presented himself arrayed with this breastplate, and received the divine commands. This mode of consultation subsisted under the tabernacle erected by Moses in the wilderness, and until the building of Solomon’s temple. 4. Lastly, The high priest wore a plate of pure gold upon his forehead, on which were engraven the two Hebrew words קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה *Kodesh La-Jehovah*, or “Holiness unto the Lord”, emblematical of that holiness which was the scope and end of the law. This plate was called the crown: it was tied to the high priest’s tiara by a blue riband. With all these vestments he was obliged to be arrayed, whenever he ministered in the tabernacle or temple, but at other times he wore the ordinary dress of the priests: and this, according to some learned persons, was the reason why St. Paul (Acts xxiii. 5.) knew not that Ananias was the high priest, when he appeared before him in the sanhedrim†. The supreme pontiff was not allowed to rend his garments, as the other Jews did, on any occasions of domestic calamity, (Levit. xxi. 10.); but in the time of Jesus Christ it had

* Similar bells are still in use in the East. See Hasselquist’s *Travels*, p. 58. and D’Arvieux’s *Travels in Arabia the Desert*, p. 226.

† The dress and ornaments of the high priest above noticed, together with the mode of consecrating him, as directed by Moses, are described at length in *Exod.* xxviii. and xxix. 1—37.

become lawful, or at least was tolerated as an expression of horror at hearing what was deemed blasphemy against God. This will explain the conduct of Caiaphas, who is said (Matt. xxvi. 65.) to have rent his garments *.

The high priest, who was the chief man in Israel, and appeared before God in behalf of the people in their sacred services, and who was appointed for sacrifice, for blessing, and for intercession, was a type of Jesus Christ, that great high priest, who offered himself a sacrifice for sin, who blesses his people, and who "evermore liveth to make intercession for them †."

IV. Next to the Levites, priests, and high priest, the *officers of the synagogue* claim our notice, as being in some degree sacred persons; since to them was confided the superintendence of those places which were set apart for prayer and instruction. Of these there are several sorts or gradations mentioned in the New Testament. 1. Those who presided over the synagogue worship, and gave others permission to speak: these are called the rulers of the synagogue in Matt. ix. 18. Mark v. 22. and Luke viii. 41. It appears from Acts xiii. 15. collated with Mark v. 22. and John vi. 59. that there were several of these rulers in a synagogue. They were always persons advanced in years, men of letters and understanding, and of known probity. By the Hebrews they were called *chocamim*, that is, *sages* or *wise men*; and their authority was very considerable. They were judges in pecuniary matters, and took cognizance of thefts and similar petty offences; to them St. Paul doubtless alludes in 1 Cor. vi. 5. where he reproaches the Christians with carrying their differences before the Gentile tribunals, as if they had no persons among themselves who were competent or capable of deciding them. "Is it so," says he, "that there is not a *wise man* amongst you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?" Further, these rulers had the power of punishing those whom they judged to be rebellious

* Besides the authorities already cited in the course of this article, the reader who is desirous of investigating the nature and functions of the Jewish priesthood is referred to Reland's *Antiquitates veterum Hebræorum*, part ii. c. 1—6. pp. 141—238.; Ikenius's *Antiquitates Hebraicæ*, part i. c. 10 & 11. pp. 105—128; and to Schacht's *Animadversiones ad Ikenii Antiquitates*, pp. 471—544. Dr. Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, book i. c. 5. pp. 95—174. Michaelis's *Commentaries on the Law of Moses*, vol. i. pp. 251—262. and Dr. Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 401, 915—918. and vol. ii. pp. 377—380, 397, 681.

† The typical nature of the Jewish priesthood, especially of the high priest, is discussed by the Rev. W. Jones, in his *Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture*, and on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (*Works*, vol. iii. pp. 58—62, 223—227.)

against the law; whence our Lord takes occasion to forewarn his disciples that they would be scourged in the synagogues, (Matt. x. 17.)

Besides these presidents or rulers of the synagogue, there was also in every synagogue a kind of *minister*; who read the prayers, directed the reading of the law, and preached, and was called the *Chazan*, that is, the inspector or bishop *. With him were associated other officers, who had the care of the poor, and collected the alms: these were denominated *Parnasim*, that is, pastors or rectors.

V. In the synagogues, the law was always read in Hebrew; whence it became necessary, as soon as that language ceased to be vernacular among the Jews, to establish an interpreter, by whom the Jewish scriptures were expounded in the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken by them after the return from the Babylonian captivity †. The doctor or reader therefore, having the interpreter always by him, softly whispered in his ears what he said, and this interpreter repeated aloud to the people what had thus been communicated to him. To this custom our Saviour is supposed to have alluded when he said to his disciples, “What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops ‡.”

The synagogues, however, were not only places set apart for prayer; they were also schools where youth were instructed. The sages (for so were the teachers called) sat upon elevated benches, while the pupils stood at their feet or before § them; which circumstance explains St. Paul’s meaning (Acts xxii. 3.) when he says that he was “brought up *at the feet* of Gamaliel.”

* According to Dr. Prideaux, the person who read prayers and gave the blessing in the synagogues, was a different officer from the Chazan, and was called *Sheliach Tsibbor*, the angel or messenger of the church; whence the presiding ministers of the seven Asiatic churches mentioned in Rev. ii. iii. are termed *angels of the churches*. Dr. P. is of opinion that the Chazan was an inferior officer, to whom was committed the care of the books and other things used in the synagogue worship,—a kind of deacon, such as the *Parnasim* are supposed to have been. See his *Connexion*, part i. book vi. under the year 444. vol. i. pp. 385, 386. In pp. 374—391, he has given a very ample detail of the synagogue worship.

† From this practice originated the *Chaldee Paraphrases*, of which an account is given *infra*, Part. ii. c. 3. sect. 3. § 1. No. 1.

‡ Lightfoot’s *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Matt. x. 27.

§ Fleury, Lamy, and other eminent critics, have supposed that the Jewish youth sat on low seats or on the ground, at the feet of their preceptors, who occupied a lofty chair: but Vitranga has shown, from Jewish authority, that the disciples of the rabbins stood before them in the manner above represented. See his treatise *de Synag. Vet.* lib. i. p. 1. c. 7. Kypke (*Observ. Sacræ*, in *Nov. Fœd. Libros*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.) has collected a variety of passages from Greek writers, to show that the expression *παρα τοὺς πόδας*, *at the feet*, is equivalent to *πλησιον*, *near* or *before*.

It is interesting to see the manner in which the public service was conducted in these places of religious worship among the Jews. It was customary, at least for the officiating minister, to stand up, probably out of reverence, when the scriptures were read, and to sit down when he preached or delivered practical instruction to the audience. This clearly appears from the following passage, in St. Luke's history of our Lord: "And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all. And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias: and when he had unrolled the volume* he found the place where it was written, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.' And he folded the volume†, and he gave it again to the minister and sat down: and the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them: this day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth," (Luke iv. 15—22.) So likewise, according to the custom of public instructors among the Jews, we find our Saviour sitting down (Matt. v. 1.) before he began to deliver his sermon on the mount to the assembled multitudes; and upon another occasion sitting down, and out of the ship teaching the people who were collected on the shore, (Matt. xiii. 1.) So also it is said of the Scribes, who were the Jewish clergy, that they sat, (Matt. xxiii. 2.) in Moses' chair: "Whatever therefore they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not after their works, for they say, and do not."

It should seem also, at least in foreign countries where places of worship were established, that when strangers, who were Jews, arrived at such towns, and went to offer their devo-

* *Αναπτύξας το βιβλίον.* This word signifies to unfold, unroll. The books of the antients were written on parchment and rolled up. Hence the word *volume*. *Αλλ' ουκ αναπτύξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ χεῖρες περιβαλοντες ἀλλήλοις;* Why do not we unfold our arms, and clasp each other in them. Dion. Halicarn. lib. 6. p. 392. Hudson. *Τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΑΣ*, unfolding the letter. Josephus de vitâ suâ, p. 21. Havercamp. *Γραψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβουλετο, ἄλλην τῶν Περσῶν ἐποίησατο, μετὰ δὲ, ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΑΣ ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ* [the very expression of the evangelist.] Herodotus, lib. i. c. 125. tom. i. p. 282. ed. Glasgux.

† *Πτύξας το βιβλίον.*

tions, it was usual for the presidents of the synagogue, after the appointed portion out of the law and the prophets was read, to send a servant to them, and in a very respectful manner to request that if they could impart any thing that might contribute to the religious instruction and edification of the audience, they would deliver it. This token of respect and politeness, shown to strangers, appears from the following passage in the Acts of the Apostles, (Acts xiii. 14, 15.) When Paul and his companions, on their arrival at Antioch in Pisidia, went into the Jewish synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to them, saying, "Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Upon which Paul stood up, and, beckoning with his hand, said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience *."

VI. The Nazarites or Nazarenes (as the Hebrew word *Nazir* implies) were persons separated from the use of certain things, and sequestered or consecrated to Jehovah. The particulars of the Nazareate or Nazariteship are detailed in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers. Lamy, Calmet, and others have distinguished two classes of Nazarites: first, *those who were Nazarites by birth*, as Sampson and John the Baptist were; and, secondly, *those who were Nazarites by vow and engagement*; who followed this mode of living for a limited time, at the expiration of which they cut off their hair at the door of the tabernacle, and offered certain sacrifices. The Nazarites were required to abstain from wine, fermented liquors, and every thing made of grapes, to let their hair grow, and not to defile themselves by touching the dead: and if any person had accidentally expired in their presence, the Nazarites of the second class were obliged to recommence their Nazariteship.

Similar to the Nazareate was the vow frequently made by devout Jews, on their recovery from sickness, or deliverance from danger or distress; who, for thirty days before they offered sacrifices, abstained from wine and shaved the hair of their head †. This usage illustrates the conduct of St. Paul, as related in Acts xvii. 18. The apostle, in consequence of a providential

* Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. ii. pp. 219—221. Fleury's Manners of the Israelites by Dr. Clarke, pp. 336—338. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 180, 182. Schulzii, Archæol. Heb. pp. 225, 226. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 10. pp. 126—140. Ikenii Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 9. pp. 100—105. Shachtii Animadversiones ad Ikenii Antiq. Heb. pp. 452—470. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. 9. § 6. (Works, vol. i. pp. 207, 208.) Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 447, 595. and Dr. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book ii. c. 2. pp. 271—285. On the synagogue worship of the Modern Jews, see Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 319—354.

† Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 15. § 1.

deliverance from some imminent peril not recorded by the sacred writer, bound himself by a vow, which the law in this case required him to pay at Jerusalem. In consequence of this transaction St. Luke relates, that he shaved his head at Cenchrea. St. Paul, in his intended journey afterwards to Judea, says, "he must needs go to Jerusalem:" for the laws respecting the Nazarite's vow required the person who had entered into this engagement, if he were in a foreign country when he first laid himself under this solemn obligation, to go up to Jerusalem to accomplish it. Here several appointed sacrifices were offered, and a certain course of purifications and religious observances was prescribed and performed. This appears from another passage in the same sacred writer, (Acts xxi. 21—27.) "We have four men who have a *vow* on them: them take and *purify* thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that *they may shave their heads*. Then Paul took the men: and the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification; and that an offering should be offered for every one of them. And when the *seven* days were almost ended," &c. Josephus presents us with an instance parallel to this of St. Paul, in the person of Bernice, who went to Jerusalem in order to perform a vow which she had made to God. *

VII. The Rechabites are by many writers considered as a class of holy persons, who, like the Nazarites, separated themselves from the rest of the Jews, in order that they might lead a more pious life. But this is evidently a mistake: for they were not Israelites or Jews, but Kenites or Midianites who used to live in tents, and traverse the country in quest of pasture for their cattle, as the Nabathæan Arabs antiently did, and as the modern Arabians still do. Their manner of living was not the result of a religious institute, but a mere civil ordinance grounded upon a national custom. They derived their name from Jonadab the son of Rechab, a man of eminent zeal for the pure worship of God against idolatry; who assisted king Jehu in destroying the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, (2 Kings x. 15, 16, 23.) It was he who gave the rule of life to his children and their posterity, which is recorded by the prophet Jeremiah, (xxxv. 5—7.); and which consisted of these three articles: 1. That they should drink no wine; 2. That they should neither possess nor occupy any houses, fields, or vine-

* Ibid. See Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 221. Calmet's Dictionary, voce *Nazarite*. Fleury's Manners of the Israelites, pp. 338, 339. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. 9. § 7. (Works, vol. i. pp. 208—212.) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 8. pp. 214—220. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 10. pp. 284—289. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. ii. pp. 260—271, 280—283.

yards; and, 3. That they should dwell in tents. In these regulations he appears to have had no religious, but merely a prudential view, as is intimated in the reason assigned for them, viz. that they might live many days in the land where they were strangers. And such in fact would be the natural consequence of their temperate and quiet mode of living. The Rechabites flourished as a community about one hundred and eighty years: but, after the captivity, they were dispersed, unless the Essenes, who are noticed in a subsequent section, succeeded them in their way of life. *

VIII. The PROPHETS were eminently distinguished among the persons accounted holy by the Jews: they were raised up by God in an extraordinary manner for the performance of the most sacred functions. Originally they were called *Seers*: they discovered things yet future, declared the will of God, and announced their divine messages, both to kings and people, with a confidence and freedom that could only be produced by the conviction that they were indeed authorized messengers of Jehovah. The gift of prophecy was not always annexed to the priesthood: there were prophets of all the tribes, and sometimes even among the Gentiles. The office of a prophet was not confined to the prediction of future events: it was their province to instruct the people, and they interpreted the law of God: hence the words *prophet* and *prophecy* are, in many passages of the scriptures, synonymous with interpreter or teacher, and interpretation or teaching. It is unanimously agreed both by Jews and Christians that Malachi was the last of the prophets under the Old Testament dispensation: and it is a remarkable fact, that so long as there were prophets among the Jews, they were not divided by sects or heresies, although they often fell into idolatry. This circumstance may thus be accounted for: As the prophets received their communications of the divine will *immediately* from God himself, there was no alternative for the Jews: either the people must obey the prophets, and receive their interpretations of the law, or no longer acknowledge that God who inspired them. When, however, the law of God came to be explained by weak and fallible men who seldom agreed in their opinions, sects and parties were the unavoidable result of such conflicting sentiments †.

* Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 223. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. i. pp. 227, 228. Mede's Works, p. 127. Calmet, Commentaire Litterale, tome vi. p. xvii.

† For a more particular account of the sacred prophets, see vol. ii. book i. chap. vi. of this work. The Jewish sects are discussed *infra*, in chap. vi. sect. I. of this volume.

SECTION III.

ON THE SACRIFICES AND OTHER OFFERINGS OF THE JEWS.

General classification of sacrifices and offerings;—I. BLOODY OFFERINGS, and the divine origin of sacrifices;—1. Different kinds of victims;—2. Selection of victims;—3. Manner of presenting them;—4. Libations;—5. Immolation of the sacrifice;—6. The place and time appointed for sacrificing;—7. Different kinds of fire-sacrifices;—i. Burnt-offerings;—ii. Peace-offerings;—iii. Sin-offerings;—iv. Trespass-offerings;—National, regular, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices;—II. UNBLOODY OFFERINGS;—III. DRINK-OFFERINGS;—IV. ORDINARY OBLATIONS, —the shew-bread and incense;—V. VOLUNTARY OBLATIONS, Corban;—VI. PRESCRIBED OBLATIONS;—1. First-fruits;—2. Tithes.

THE sacrifices and oblations of the Jews demand particular notice in this sketch of their ecclesiastical state. Such a ritual as they were enjoined to observe, the multiplicity of victims they were appointed statedly to offer, together with the splendour of that external worship in which they were daily engaged,—all tended to replenish and adorn their language with numerous allusions, and striking metaphors derived from the pomp of their religion. Hence it is that the writings of the Jews, more than of any other people, abound with phrases and terms borrowed from the temple worship and service. The psalms and prophetic writings may in particular be adduced in illustration of this remark*: nor are examples wanting in the New Testament, whose inspired authors, being educated in the Jewish religion, retain the same phraseology, which has enriched their writings with numerous beautiful and expressive allusions to the national sacrifices and ceremonies.

Michaelis classes the offerings prescribed to the Israelites under three general heads—namely, *bloody* offerings, or sacrifices strictly so called; *unbloody* offerings, or those taken only from the vegetable kingdom; and *drink offerings*, or libations, which were a kind of accompaniment to the two preceding. We shall follow this classification, as enabling us to present to our readers the most compendious account of the Jewish sacrifices.

* Several illustrations of this remark are adduced *infra*, part ii. chapter iv. section iii. § iii. On Scripture Metaphors.

I. BLOODY OFFERINGS were sacrifices properly and strictly so called; by which we may understand the infliction of death on a living creature, generally by the effusion of its blood in a way of religious worship, and the presenting of this act to God as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and as a supposed mean of compensation for the insult and injury offered by sin to his majesty and government. Sacrifices have in all ages, and by almost every nation, been regarded as necessary to placate the divine anger, and to render the Deity propitious*: but, whether this universal notion derived its origin from divine revelation, or was suggested by conscious guilt and a dread of the divine displeasure, is a question that cannot be easily decided. It is however not improbable that it originated in the former, and prevailed under the influence of the latter. The Scripture account of sacrifices leads us to conclude that they were instituted by divine appointment, immediately after the entrance of sin by the fall of Adam and Eve, to be a type or significant emblem of the great atonement or all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ†. Accordingly we find Abel, Noah, Abraham, Job, and others, offering sacrifices in the faith of the Messiah that was to be revealed; and the divine acceptance of their sacrifices is particularly recorded.

1. In all bloody sacrifices it was essential that the animals slaughtered should be clean; but it does not appear that all clean animals were to be offered indiscriminately. Fishes were not brought to the altar; and hence the Israelites are no where prohibited from eating their blood, but only that of birds and quadrupeds, (Lev. vii. 26.) It would seem that *all* clean birds might be offered, (Lev. xiv. 4—7.) though the dove was the most common offering of this class. Of quadrupeds, oxen, sheep, and goats were the only kinds which were destined for the altar. No wild beasts were admissible: and hence comes the expression in the law of Moses, (Deut. xii. 15, 22. xv. 22.) *It shall be eaten like the roe or the hart*; by which he means to intimate that, in killing a beast, all religious intention and all idea of sacrifice was to be avoided‡.

* To this notion of sacrifice our Saviour alluded in John xvi. 2. where he tells his disciples that such would be the enmity with which they should be pursued, that he who should kill them would be deemed to have slain a sacrifice highly *acceptable* to the Almighty—"He that killeth you shall *think he doeth God service*." In reference also to this notion of sacrifices, the apostle by a very beautiful and expressive figure represents Christ as loving us, and giving himself for us, *an offering and a sacrifice to God of a sweet-smelling savour*, (Eph. v. 2.) Harwood's *Introd. to the New Test.* vol. ii. p. 218.

† The divine origin of sacrifices is fully proved by Dr. Magee, in his *Discourses on the Atonement*, vol. i. pp. 44—60, and vol. ii. pp. 22—46, 184—189.

‡ Michaelis's *Commentaries*, vol. iii. p. 95.

2. In the selection of the victims, the utmost care was taken to choose such only as were free from every blemish. Unless it were pure and immaculate, it was to be rejected as a sacrifice unacceptable to Jehovah, (Levit. xxii. 22.) In a beautiful allusion to this circumstance, St. Paul beseeches Christians, by the mercies of God, to *present their bodies a living sacrifice holy and acceptable*, which is their reasonable service, (Rom. xii. 1.) Hence also Jesus Christ is styled a lamb without blemish and without spot.

3. The victim thus chosen, being found immaculate, was led up to the altar by the person offering the sacrifice; who laid his hand upon its head, on which he leaned with all his strength; and, while the sacrifice was offering, said some particular prayers; and if several persons united in offering the same victim, they put their hands upon it in succession*. By this imposition of hands the person presenting the victim acknowledged the sacrifice to be his own; that he loaded it with his iniquities; that he offered it as an atonement for his sins; that he was worthy of death because he had sinned, having forfeited his life by violating the law of God; and that he intreated God to accept the life of the innocent animal in the place of his own. In this respect the victims of the Old Testament were types of Jesus Christ, “the lamb of God that *taketh away* the sin of the world,” (John i. 39.) and on whom Jehovah in the fulness of time *laid the iniquity of us all* †, (Isa. liii. 6. with 1 Pet. ii. 24.)

4. When the victim devoted to the sacrifice was brought before the altar, the priest, having implored the divine favour and acceptance by prayer, poured wine upon its head: and after the performance of this solemn act of religion, which was termed a *libation*, the victim was instantly led to the slaughter. To this circumstance St. Paul, knowing the time of his martyrdom to be very near, has a very striking allusion; representing this rite, which immediately preceded the death of the victim, as already performed upon him, implying that he was now devoted to death, and that his dissolution would speedily follow. “*I am now ready to be offered*,” says he (2 Tim. iv. 6.); literally, “*I am already poured out as a libation; the time of my departure is at hand*.” A similar expressive sacrificial allusion occurs in Phil. ii. 17. “*Yea*,” says the holy apostle, “*and if I be*

* The nature and mystical import of laying hands on the head of the victim are largely considered by Dr. Magee in his *Discourses on the Atonement*, vol. i. pp. 336—377.

† On the vicarious import of the Mosaic sacrifices, see the same work, vol. i. pp. 352—366.

POURED OUT *upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.*" In this passage he represents the faith of the Philippians as the sacrificial victim, and compares his blood shed in martyrdom to the libation poured out on occasion of the sacrifice*.

5. The animal thus conducted to the altar was next immolated, by cutting the throat and windpipe entirely through at one stroke; the blood being caught in a vessel, and sprinkled round about upon the altar. By this sprinkling the atonement was made, for the blood was the life of the beast, and it was always supposed that life went to redeem life, (Levit. i. 5—7.) The blood, remaining after these aspersions, was poured out at the foot of the altar, either all at once or at different times, according to the nature of the sacrifice offered. Around the altar there was a kind of trench into which the blood fell; whence it was conveyed by subterraneous channels into the brook Cedron. This altar, being very high, is considered by Lamy as a type of the cross to which our Saviour was fixed, and which he washed with his precious blood. The victim being thus immolated, the skin was stripped from the neck; its breast was opened; its bowels were taken out, and the back bone was cleft. It was then divided into quarters; so that, both externally and internally, it was fully exposed to view. To this custom of laying open the victim, St. Paul has a very beautiful and emphatic allusion in one of the most animated descriptions ever written, of the mighty effects produced by the preached gospel, (Heb. iv. 12—13.) "The word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; for all things are naked and *opened* to the eyes of him to whom we must give an account." Previously to laying the sacrifice on the altar, it was salted, (Lev. ii. 13. Ezek. xliii. 24. Mark ix. 46.); the law prohibiting any thing to be offered there which was not salted: and according to the nature of the sacrifice, either the whole or part of the victim was consumed upon the altar, where the priests kept a fire perpetually burning.

6. Before the building of the temple, sacrifices were offered up at the door of the tabernacle; but after its erection it was not lawful to offer them elsewhere (Deut. xii. 14.) This prohibition took from the Jews the liberty of sacri-

* Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, p. 621. Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on the passages cited.

ficing in any other place. The victims might indeed be slain in any part of the priest's court, but not without its precincts: and there they were also obliged to sacrifice the paschal lamb. All the victims were to be offered by day-light, and the blood was always to be sprinkled on the same day that they were slain; as it became polluted as soon as the sun was set. If however the sprinkling had been made in the day-time the members and entrails of the victim might be consumed during the night.

7. The sacrifices of the altar were, in general, called by the Hebrews *korbanim*, that is, offerings or oblations to God, from the Hebrew word *karab*, to approach or bring nigh. This term consequently denotes something *brought nigh*, in order to be dedicated or offered to God, to whom the person offering thus had access in the way appointed by the law: and therefore, at the close of the enumeration of all offerings by fire it is added, (Levit. vii. 37, 38.) "This is the law which the Lord commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer or bring nigh their *korbanim*, that is, offerings or sacrifices of all sorts *."

The Jewish fire-sacrifices were of three kinds, viz.:

i. The *burnt-offerings* or holocausts, were free-will offerings wholly devoted to God, according to the primitive patriarchal usage. The man himself was to bring them before the Lord, and they were offered in the manner just described †. The victim to be offered was, according to the person's ability, a bullock without blemish, or a male of the sheep or goats, or a turtle-dove or pigeon, (Levit. i. 17.) If, however, he was too poor to bring either of these, he was to offer a *mincha* or meat-offering, of which an account is given in a subsequent page ‡. The burnt-offerings are in Hebrew termed *עֹלָה*, *olah*, which signifies to *ascend*; because this offering, as being wholly consumed, ascended, as it were, to God in smoke or vapour. It was a very expressive type of the sacrifice of Christ, as nothing less than his *complete* and full sacrifice could make atonement for the sins of the world.

ii. The *peace-offerings*, (Levit. iii. 1.) were also free-will offerings, in token of peace and reconciliation between God and man: they were either eucharistical, that is, offered as thanksgivings for blessings received, or were offered for the impetration of mercies. These offerings consisted either of animals,

* Dr. Owen on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercitat. xxiv. p. 307.

† See p. 122, *supra*.

‡ See pp. 127, 128, *infra*.

or of bread or dough; if the former, part of them was burnt upon the altar, especially all the fat, as an offering to the Lord; and the remainder was to be eaten by the priest and the party offering. To this sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving, St. Paul alludes in Heb. xiii. 15, 16. In this kind of sacrifices the victims might be either male or female, provided they were without blemish. The parts of both, which were appropriated to the Priests and Levites, were called *heave* or *wave offerings*; because they were *heaved* or lifted up towards heaven, and *waved* to and fro, before they were eaten, in acknowledgment of the goodness and kindness of God, and also in token of their being consecrated to him, (Lev. iii. 1—6. Exod. xxix. 26, 27. Numb. xviii. 24—28.) The peace-offerings are in Hebrew termed שלמים (*Shelamim*) from שלם (*Shalam*) to complete or make whole; because, by these offerings, that which was *deficient* was considered as being now *made up*; and that which was broken, viz. the covenant of God, by his creature's transgression, was supposed to be made whole: so that, after such an offering, the sincere and conscientious mind was authorized to consider itself as reconciled to God, and that it might lay confident hold on this covenant of peace. To this St. Paul alludes in that fine passage contained in Eph. ii. 14—19.

The appointed seasons and occasions of the peace-offering were, 1. At the consecration of a priest, (Exod. xxix. 1—37. Lev. vii. 36.) 2. At the expiration of the Nazarite vow, (Numb. vi. 13—21.) 3. At the solemn dedication of the tabernacle and temple; and 4. *At the purification of a leper* *.

iii. *Sin-offerings*, in Hebrew termed חטאת, *chataah*, (from the word חָטָא, *chata*, to miss the mark), were offered for sins committed either through ignorance, or wilfully against knowledge;

* The signs of that horrible disease in oriental countries, the leprosy, and of its cure, are minutely described in Levit. xiii. for the information of the priests, who were required to inspect and certify the fact, in order to re-admit the patient into society. "Among the sacrifices and ceremonies of his purification, which are minutely described in Levit. xiv. the following is remarkable: The priest was required to take two small birds, and to kill one of them over an earthen vessel filled with river water so that the blood might be mixed with the water. He was then to dip the other or living bird into the water, and sprinkle the leper with it seven times with a stick of cedar wood, upon which a bunch of *hyssop* was tied with a scarlet thread; after which the priest was to pronounce him purified, and let loose the living bird into the open air, (Levit. xiv. 2—7.) This ceremony seems to be typical of the purification of our sins by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, (Isa. liii. 15. 1 Pet. i. 2.), which flowed out of his wounded side mixed with water, (John xix. 34.); while the dismissal of the living bird resembles that of the scape-goat into the wilderness, with the sins of the leper upon him. Our Lord expressly commanded the lepers, whom he healed, to conform to the law," (Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14. xvii. 14.) Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 273.

and which God always punished unless they were expiated. These offerings in general consisted of a sin-offering to God, and a burnt-offering in token of acceptance, accompanied with restitution of damage, (Levit. v. 2—19. xxv. 17. vi. 1—7.) conformably to which our Lord requires previous reconciliation with an injured brother, including restitution, before the burnt-offering or gift would be acceptable to God, (Matt. v. 23, 24.) St. Paul, (Eph. v. 2.) terms Christ's giving himself for us an offering, (i. e. a peace-offering), and a *sacrifice* or sin-offering to God for a sweet-smelling savour, (compare Lev. iv. 31.) In the warm climates nothing is more refreshing than fragrant odours: and as, in the highly figurative language of the antient Hebrews, *smelling* is used to denote the perception of a *moral quality* in another, God is said to smell a sweet savour from sacrifice, to signify that he perceived with pleasure the good disposition which the offerer expressed by such an act of worship. When, therefore, the apostle tells us that Christ gave himself for us, an offering and a sweet-smelling sacrifice to God, he teaches us that Christ's sacrifice for us was highly acceptable to God, not only as a signal instance of obedience to his Father's will, but also on account of its happy influence in establishing the moral government of God *. The sacrifices offered for the purification of lepers, as well as of women after child-birth, (Levit. xii. 1—8. Luke ii. 24.) were reckoned among the sin-offerings, inasmuch as leprosy and the pains of child-bearing were considered as punishments for some particular sin; though both were accompanied by eucharistic sacrifices for the recovery of the persons offering them. Maimonides adds, that if the person who offered this sacrifice did not repent, and make public confession of his sins, he was not cleansed or purified by it †.

iv. The *trespass-offerings* were made, where the party offering had just reason to doubt whether he had violated the law of God or not, (Levit. v. 17, 18.) They do not appear to have differed materially from sin-offerings ‡. In both these kinds of sacrifices, the person who offered them placed his hands on the victim's head (if a sin offering), and confessed his sin over it, and his trespass over the trespass-offering; saying, "I have sinned, I have done iniquity, I have tres-

* Macknight on Eph. v. 2.

† De Ratione Sacrificii, c. iii. n. 13.

‡ Michaelis is of opinion that sin-offerings were made for sins of *commission*, and trespass-offerings for sins of *omission*. Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 96.

passed, and have done thus, and thus, and do return by repentance before thee, and with *this* I make atonement." The animal was then considered as vicariously bearing the sins of the person who brought it*. In Isa. liii. 10. Jesus Christ is said to make his soul an offering for sin, אָשָׁם (Asham), the very word used in the law of Moses to denote a trespass-offering.

All these sacrifices were occasional, and had reference to individuals; but there were others which were national and regular, daily, weekly, monthly, and annual. The *perpetual or daily sacrifice* was a burnt-offering, consisting of two lambs, which were offered every day, morning and evening, at the third and ninth hours. (Exod. xxix. 38—40. Levit. vi. 9—18. Numb. xxviii. 1—8.) They were burnt as holocausts, but by a small fire, that they might continue burning the longer. With each of these victims was offered a bread-offering, and a drink-offering of strong wine. The morning sacrifice, according to the Jews, made atonement for the sins committed in the night, and the evening sacrifice expiated those committed during the day.

The *weekly* sacrifice on every sabbath day was equal to the daily sacrifice, and was offered in addition to it, (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.)

The *monthly* sacrifice, on every new moon, or at the beginning of each month, consisted of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of a year old, together with a kid for a sin-offering, and a suitable bread and drink offering, (Numb. xxviii. 11—14.)

The *yearly* sacrifices were those offered on the great annual festivals; viz. 1. The Paschal lamb at the passover, which was celebrated at the commencement of the Jewish *sacred* year; 2. On the day of Pentecost, or day of first-fruits; 3. On the new moon, or first day of the seventh month, which was the beginning of their *civil* year, or in-gathering of the fruits and vintage; and all these stated burnt-offerings were to be accompanied with a sin-offering of a goat, to show their insufficiency to "make the comers thereunto perfect" (Numb. xxvii. 27—31. xxviii. 1—11. Heb. x. 1.) 4. Lastly, on the day of expiation, or great day of atonement. As a particular account is given of these solemn festivals in the following section, we proceed briefly to notice the second general class of sacrifices, viz.

II. The UNBLOODY SACRIFICES OR MEAT-OFFERINGS, (Levit. ii.) which were taken solely from the vegetable kingdom. They consisted of meal, bread, cakes, ears of corn, and

* Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. xxix. 10.

parched grain, with oil and frankincense prepared according to the divine command. Regularly, they could not be presented as sin-offerings, except in the single case of the person who had sinned being so poor, that the offering of two young pigeons or two turtle-doves exceeded his means. They were to be free from leaven or honey; but to all of them it was necessary to add pure salt, that is, saltpetre.

III. DRINK-OFFERINGS were an accompaniment to both bloody and unbloody sacrifices; they were never used separately, and consisted of wine, which appears to have been partly poured upon the brow of the victim in order to consecrate it, and partly allotted to the priests, who drank it with their portions of both these kinds of offerings. The Psalmist shows how the use of drink-offerings degenerated amongst idolaters, who in their superstitious rage made use of the blood of living creatures, perhaps of men, in their libations. "Their DRINK-OFFERINGS OF BLOOD," says he, "will I not offer," (Psal. xvi. 4.). *

Besides the various kinds of sacrifices above described, there were some oblations made by the Jews, consisting of incense, bread, and other things; which have been divided by Lamy into three sorts, viz. such as were *ordinary* or *common*: *voluntary* or free oblations; and such as were *prescribed*.

IV. The ORDINARY oblations were, 1. Of the *shew-bread*, (Heb. *bread of the face*), which consisted of twelve loaves, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. They were placed hot, every sabbath day, by the priests, upon the golden table in the sanctuary, before the Lord; when they removed the stale loaves which had been exposed for the whole of the preceding week. 2. *Incense*, consisting of several fragrant spices, prepared according to the instructions given to Moses in Exod. xxx. 34—36. It was offered twice every day, morning and evening, by the officiating priest, upon an altar of gold, where no bloody sacrifice was to come, during which solemn rite the people prayed without in silence, (Luke i. 10.) But on the great day of expiation the high priest himself took fire from the great altar in a golden censer; and, on descend-

* Schulzii Archæol. Heb. pp. 250—280. Lamy Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 187—203. Relandi Antiq. Sacr. Hebræonum, part iii. cap. i—v. pp. 290—368. Ikenii Antiq. Heb. part i. cap. xiii. xiv. pp. 152—191. Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introd. to the New Test. (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 196—199) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. v. pp. 155—174. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 94—97, 109—115, 246—254. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 270—272. Jahn, Archæol. Bib. pp. 506—525. Dr. Owen on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. xxiv. pp. 306—318. Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 926—941.

ing from the altar, he received incense from one of the priests, which he offered on the golden altar. During such offering the people prayed silently without: and to this most solemn silence St. John alludes in Rev. viii. 1., where he says that "there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour*." To this oblation of incense the psalmist refers (cxli. 2.) in his devotions, and explains his meaning by his application of it:—"Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense." "As the smoke and odour of this offering was wafted into the holy place, close by the veil of which stood the altar of incense, so do the prayers of the faithful ascend upwards, and find admission to the highest heaven†," (Acts x. 4.)

V. The VOLUNTARY or FREE oblations were either the fruits of promises or of vows; but the former were not considered so strictly obligatory as the latter, of which there were two kinds: 1. The *vow of consecration*, when any thing was devoted either for sacrifice, or for the service of the temple, as wine, wood, salt, &c.; and, 2. The *vow of engagement*, when persons engaged to do something that was not in itself unlawful, as not to eat of some particular meat, not to wear some particular habits, not to drink wine, nor to cut their hair, &c. When the Jews made a vow, they made use of one of these two forms: "*I charge myself with a burnt-offering*;" or, "*I charge myself with the price of this animal for a burnt-offering*." Besides these they had other shorter forms; for instance, when they devoted all they had, they merely said, "*All I have shall be corban*," that is "I make an oblation of it to God." Among other false doctrines taught by the Pharisees, who were the depositaries of the sacred treasury, was this, that as soon as he had pronounced to his father or mother this form of consecration or offering, "Be it corban (that is devoted) whatever of mine shall profit thee," (Mark vii. 11.) he thereby

* Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, p. 264. See also Woodhouse on Rev. viii. 1. p. 199.

† Jones on the Fig. Lang. of Scrip. Lect. iv. towards the close. "The prayer of faith," adds this learned and pious writer, "is acceptable to God, as the fragrance of incense is agreeable to the senses of man; and, as the incense was offered twice a day, in the morning and evening, the spirit of this service is to be kept up at those times throughout all generations. The prophet Malachi (upon a forced and erroneous interpretation of whose words alone the Church of Rome has founded and defended the use of incense in her worship) foretold that it should be observed throughout the world, (Mal. i. 11.) and in the Revelation we hear of this incense as now actually carried up and presented in heaven," (Rev. v. 8.) Happy are they who fulfil this service; and at the rising and going down of the sun send up this offering to heaven, as all Christians are supposed to do, at least twice in every day." Ibid. (Works, vol. iii. p. 66.)

consecrated all he had to God, and must not thenceforth do any thing for his indigent parents if they solicited support from him. With great reason therefore does Jesus Christ reproach them with having destroyed by their tradition, not only that commandment of the law which enjoins children to honour their fathers and mothers, but also another divine precept, which, under the severest penalty, forbade that kind of dishonour which consists in contumelious words, (Mark vii. 9, 10, 13.) They, however, proceeded even further than this unnatural gloss; for, though the son did not directly give, or mean to give, any thing to God at that time, yet if he afterwards should repent of his rashness, and wish to supply them with any thing, what he had formerly said precluded the possibility of doing so; for his property became eventually devoted to God, and, according to the Pharisaic doctrine, the sacred treasury had a claim upon it in preference to the parents. The words “be it corban,” or devoted, consequently implied an imprecation against himself, if he should ever afterwards bestow any thing for the relief of his parents: as if he should say to them, “May I incur all the infamy of sacrilege and perjury if ever ye get any thing from me;” than which it is not easy to conceive of any thing spoken by a son to his parents, more contemptuous or more barbarous, and therefore justly denominated *καπολογία*, “*opprobrious language**.”

VI. The PRESCRIBED OBLATIONS were either first-fruits or tithes.

1. All the *first-fruits*, both of fruit and animals, were consecrated to God, (Exod. xxii. 29. Numb. xv. 7. xviii. 12, 13. Deut. xxvi. 2. Neh. x. 35, 36.): and the first-fruits of sheep's wool were offered for the use of the Levites, (Deut. xviii. 4.) The amount of this gift is not specified in the law of Moses, which leaves it entirely to the pleasure of the giver: the Talmudical writers, however, inform us, that liberal persons were accustomed to give the fortieth, and even the thirtieth; while such as were covetous or penurious gave only a sixtieth part. The first of these they called an oblation with a good eye, and the second, an oblation with an evil eye. To this traditional saying our Lord is, by some learned men, supposed to have alluded in Matt. xx. 15. Among animals, the males only belonged to God: and the Jews not only had a right, but were even obliged, to redeem them in the case of

* Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 379—382. third edition.

men and unclean animals, which could not be offered in sacrifice. These first-fruits were offered from the feast of pentecost until that of dedication, because after that time the fruits were neither so beautiful nor so good as before. Further, the Jews were prohibited from gathering in the harvest until they had offered to God the *omer*, that is, the new sheaf, which was presented the day after the great day of unleavened bread: neither were they allowed to bake any bread made of new corn until they had offered the new loaves upon the altar on the day of pentecost; without which all the corn was regarded as unclean and unholy. To this St. Paul alludes in Rom. xi. 16.; where he says, "If the *first-fruit* be holy, the lump also is holy." The presentation of the first-fruits was a solemn and festive ceremony. At the beginning of harvest, the sanhedrim deputed a number of priests to go into the fields and reap a handful of the first ripe corn: and these, attended by great crouds of people, went out of one of the gates of Jerusalem into the neighbouring corn fields. The first-fruits thus reaped were carried with great pomp and universal rejoicing through the streets of Jerusalem to the temple. The Jewish writers say that an ox preceded them, with gilded horns and an olive crown upon his head, and that a pipe played before them until they approached the city: on entering it they crowned the first-fruits, that is, exposed them to sight with as much pomp as they could, and the chief officers of the temple went out to meet them. They were then devoutly offered to God in grateful acknowledgement of his providential goodness in giving them the fruits of the earth. These first-fruits, or handful of the first ripe grain, gave notice to all who beheld them that the *general* harvest would soon be gathered in. How beautiful and striking is St. Paul's allusion to this religious ceremony in that most consolatory and closely reasoned chapter, the fifteenth of his first epistle to the Corinthians, in which, from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, he argues and establishes the certainty of the general resurrection; and represents Christ as the first-fruits of a glorious and universal harvest of all the sleeping dead! *Now is Christ risen, and become the FIRST-FRUITS of them that slept*, (1 Cor. xv. 20.) The use which the apostle makes of this image is very extensive. "In the first place, the growing of grain from the earth where it was buried is an exact image of the resurrection of the body: for, as the one is *sown*, so is the other, and neither is *quickened* except it first die and be buried. Then the whole harvest, from its relation to the first-fruits, explains and ensures the

order of our resurrection. For, is the sheaf of the first-fruits reaped? then is the whole harvest ready. Is Christ risen from the dead? then shall all rise in like manner. Is he accepted of God as an holy offering? then shall every sheaf that has grown up with him be taken from the earth and sanctified in its proper order:—*Christ the FIRST-FRUITS, and afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming*.*" (1 Cor. xv. 23.)

2. Besides the first-fruits, the Jews also paid the tenths or tithes of all they possessed, (Numb. xviii. 21.) They were in general collected of all the produce of the earth, (Lev. xxvii. 30. Deut. xiv. 22, 23. Neh. xiii. 5, 10.) but chiefly of corn, wine, and oil, and were rendered every year, except the sabbatical year. When these tithes were paid, the owner of the fruits further gave another tenth part, which was carried up to Jerusalem, and eaten in the temple at offering feasts, as a sign of rejoicing *and gratitude to God*. These are called *second tithes* †. The Levites paid a tenth of the tithes they received to the priests. Lastly, there were tithes allotted to the poor, for whom there was also a corner left in every field, which it was not lawful to reap with the rest, (Lev. xix. 9. Deut. xxiv. 19.); and they were likewise allowed such ears of corn, or grapes, as were dropped or scattered about, and the sheaves that might be accidentally forgotten in the field. Field-tithes might be redeemed by those who desired it, on paying one-fifth in addition; but all conversion of the tithes of cattle was prohibited, (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33.) The payment and appretiation of them Moses left to the consciences of the people, without subjecting them to judicial or sacerdotal visitations, but at the same time he did not prohibit the Levites from taking care that they duly received what was their own. The conscientious accuracy of the people, with respect to the second tithe, he secured merely by the declaration which they made every three years before God. From trifling articles he in no case required tithes; though we learn from the Gospel that the Pharisees affected to be scrupulously exact in paying tithe of every the least herb, (Matt. xxiii. 23.) If, however, a person had committed

* Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 64. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 307. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 146—149. Beausobre's Introd. to the New Test. (vol. iii. p. 200. of Bishop Watson's Coll. of Tracts.) Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 984. vol. ii. p. 184, 306, 307. Lamy's Apparatus, vol. i. p. 204. Ikenii Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 15. pp. 210—224. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 287—292. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 203—206.

† On the application of these second tithes, see Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 142, 143.

a trespass against the sanctuary, that is, had not paid the tithes of any particular things, and if, at any time afterwards, his conscience were awakened to a sense of his guilt, he had it in his power to make an atonement, without incurring any civil disgrace, by simply paying an additional fifth with his tithe, and making a trespass-offering *. (Lev. v. 14—16.)

SECTION IV.

SACRED TIMES AND SEASONS OBSERVED BY THE JEWS.

- I. THE SABBATH — II. *How observed* — III. *Jewish worship on that day* — IV. *Their prayers, public and private; attitudes at prayer; forms of prayer* — V. *Their manner of worshipping in the temple* — VI. *New moons* — VII. *Annual festivals* — VIII. THE PASSOVER; *when celebrated, and with what ceremonies; its mystical or typical reference* — IX. THE DAY OF PENTECOST — X. THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES — XI. THE FEAST OF TRUMPETS — XII. DAY OF EXPIATION — XIII. *Annual festivals instituted by the Jews* — FEAST OF PURIM — XIV. THE FEAST OF DEDICATION; *other festivals observed at stated intervals* — XV. THE SABBATICAL YEAR — XVI. THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

IN order to perpetuate the memory of the numerous wonders God had wrought in favour of his people, Moses by the divine command instituted various festivals, which they were obliged to observe: these sacred seasons were either weekly, monthly, or annual, or recurred after a certain number of years.

I. Every *seventh* day was appropriated to sacred repose, and called the *sabbath*; although this name is in some passages given to other festivals, as in Levit. xxv. 4., and sometimes it denotes a week, as in Matt. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiv. 1. Acts xx. 7. and 1 Cor. xvi. 2. (Gr.) It was originally instituted to preserve the memory of the creation of the world, (Gen. ii. 3.): whether it continued to be observed by the Israelites as a day of rest and holy convocation during their residence in Egypt, is a question concerning which learned men are by no means agreed. When, however, God gave them rest in the land of Canaan he gave them his sabbaths to be statedly kept, (Exod. xx. 10, 11. and xvi. 23.)

* Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 141—145.

II. In the observance of the sabbath, the following circumstances were enjoined by divine command. 1. This day was to be held sacred as a day of worship, in memory of the creation of the world by Jehovah, and also as a day of repose both for man and beast, that they might be refreshed, and not have their bodily strength exhausted by uninterrupted labour. (Gen. ii. 1—3. Exod. xx. 10, 11. Ezek. xx. 20.); hence the celebration of the sabbath was making a weekly profession that they received and revered the Creator of heaven and earth, and was closely connected with the fundamental principle of the Mosiac law, whose object was to keep the people from idolatry, and to maintain the worship of the one true God; and hence also the punishment of death was denounced against the wilful profanation of this solemnity. 2. On this day they were most religiously to abstain from all manner of work, (Exod. xx. 10. xxiii. 12. xxxi. 12—17. xxxv. 2, 3. Deut. v. 14, 15. Jer. xvii. 22.) It was therefore unlawful to gather manna, (Exod. xvi. 22—30.) to light a fire for culinary purposes (Exod. xxxv. 3. Numb. xv. 32—36.), and to sow or reap, (Exod. xxxiv. 21.) To these enactments the Jewish doctors added a variety of other regulations for which there is not the slightest foundation in the law of Moses. Thus, it was formerly accounted unlawful to repel force by force on the sabbath-day*; and how much its observance was strained by the traditions of the elders in the time of our Lord, is sufficiently manifest. Hence we find it was deemed unlawful to pluck ears of corn, (Matt. xii. 2.) to satisfy the cravings of nature, because that was a species of reaping. We learn from the talmudical writers that it was unlawful to use oil medicinally, though they allowed it as a luxury; the anointing of the body with fragrant oils being then, as it is now in the east, one of their highest enjoyments. It was a traditional rule of the antient Jewish doctors, that “whatever could possibly be done on the day before, or might be deferred until the following day, ought not to drive out the sabbath;” an excellent maxim when rightly understood, but when applied to cases of infirmity or sickness, they manifestly showed that they did not comprehend the meaning of the divine declaration,—“I will have mercy and not sacrifice.” In *chronical diseases* therefore, of which description were those cured by Jesus Christ on the sabbath-day, they conceived that the persons who had so long struggled with them might very well

* 1 Macc. ii. 31—38. See other examples in Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. vi. § 2. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. § 4. lib. iv. c. 2. § 3. and de vitâ suâ, § 32.

bear them a day longer, rather than prepare medicines or in any way attempt to be cured on that day. The knowledge of this circumstance will greatly illustrate the conduct of our Lord in healing the sick on the sabbath-day, and particularly the man who had been born blind, (John ix.) The rule above stated was made before he began to teach, and he gladly availed himself of the first opportunity to refute their erroneous notions, and expose their gross prevarication in interpreting many of the sabbatical laws. Further, seeing it was prohibited to put fasting spittle upon or into the eyes of a blind man on the sabbath-day, our Saviour effected a cure by using both clay and spittle, (John ix. 6, 14.) to shew his divine authority in employing means to human reason the most improper, even on that sacred day, directly in opposition to the above rule; which was good and just in itself, but hypocritical, superstitious, and cruel when applied to the case of healing on the sabbath*. The services of the temple, however, might be performed without profaning the sabbath, such as preparing the sacrifices, (Lev. vi. 8—13. Numb. xxviii. 3—10. Matt, xii. 5.); and it was also lawful to perform circumcision on that day, (John vii. 23.) 3. The sabbath was to be devoted to cheerful rest, that not only the Israelites, but also strangers living with them, as well as their cattle, might be refreshed, (Exod. xxiii. 12.) Hence it is not improbable that they celebrated sacrificial or offering feasts, to which, from the commencement of their polity, the poor were invited. In later times at least, we know from history, that the Jews purchased and prepared the best viands they could procure for the sabbath-day, in order to do it honour; and that they actually had sabbath-feasts to which they even invited persons with whom they were unacquainted†.

The sabbath commenced at sun-set, and closed at the same time on the following day. (Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32.) Whatever was necessary was prepared on the latter part of the preceding day, that is, of our Friday; hence the day preced-

* Dr. Wotton's *Misna*, title *Shabbath*, pp. 101—103, 123. The sabbath, we may observe, was a type of that eternal rest which all the true servants of God will hereafter enjoy in heaven. See Jones's *Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Lect. ii. (Works, vol. iii. pp. 240—242.)

† Luke xiv. 1. and Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on that passage, (Works, vol. ii. pp. 445—446.) See also Wetstein's *Notes*, vol. i. p. 750. Michaelis observes that our Saviour's observation in Luke xiv. 12—14. can only be fully understood in reference to a feast that formed a part of divine worship, and, as such, might look for a recompence from God; for we do not in ordinary cases expect that God should reward us in another world for every entertainment we give. *Commentaries*, vol. iii. p. 158.

ing the sabbath (*προσάββατον*) is in the New Testament termed the *preparation* (*παρασκευη*), in Matt. xxvii. 62. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. and John xix. 14, 31, 42.

We know not with certainty from the Mosaic writings what constituted the most antient worship of the Israelites on the sabbath-day. It is, however, evident from the New Testament that the celebration of this day chiefly consisted in the religious exercises which were then performed; though there is no injunction recorded, except that a burnt-offering of two lambs should on that day be added to the morning and evening sacrifices, (Numb. xxviii. 9.); and that the shewbread should be changed, (Levit. xxiv. 8.) In the synagogues, as we have already seen, the sacred writings were read and expounded, to which was sometimes added a discourse or sermon by some doctor or eminent teacher, (Luke iv. 16. Acts xiii. 15.)

III. Prayer also appears to have formed a part of their sacred worship in the synagogue, and especially in the temple, (1 Sam. i. 9, 10. 1 Kings viii. 29, 30, 33. Psal. xxviii. 2. Luke xviii. 10.): the stated hours were at the time of offering the morning and evening sacrifice, or at the third and ninth hours, (Acts ii. 15. and iii. 1.); although it was the custom of the more devout Jews, as David (Psal. lv. 17.) and Daniel, (vi. 10.) to pray three times a day. Previously to offering up their supplications they washed their hands, to signify that they had put away sin and purposed to live a holy life. To this usage St. Paul alludes in 1 Tim. ii. 8. The *public* prayers were first offered at the tabernacle, and afterwards in the temple and synagogues, by the minister appointed for that purpose, the people answering (*in the synagogues only*) at the conclusion with a loud Amen*, (Neh. viii. 6.) *Private* prayers were offered by individuals in a low tone of voice, (1 Sam. i. 13. Luke xviii. 11.) with the head covered†; either standing (Luke xviii. 11.) or kneeling, (Ezra ix. 5. Luke xxii. 41. Acts vii. 60.); sometimes bowing the head towards the earth, (Exod. xxxiv. 8.) and at others, with the whole body prostrate on the ground, (Psal. xcv. 6. Matt. xxvi. 39.) Sometimes they smote upon the breast, in token of their deep humiliation and

* The Jews attribute a wonderful efficacy to this word; and have an idle tradition that the gates of paradise will be opened to him who says Amen with all his might.

† The reason of this custom was to profess themselves reverent and ashamed before God, and unworthy to appear before him. It was a maxim of the Jews—"Let not the wise men, nor the scholars of the wise men, pray, unless they be covered." It appears that the Corinthians, though converted to the Christian faith, in this respect conformed to the Jewish practice; and therefore St. Paul remonstrated against it, 1 Cor. xi. 4. Lightfoot's *Hor. Heb.* in loc. (Works, ii. 769, 770.)

penitence, (Luke xviii. 13.) or spread forth their hands, (Isa. i. 15.) or lifted them up to heaven, (Psal. cxli. 2. Lam. iii. 41.) Of this last posture in prayer many instances occur, both in sacred and profane authors. It was adopted by the primitive Christians when pouring forth their supplications: they stood up, says Tertullian, and directed their eyes towards heaven with expanded hands*. A similar testimony is given by Clement of Alexandria†: “We lift up our head, and elevate our hands towards heaven.” So also, St. Paul, when exhorting Christians to pray for all classes of persons, describes the gesture then used in prayer, (1 Tim. ii. 8.)—“Wherefore *lift up holy hands* without wrath or doubting.” Those who affected superior sanctity, or who from motives of ostentation and hypocrisy, it appears, prayed in the streets‡, and “made long prayers,” were severely censured by our Lord for their formal and hypocritical devotion, (Matt. vi. 5. and xxiii. 14.) When at a distance from the temple, the more devout Jews turned themselves towards it when they prayed. We have an instance of this in the conduct of Daniel§, (Dan. vi. 10.)

IV. What the stated public prayers were in the time of our Lord it is now impossible exactly to ascertain; it is probable that many of the eighteen prayers, which are said to have been collected together by Rabbi Gamaliel the Elder, the master of St. Paul, were then in use; and as all persons were not able to commit them to memory, it is also probable that a summary of them was drawn up. But we know certainly that it was customary for the more eminent doctors of the Jews to compose forms of short prayers, which they delivered to their scholars. Thus John the Baptist gave his disciples such a form: and Jesus Christ, at the request of his disciples, gave them that most perfect model emphatically termed the Lord's Prayer, in which he is supposed designedly to have made use of several expressions from the Jewish precatory forms||.

* Apolog. c. 30. p. 30. edit. Rigaltii.

† Stromata, lib. ii. p. 722. Dr. Harwood (Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. p. 301.) has given several passages from classic authors, confirming the antiquity of this posture in prayer. The practice of extending the hands in prayer still obtains in the east. See Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 511—513. Fragments annexed to Calmet, No. cclxxviii.

‡ This practice is also general throughout the east. Fragments, No. cv. See likewise Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Matt. vi. 5. (Works, ii. 156.)

§ Lamy is of opinion that Hezekiah did so, and that we are to understand his *turning his face to the wall* (2 Kings xx. 2.) of his turning towards the temple. De Tabernaculo, lib. vii. c. i. § 5.

|| See Lightfoot's *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. vi. 9—13. Drusius, in *Critici Sacri*, vol. vi. col. 259—260. Whithy, and other commentators in loc. Dr. Hales has an excellent commentary on this prayer, in his *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1005—1011. The forms, &c. of prayer of the modern Jews are described by Mr. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, pp. 326—354.

V. With what reverence the Jews regarded their temple, we have already seen*: and in proportion to the sanctity of the place was the solemn and holy behaviour required of all who came to worship there. The law, indeed, had prohibited the approach of all uncleanness; but to the enactments of Moses the great masters of traditions added a variety of other trifling regulations, which the law had not named, while they scrupled not to make the “house of prayer,” a den of thieves. Dr. Lightfoot has collected many of these traditions respecting the temple-worship; an abridgement of which will form a proper supplement to the preceding observations.

1. No man might enter the “mountain of the house,” for so they call the temple, with his staff; weapons of offence being unsuited to the house of peace; and it being reputed indecorous to lean, when there, on any other staff than God. On this account it was, that our Lord expelled the buyers and sellers of cattle from the temple with a whip of cords, (John ii. 15.)—2. No man was permitted to enter with shoes on his feet †, nor with dust on his feet, which he was obliged to wipe or wash, (thus intimating the necessity of approaching the Most High divested of all worldly cares and affections); nor with money in his purse, nor with his purse about him.—3. Having arrived at the temple every worshipper was prohibited from spitting there, as well as from using any irreverent gestures, or making it a thoroughfare to shorten his distance in crossing from one part of the city to another: and on entering the court, he must walk leisurely and gravely to his place, and there demean himself as in the presence of God.—4. Having now entered to pray and attend the service, he was to stand with his feet one even with the other; and, casting his eyes downward while he raised his heart upward, must cross his hands upon his breast, and stand as a servant before his master, with all reverence and fear. The practice of looking down in prayer the Jews derived from those passages of Scripture, which speak of being ashamed to look up towards heaven, on account of their sinfulness: to this position of looking down and laying his hands upon his heart, the demeanour of the devout publican (Luke xviii. 13.) seems to be parallel. Even the priests, when they pronounced the blessing upon the people, neither looked up towards heaven, nor level upon the people, but down upon the ground; and the people

* See pp. 47—49, *supra*.

† This prohibition was derived from the command of God to Moses, (Exod. iii. 5.) and Joshua, (v. 15.) The same usage obtains throughout the east to this day.

were prohibited from looking upon them.—5. However weary the worshipper might be with standing, he might on no account sit down either in the Israelites' or priests' court; no person whatever being allowed that privilege, except the kings of the house of David.—6. Having offered their prayers in the manner already noticed*, and performed the services, they were to depart in the same order in which they had entered: and as they were prohibited to turn their backs upon the altar, they went backward till they were out of the court, and departed from the temple by a different gate from that by which they had entered†.

VI. The Jewish months being lunar were originally calculated from the first appearance of the moon, on which the feast of the new moon, or beginning of months (as the Hebrews termed it) was celebrated, (Exod. xv. 2. Numb. x. 10. xxviii. 11. Isa. i. 13, 14.) It seems to have been in use long before the time of Moses, who by the divine command prescribed what ceremonies were then to be observed. It was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets, (Numb. x. 10. Psal. lxxi. 3.); and several additional sacrifices were offered, (Numb. xxviii. 11—15.)

VII. Besides the sabbath, Moses instituted other festivals; three of these, viz. the passover, the feast of pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles, which are usually denominated the *great festivals*, were distinguished from the sabbath and indeed from all other holy days, by the circumstance of each of them lasting seven (one for eight) successive days; during which the Jews were bound to rejoice before the Lord for all their deliverances and mercies, (Deut. xvi. 11—15.) All the males of the twelve tribes were bound to be present at these grand festivals, (Exod. xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16.): and for their encouragement to attend they were assured that “no man should desire their land” during their absence, (Exod. xxxiv. 24.); in other words that they should be secure from hostile invasion during their attendance on religious worship:—a manifest proof this of the divine origin of their religion, as well as of the power and particular providence of God, in working thrice every year an especial miracle for the protection of his people. The design of these meetings was partly to unite the Jews among themselves, and, teaching them to regard each other as brethren and fellow citizens, to promote mutual love and friendship. To this the psalmist probably refers in Psal. cxxii. 3, 4. and it was partly that, as one church, they might make one congre-

* See pp. 136, 137, *supra*.

† Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 947—950.

gation, and join in solemn worship together. Further, so large a concourse of people would give the greater solemnity to these festivals: and as no Israelite was to present himself before the Lord without some offering, (Deut. xvi. 16, 17.) ample provision was thus made for the support of the ministers of the sanctuary. On these occasions, although the men were required to attend, it does not appear that women were prevented from going if they chose, at least at the passover, (see 1 Sam. i. 3, 7. Luke ii. 41.) For greater security, however, against the attacks of robbers on the road, they used to travel in large companies, those who came from the same city, canton, or district, forming one company. They carried necessities along with them, and tents for their lodging at night*. It was among such a "company," that Joseph and Mary sought Jesus Christ, (Luke ii. 44.): and to their journeying through a dreary valley on one of these festivals, the psalmist probably alludes, (lxxxiv. 6.) Further, as the Jewish sanctuary and service contained in them a shadow of good things to come, and were typical of the Christian church, this prescribed concourse from all parts of the country might be intended to typify the gathering of the people to Christ, and into his church, from all parts of the world under the Christian dispensation. Hence St. Paul, alluding to these general assemblies of the Israelites on the three grand feasts, says "We are come to the *general assembly* of the church," (Heb. xii. 23.)

But besides the benefits to be derived from the religious celebration of these ordinances, Michaelis has pointed out several instances in which they produced a salutary effect on the community. Not only would their meeting together in one place for the purposes of religion and social intercourse tend to prevent a total alienation of rival tribes, as well as civil war, but it would also afford them an opportunity of being mutually reconciled. Further, it is not improbable that these annual meetings promoted the internal commerce of the Israelites, who were prohibited from carrying on traffic with

* Nearly similar to this is the mode of travelling in the east to this hour. Such companies they now call caravans; and in many places there are buildings fitted up for their reception called *caravanserais*. This account of the Israelites' mode of travelling furnishes a ready answer to the question, how Joseph and Mary could make a day's journey without discovering, before night, that Jesus was not in the "company." In the daytime, as circumstances might lead them, the travellers would probably mingle with their friends and acquaintance; but in the evening, when they were about to encamp, every one would join the family to which he belonged. As Jesus then did not appear when it was growing late, his parents first sought him, where they supposed he would most probably be, among his relations and acquaintance; and not finding him, returned to Jerusalem. Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 449. note on Luke ii. 44.

foreigners; and lastly, they had an important influence on the Jewish calendar, inasmuch as the year was arranged, so that the various festivals should fall in their respective months without interfering with the labours of the field*.

VIII. The first and most eminent of these festivals was the PASSOVER †, instituted the night before the Israelites' departure from Egypt, for a perpetual memorial of their signal deliverance, and of the favour which God shewed them in passing over and sparing their first-born, when he slew the first-born of the Egyptians, (Exod. xii. 12—14, 29, 30—51.) This festival was also called the *feast or the days of unleavened bread*, (Exod. xxiii. 15. Mark xiv. 2. Acts xii. 3.); because it was unlawful to eat any other bread during the seven days the feast lasted. The name was also by a metonymy given to the lamb that was killed on the first day of this feast, (Ezra vi. 20. Matt. xxvi. 17. whence the expressions, to *eat the passover*, (Mark xiv. 12, 14.) and to *sacrifice* ‡ the passover, (1 Cor. v. 7.) Hence also St. Paul calls Jesus Christ our passover (ibid.), that is, our true paschal lamb. But the appellation, passover, belongs more particularly to the second day of the feast, viz. the fifteenth day of the month Nizan §. It was ordained to be celebrated on the anniversary of the deliverance of the Israelites. This was an indispensable rite to be observed by every Israelite except in particular cases, enumerated in Numb. ix. 1—13, on pain of death ||: and no uncircumcised person was allowed to partake of the passover**. On this festive occasion, it was the custom at Jerusalem for the inhabitants to give the free use of their rooms and furniture to strangers at the passover. This usage will explain the circumstance of our Saviour's sending to

* Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. iii. pp. 182—189. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. iv. pp. 331, 332.

† On the true meaning of the word *passover*, Dr. Magee has a learned disquisition in vol. i. of his Discourses on the Atonement, pp. 309—321. That it was a kind of fœderal rite (as the Eucharist also is) between God and man, Dr. Cudworth has solidly proved in his "True notion of the Lord's Supper," chap. vi. pp. 28—36. at the end vol. ii. of his "Intellectual System," 4to edit.

‡ That the passover was a proper and real sacrifice, see largely proved by Dr. Magee in the same work, vol. i. p. 297—309.

§ Lev. xxiii. 6. Mark xiv. 1. Josephus Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. x. § 5.

|| In like manner, Dr. Waterland has observed, a contempt and rejection of at least the thing signified by the sacrament of the Lord's supper, must necessarily exclude every man from the benefits of Christ's passion and death.

** So, in the early ages of Christianity, no person was permitted to come to the Lord's supper until he had been baptised. As soon, however, as the passover was celebrated, every one was at liberty to go home the very next morning if he pleased, (Deut. xvi. 7.) of course while the festival lasted, in order that those Jews, who came from a distance, might return in time for getting in the harvest. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 183, 184.

a man to prepare for his eating the passover, who, by the relation, appears to have been a stranger to him. Further, in order to render this grand festival the more interesting, a custom was introduced in the later times of the Jewish polity, of liberating some criminal. By whom or at what time this practice originated it is now impossible accurately to determine: the most probable opinion is, that it was introduced by the Romans themselves, perhaps by Pilate at the commencement of his procuratorship of Judea, with the permission of Augustus, in order to gratify the Jews by shewing them this public mark of respect*. However this may be, it had become an established custom from which Pilate could not deviate, (Matt. xxvii. 15. Luke xxiii. 17. John xviii. 39.) and therefore he reluctantly liberated the malefactor Barabbas.

As the very interesting history of this most solemn of all the Jewish festivals is copiously related in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, it is unnecessary to detail it again in this place: but as various traditional observances were in after times added to the Mosaic precepts concerning this sacrifice, to which there are manifest allusions in the New Testament, we shall trace them as briefly as the important nature of the subject will admit under the following heads;—1. The time when it was to be kept;—2. The ceremonies with which it was to be celebrated;—3. The mystical signification of these rites.

1. *Of the time when the passover was to be kept.* This festival commenced on the evening subsequent to the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, the first in the Jewish sacred or ecclesiastical year, (Exod. xii. 6, 8, 18. Levit. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16—27.) with eating what was called the paschal lamb; and it was to continue seven whole days, that is, until the twenty-first. The day preceding its commencement was called the *preparation of the passover*, (John xix. 14.) During its continuance no leavened bread was allowed to be used; hence the fourteenth day of the month Nisan might with great propriety be called (as we find it is in Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12.) the first day of unleavened bread, because the passover began in the evening. The *fifteenth* day however might

* Hottinger has discussed the various opinions on the origin of this usage, in a dissertation *De ritû dimittendi reum in festo Paschatis*, Tempe Helvetic. vol. iv. p. 264. From the Jews the custom proceeded to the Christians; Valentinian and several other emperors having issued their edicts, that some prisoners should be liberated from their bonds at the annual commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection. This custom obtained among the Venetians till the close of the last century; but whether it is still observed, we have not been able to ascertain.

also be called the first day of unleavened bread * : since, according to the Hebrew computation of time, the evening of the fourteenth was the dawn or beginning of the fifteenth, on which day the Jews began to eat unleavened bread, (Exod. xii. 18.) But, if any person were prevented from arriving at Jerusalem in time for the feast, either by any uncleanness contracted by touching a dead body, or by the length of the journey, he was allowed to defer his celebration of the passover until the fourteenth day of the following month, in the evening, (Levit. ix. 10—12.) As it is not improbable that some difference or mistake might arise in determining the new moon, so often as such difference recurred, there would consequently be some discrepancy as to the precise time of commencing the passover. Such a discordance might easily arise between the rival and hostile sects of Pharisees and Sadducees : and such a difference, it has been conjectured, did exist at the time Jesus Christ celebrated the passover with his disciples, one whole day before the Pharisees offered their paschal sacrifice †. Sacrifices peculiar to this festival were to be offered every day during its continuance : but the first and last days, (the fifteenth and twenty-first) were to be sanctified above all the rest, by abstaining from servile labour, and holding a sacred convocation, (Exod. xii. 15. Levit. xxiii. 7, 8.)

2. *Of the ceremonies with which the passover was to be celebrated.*—The paschal lamb was to be a male, without blemish, of the first year, either from the sheep or the goats ‡, (Exod. xii. 5.): it was to be taken from the flocks four days before it was killed; and one lamb was to be offered for each family, and if its members were too few to eat a whole lamb, two families were to join together. In the time of Josephus a paschal society consisted at least of ten persons to one lamb and not more than twenty §. Our Saviour's society was composed of

* The fifteenth day is so called in Levit. xxiii. 6. and by Josephus, who expressly terms the *second day* of unleavened bread, the sixteenth day of the month. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. x. § 5.

† That a difference did exist as to the time of beginning the passover is intimated in John xiii. 1. 2 xvii. 28. and xix. 14, 31. The conjecture above noticed was made made by Schulze, (Archæol. Hebr. p. 319); and if it could be substantiated, would reconcile the seeming differences occurring in the evangelists respecting the time when Christ actually celebrated the passover. D. A. Clarke has collected the principal opinions on this much contested point, in his discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 5—24. See also Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book iii. c. iv. pp. 336—340.

‡ The Hebrew word, *שֶׁה* *Seh*, means either a lamb or a kid : either was equally proper. The Hebrews however in general preferred a lamb. Theodoret understands the law to mean, he that has a lamb, let him offer it; but, let him that has none offer a kid. On the selection of the victim see pp. 121, 122, *supra*.

§ De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. ix. § 3.

himself and the twelve disciples, (Matt. xxvi. 20. Luke xxii. 14.) Next followed the killing of the passover; before the exode of the Israelites from Egypt, this was done in their private dwellings, but after their settlement in Canaan, it was ordered to be performed “in the place which the Lord should choose to place his name there,” (Deut. xvi. 2.) This appears to have been at first wherever the ark was deposited, and ultimately at Jerusalem in the courts of the temple*. Every particular person, (or rather a delegate from every paschal society †), slew his own victim: according to Josephus, between the *ninth* hour, or *three* in the afternoon, and the *eleventh*, that is about sun-set: and within that space of time it was, that Jesus Christ our true paschal lamb was crucified, (Matt. xxvii. 46.) The victim being killed, one of the priests received the blood into a vessel which was handed from one priest to another until it came to him who stood next the altar, and by whom it was sprinkled at the bottom of the altar. After the blood was sprinkled, the lamb was hung up and flayed; this being done, the victim was opened, the fat was taken out and consumed on the altar, after which the owner took it to his own house. The paschal lamb was to be roasted *whole*, which (besides its typical meaning to be hereafter considered) might be ordered as a matter of convenience at the first passover, in order that their culinary utensils might be packed up ready for their departure while the lamb was roasting.

After the lamb was thus dressed, it was eaten by each family or paschal society ‡. The **FIRST** passover was to be eaten standing in the posture of travellers, who had no time to lose; and with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and no bone of it was to be broken, (Exod. xii. 8. 11. 46.) The posture of travellers was enjoined them, both to enliven their faith in the promise of their then speedy deliverance from Egypt; and also, that they might be ready to begin their march presently after supper. They were ordered, therefore, to eat it with their loins girded; for as they were accustomed to wear long and loose garments, such as are generally used by the eastern nations to this day, it was necessary to tie them up with a girdle about their loins,

* The area of the three courts of the temple, besides the rooms and other places in it where the paschal victim might be offered, contained upwards of 435,600 square cubits; so that was ample room for more than 500,000 men to be in the temple at the same time. Lamy, De Tabernaculo, lib. vii. c. ix. § 4, 5.

† See Lightfoot's Temple Service, ch. xii. sect. 5. (Works, vol. i. pp. 957—959.)

‡ Beausobre says that these sodalities were called *brotherhoods*, and the guests, *companions* or *friends*; and that our Saviour's reproof of Judas by calling him friend or companion, (Matt. xxvi. 50.) was both just and cutting, because he betrayed him after having eaten the passover with him.

when they either travelled or engaged in any laborious employment *.

Further, They were to eat the passover "with shoes on their feet," for in those hot countries they ordinarily wore sandals, which were a sort of clogs, or went barefoot; but in travelling they used shoes, which were a kind of short boots, reaching a little way up the legs. Hence, when our Saviour sent his twelve disciples to preach in the neighbouring towns, designing to convince them by their own experience of the extraordinary care of divine providence over them, that they might not be discouraged by the length and danger of the journies they would be called to undertake;—on this account, he ordered them to make no provision for their present journey, particularly, not to take shoes on their feet, but to be shod with sandals, (Matt. x. 10. comp. with Mark vi. 9.)

Again, They were to eat the passover with staves in their hands, such as were always used by travellers in those rocky countries, both to support them in slippery places, and defend them against assaults, (Gen. xxxii. 10.) Of this sort was probably Moses's rod which he had in his hand, when God sent him with a message to Pharaoh, (Exod. iv. 2.) and which was afterwards used as an instrument in working so many miracles. So necessary in these countries was a staff or walking stick on a journey, that it was a usual thing for persons when they undertook long journeys, to take a spare staff with them, for fear one should fail. When Christ, therefore, sent his apostles on the embassy above-mentioned, he ordered them not to take staves, (Luke ix. 3. Mark vi. 8.) that is, only one staff or walking stick, without making provision of a spare one, as was common in long journies.

The paschal lamb was to be eaten with unleavened bread on pain of being cut off from Israel, or excommunicated; though some critics understand this of being put to death. The reason of this injunction was, partly to remind them of the hardships they had sustained in Egypt, unleavened being more heavy and less palatable than leavened bread; on which account it is called the bread of affliction, (Deut. xvi. 3.); and partly to commemorate the speed of their deliverance or departure from thence, which was such, that they had not sufficient time to leaven their bread; it is expressly said, that their "dough was not leavened, because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry,"

* Thus when Elisha sent his servant Gehazi on a message in haste, he bade him "gird up his loins," 2 Kings iv. 29.; and when our Saviour set about washing his disciples feet, "he took a towel and girded himself," John xiii. 4.

(Exod. xii. 39.); and on this account, it was enacted into a standing law, "Thou shalt eat unleavened bread, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of Egypt in haste, (Deut. xvi. 3.) This rite, therefore, was not only observed at the first passover, but in all succeeding ages. But from the metaphorical sense in which the term *leaven* is used*, this prohibition is supposed to have had a moral view; and that the divine legislator's intention was, that the Israelites should cleanse their minds from malice, envy, and hypocrisy; in a word, from the leaven of Egypt. In consequence of this injunction, the Hebrews, as well as the modern Jews, have always taken particular care to search for all the leaven that might be in their houses, and to burn it †.

The passover was likewise to be eaten "with bitter herbs:" this was doubtless prescribed as a memorial of their severe bondage in Egypt, which made their lives *bitter* unto them; and possibly also to denote that the haste in which they departed, compelled them to gather such wild herbs as most readily presented themselves. To this sauce the Jews afterwards added another, made of dates, raisins, and several ingredients beaten together to the consistence of mustard, which is called *charoseth*, and is designed to represent the clay in which their forefathers wrought while they were in bondage to the Egyptians.

It was further prescribed, that they should eat the flesh of the lamb, without breaking any of his bones, (Exod. xii. 46.) This the latter Jews understand, not of the smaller bones, but only of the greater, which had marrow in them. Thus was this rite also intended to denote their being in haste, not having time to break the bones and suck out the marrow. But it had likewise a typical meaning, of which we shall have occasion to take notice hereafter.

Lastly, it was ordered that nothing of the paschal lamb should remain till the morning; but, if it were not all eaten,

* Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 953, 954. Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 381.

† See Matt. xvi. 6. St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians a short time before the passover, exhorts them to cleanse out the old leaven of lewdness, by casting the incestuous person out of the church; and to *keep the feast* (of the Lord's Supper) *not with the old leaven of sensuality and uncleanness, with which they were formerly corrupted, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread (or qualities) of sincerity and truth.* Macknight on 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.; who observes, that it is probable from this passage that the disciples of Christ began very early to celebrate the Lord's Supper with peculiar solemnity, annually on the day on which the Redeemer suffered, which was the day of the Jewish passover, called in modern language *Easter*. It is with beautiful propriety therefore that this passage of St. Paul is introduced by the Anglican church among the occasional versicles for Easter Sunday.

it was to be consumed by fire, (Exod. xii. 10.) The same law was extended to all eucharistical sacrifices, (Levit. xxii. 30.); no part of which was to be left, or set by, lest it should be corrupted, or converted to any profane or common use,—an injunction which was designed no doubt to maintain the honour of sacrifices, and to teach the Jews to treat with reverence whatever was consecrated more especially to the service of God.

Such were the circumstances under which the first passover was celebrated by the Israelites; for, after they were settled in the land of Canaan, they no longer ate it standing, but the guests reclined on their left arms upon couches placed round the table, (John xiii. 23.) This posture, according to the talmudical writers, was an emblem of that rest and freedom which God had granted to the children of Israel by bringing them out of Egypt. This custom of reclining at table, over one another's bosom, was a sign of *equality* and strict union among the guests*.

Dr. Lightfoot has collected from the Talmud a variety of passages relative to the Jewish mode of celebrating the passover; from which we have abridged the following particulars, as they are calculated materially to illustrate the evangelical history of our Lord's last passover, recorded in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and John xviii.

(1.) The guests being placed around the table, they mingled a cup of wine with water, over which the master of the family (or, if two or more families were united, a person deputed for the purpose) gave thanks, and then drank it off. The thanksgiving for the wine was to this effect, "*Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast created the fruit of the wine;*" and for the day, as follows—"*Blessed be thou for this good day, and for this holy convocation, which thou hast given us for joy and rejoicing! Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the times!*" Of these cups of wine they drank four in the course of the ordinance.

(2.) They then washed their hands, after which the table was furnished with the paschal lamb, roasted whole, with bitter herbs, and with two cakes of unleavened bread, together with the remains of the peace-offerings sacrificed on the preceding day, and the charoseth, or thick sauce, above-mentioned.

* This custom, Beausobre well observes, will explain several passages of Scripture, particularly those in which mention is made of Abraham's bosom, (Luke xvi. 22.) and of the son's being *in the bosom of the father*, (John i. 18. compared with Phil. ii. 6. and John xiii. 23.)

(3.) The officiator, or person presiding, then took a small piece of sallad, and having blessed God for creating the fruit of the ground, he ate it, as also did the other guests; after which all the dishes were removed from the table, that the children might inquire and be instructed in the nature of the feast, (Exod. xii. 25, 26.) The text on which they generally discoursed was Deut. xxvi. 5—11. In like manner our Saviour makes use of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to declare the great mercy of God in our redemption; for it *shews forth the Lord's death till he come* to judge the world. The "continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits we receive thereby," which has been observed ever since the time of the apostles, is a permanent and irrefragable argument for the reality of that "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," which was made by Jesus Christ "by his one oblation of himself" upon the cross; in opposition to the opinion of those who deny the divinity of our Saviour, and the vicarious nature of his death.

(4.) Then, replacing the supper, they explained the import of the bitter herbs and paschal lamb; and over the *second* cup of wine repeated the hundred and thirteenth and hundred and fourteenth psalms, with an eucharistic prayer.

(5.) The hands were again washed, accompanied by an ejaculatory prayer; after which the master of the house proceeded to break and bless a cake of the unleavened bread, which he distributed among the guests, reserving half of the cake beneath a napkin, if necessary, for the *aphicomen*, or last morsel; for the rule was, to conclude with eating a small piece of the paschal lamb, or, after the destruction of the temple, of unleavened bread. In like manner our Lord, upon instituting the sacrament of the eucharist, which was prefigured by the passover, took bread; and having blessed or given thanks to God, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me*, (Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.) In the communion service of the Anglican church, the spirit and design both of the type and antitype are most expressively condensed into one point of view in the following address to the communicant:—*TAKE and EAT this in REMEMBRANCE that Christ died for THEE, and feed upon him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.*

(6.) They then ate the rest of the cake with the bitter herbs, dipping the bread into the charoseth, or sauce, above-mentioned. To this practice the evangelists Matthew (xxvi. 21—

25.) and Mark (xiv. 18—21.) manifestly allude; and into this sauce our Saviour is supposed to have dipped the sop which he gave to Judas, (John xiii. 26.)

(7.) Next, they ate the flesh of the peace-offerings which had been sacrificed on the fourteenth day, and then the flesh of the paschal lamb, which was followed by returning thanks to God, and a second washing of hands.

(8.) A third cup of wine was then filled, over which they blessed God, or said grace after meat, (whence it was called the *cup of blessing*), and drank it off. To this circumstance St. Paul particularly alludes when he says, — *The CUP of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ*, (1 Cor. x. 16.) It was also at this part of the paschal supper that our Lord “took the cup, saying, This is the *new testament* (rather, covenant) *in my blood*, which is shed for you, and for many, for the *remission of sins*,” (Luke xxii. 20. Matt. xxvi. 27.) The *cup* here is put for *wine*; and covenant is put for the *token* or *sign* of the covenant. The *wine*, as representing Christ’s *blood*, answers to the blood of the pass-over, which typified it; and the *remission of sins* here, answers to the passing over there, and preserving from death*.

(9.) Lastly, a fourth cup of wine was filled, called the cup of the hallel: over it they completed, either by singing or recitation, the great hallel, or hymn of praise, consisting of psalms cxv. to cxviii. inclusive, with a prayer, and so concluded†. In like manner our Lord and his disciples, when they had sung a hymn, departed to the mount of Olives, (Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26. Luke xxii. 39.)

3. *With regard to the mystical signification of the passover*, we know generally from St. Paul, (1 Cor. v. 7.) who calls Jesus Christ *our passover*, that this Jewish sacrament had a

* Clarke on the Eucharist, p. 39. On this part of the institution of the Lord’s Supper, Dr. Lightfoot has the following admirable remarks. “*This is my blood of the New Testament*. Not only the seal of the covenant, but the sanction of the new covenant. The end of the Mosaic economy, and the confirming of a new one. The confirmation of the old covenant was by the *blood of bulls and goats*, (Exod. xxiv. Heb. ix.) because blood was still to be shed: the confirmation of the new was by a cup of wine: because under the new covenant there is no further shedding of blood. As it is here said of the cup, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood*; so it might be said of the *cup of blood*, (Exod. xxiv.) *That cup was the Old Testament in the blood of Christ*: there, all the articles of that covenant being read over, Moses sprinkled all the people with blood, and said, *This is the blood of the covenant which God hath made with you*; and thus that old covenant, or testimony, was confirmed. In like manner, Christ, having published all the articles of the new covenant, he takes the cup of wine, and gives them to drink, and saith, *This is the New Testament in my blood*, and thus the new covenant was established.” — (Works, vol. ii. p. 260.) Hor. Heb. on Matt. xxvi. 27.

† Lightfoot’s Temple Service, c. xiii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 959—967.)

typical reference to him : but, concerning the points of resemblance between the type and antitype, learned men are not agreed. Godwin* has enumerated *thirteen* points of coincidence ; Dr. Lightfoot†, *seventeen* ; and Keach‡, *nineteen*. The most judicious view of this subject which we have seen is that of Herman Witsius§, who has treated it under four general heads, viz. the person of Christ,—his sufferings,—the fruits or effects of them,—and the manner in which we are made partakers of them. The following particulars are abridged from this eminent divine.

First, The person of Christ was typified by the paschal lamb. On which account, as well as in respect to the lamb of the daily sacrifice, he is often represented under the emblem of a lamb. “ Behold the lamb of God,” saith John the Baptist, (John i. 29. 36.) The fitness and propriety of this type, or emblem, consists partly in some natural properties belonging to a lamb, and partly in some circumstances peculiar to the paschal lamb. A lamb being, perhaps, the least subject to choler of any animal in the brute creation, was a very proper emblem of our Saviour’s humility and meekness ; and of his inoffensive behaviour, (Matt. xi. 29.) ; for he, by whose precious blood we were redeemed, was “ a lamb without blemish and without spot,” (1 Pet. i. 19.) : and likewise of his exemplary patience and submission to his father’s will, under all his sufferings, and in the agony of death ; for though he was “ oppressed, and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth.” (Isa. liii. 7.) By his almighty power he could have delivered himself out of the hands of his enemies, as he had done on former occasions, (Luke iv. 29, 30. John viii. 59.) ; but behold the lion of the tribe of Judah now transformed into a lamb, by his obedience to his father’s will, and compassion to the souls of men. There were also some circumstances, peculiar to the paschal lamb, which contributed to its fitness and propriety as a type and emblem of Christ ; such as its being ordered to be free from all blemish and natural defect, that it might the better represent the immaculate son of God, who was made without sin, and never did any iniquity, (Heb. vii. 26.) ; that it was to be taken out of the flock, therein representing that divine person, who, in order to

* Godwin’s Moses and Aaron, pp. 114, 115.

† Lightfoot’s Works, vol. i. pp. 1008, 1009.

‡ Keach’s Key to Scripture Metaphors, pp. 979, 980. 2d edit. See also M^r Ewen on the Types, pp. 148—152.

§ Witsius, De Œconomia Fœderum, lib. iv. c. 9. sections xxxv—lviii. or vol. ii. pp. 275—282 of the English translation.

his being made a sacrifice for our sins, did first become one of us by taking our flesh and blood, and "was made in all things like to his brethren," (Heb. ii. 14. 17.) The paschal lamb was to be a male of the first year, when the flesh was in the highest state of perfection for food; more fitly to represent "the child that was to be born," "the son that was to be given," (Isa. ix. 6.) to us, and the excellency of the sacrifice he was to offer for us, after he had lived a short life among men. Once more, the paschal lamb was to be taken out of the flock four days before it was sacrificed. This circumstance, if we understand it of such prophetic days as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, is perfectly applicable to Christ, who left his mother's house and family, and engaged publicly in his office as a Saviour, four years before his death.

Secondly, The sufferings and death of Christ were also typified by the paschal lamb in various particulars. For instance, that lamb was to be killed "by the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel," (Exod. xii. 6.); and so the whole estate of the Jews, the priests, scribes, elders, rulers, and the populace in general, (compare Mark xiv. 43. with Luke xxiii. 13.) conspired in the death of Christ. The paschal lamb was to be killed by the effusion of its blood, as pointing out the manner of Christ's death; in which there was an effusion of blood on the cross. It was to be roasted with fire*, as representing its antitype enduring on our account the fierceness of God's anger, which is said to "burn like fire," (Psal. lxxxix. 46. Jer. iv. 4.) Hence that complaint of our suffering Saviour in the prophecy concerning him in the twenty-second psalm, "My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels; my strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws," (Psal. xxii. 14, 15.) There was, further, a remarkable correspondence between the type and

* Justin Martyr, who flourished in the early part of the second century, in his conference with Trypho the Jew, has the following remarkable passage: "This lamb," says he, "which was to be entirely roasted, was a symbol of the punishment of the cross, which was inflicted on Christ. For the lamb which was roasted was so placed as to resemble the figure of a cross: with one spit it was pierced longitudinally, from the tail to the head; with another it was transfix'd through the shoulders, so that the fore legs became extended." Vid. Just. Martyri Opera ab Oberthur. vol. ii. p. 106. "To some this may appear trifling; but it has seemed right to the wisdom of God to typify the most interesting events by emblems of comparatively less moment. He is sovereign of his own ways, and he chuses often to confound the wisdom of the wise, not only by the foolishness of preaching, but also by the various means he employs to bring about the great purposes of his grace and justice. The manner of this roasting was certainly singular; and of the fact we cannot doubt, for Trypho himself neither attempted to ridicule nor deny it." Dr. A. Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, p. 32. For an interesting account of the manner in which the modern Jews celebrate the passover, see Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 380—385.

the antitype with respect to the place and time in which each was killed as a sacrifice. The place was the same as to both, namely, "the place which the Lord should chuse to put his name there," which, from the reign of David, was at Jerusalem; and the time was also the same, for Christ suffered his agonies on the same evening on which the passover was celebrated; and his death took place the next day, between the two evenings, according to the most probable interpretation of that phrase, namely, between noon and sun-set.

Thirdly, Several of the fruits and consequences of the death of Christ were remarkably typified by the sacrifice of the paschal lamb; such as protection and salvation by his blood, of which the sprinkling of the door posts with the blood of the lamb, and the safety which the Israelites by that means enjoyed, from the plague that spread through all the families of the Egyptians, was a designed and illustrious emblem. It is in allusion to this type, that the blood of Christ is called "the blood of sprinkling," (1 Pet. i. 2. Heb. xii. 24.) Immediately upon the Israelites eating the first passover, they were delivered from their Egyptian slavery, and restored to full liberty, of which they had been deprived for many years; and such is the fruit of the death of Christ, in a spiritual and much nobler sense, to all that believe in him; for he hath thereby "obtained eternal redemption for us," and "brought us into the glorious liberty of the children of God," (Heb. ix. 12. Rom. viii. 21.)

Fourthly, The manner in which we are to be made partakers of the blessed fruits of the sacrifice of Christ, were also represented by lively emblems in the passover, namely, by the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb on the door-posts, and by eating its flesh. The door-post may be understood to signify the heart of man, which is the gate, or door, by which the king of glory is to enter, (Psal. xxiv. 7.); and which is as manifest in the sight of God, as the very doors of our houses are to any one that passes by them, (1 Sam. xvi. 7.) The sprinkling of the blood on the door-posts may therefore signify the purifying of the heart by the grace of Christ, which he purchased for us by his blood. This seems to be the apostle's allusion in the following expression, "Having your hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience," (Heb. x. 22.)

By eating the flesh of the lamb, we have no difficulty to understand faith in Jesus Christ, since Christ himself has expressed saving faith in him by the metaphor of eating his flesh, probably in reference to the passover, (John vi. 53.)

It is worthy of our notice, that the lamb was to be roasted whole, and was to be all eaten, and none of it left: which may fitly signify, that, in order to our obtaining the benefits

of Christ's sacrifice, we must receive him, submit to him, and trust him in all his characters and offices, as our prophet, our priest, and our king; nor are we to expect, that he will redeem and save us from the wrath to come, if we will not at present have him to reign over us.

The passover was to be eaten with bitter herbs; which, besides its being an intended memorial of the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt, may fitly signify, that repentance for sin must accompany faith in Christ; and also, that, if we are partakers of the benefits of Christ's passion, we must expect and be content, to be in some measure partakers likewise of his sufferings. To this purpose the apostle speaks of "the fellowship of his sufferings," (Phil. iii. 10.) and elsewhere observes, "that if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him," (2 Tim. ii. 12.)

The passover was also to be eaten with unleavened bread; which St. Paul interprets to signify sincerity and purity of heart, in opposition to malice, wickedness, and falsehood, and which must necessarily accompany faith in Christ in order to his being our passover, that is, our protection from the wrath of God, and our Redeemer from spiritual bondage and misery, (1 Cor. v. 7, 8.)

It was further ordered, that in eating the paschal lamb they should "not break a bone of it;" a circumstance in which there was a remarkable correspondence between the type and the antitype, (John xix. 33, 36.) There is evidently more fancy than judgment in that mystical interpretation, which some have put on this circumstance; who by the bones understand those secrets of God, or those hard and difficult things in the divine counsels, which we are not able to comprehend, and of which we should therefore be humbly content to be ignorant, without too curiously and anxiously searching into them; according to the advice of Moses, "Secret things belong to the Lord our God, but those which are revealed, to us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law," (Deut. xxix. 29.)

None, who were legally unclean and polluted, might eat the passover; which may further hint to us that purity and holiness are necessary and incumbent on all that would partake of the benefit of Christ's sacrifice; for "what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what communion hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial," (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

The Israelites were to eat their first passover in the habit and posture of travellers; which, in the mystical sense, may signify, that such as enter into covenant with God through Christ, must be resolved upon, and ready to go forth to every

duty to which he may call them. They are not to consider this world as their home; but, remembering that they are travelling towards heaven, they are to bear that blessed world much upon their thoughts, and to be diligent in preparing for their entrance into it. To this purpose are we exhorted "to gird up the loins of our minds and to be sober;" to "stand, having our loins girded about with truth;" and, "as pilgrims and strangers, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul," (Ephes. vi. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 11.) In all these expressions, there seems to be some reference to the habit and posture of the Israelites at the first passover.

They were to eat the passover in haste; and thus we must "flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us," (Heb. vi. 18.); we must not delay and trifle, but "give diligence to make our calling and election sure," (2 Pet. i. 10.); for the kingdom of heaven is said to "suffer violence, and the violent take it by force," (Matt. xi. 12.)

In the last place, the Israelites were to eat the passover, each family in their own house; and none might go out of the house any more that night, lest the destroying angel should meet and kill him. By the houses may be understood the church of Christ, in which only we are to expect communion with him and salvation by him; and having entered into it, we must not go out again, lest we be condemned as apostates, (Heb. vi. 4—6. x. 39. 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.)

On the second day of the festival (the sixteenth of the month Nisan) was offered the sheaf of the first-fruits of the barley harvest, which was usually ripe at this season, as a grateful acknowledgement of the goodness of God, in bestowing upon them both the former and the latter rains, (Jer. v. 24.) and also of his right to confer or withhold them as he pleases. It was accompanied with a particular sacrifice, the circumstances of which are detailed in Levit. xxiii. 9—14.

IX. The second of the three great Jewish festivals was the FEAST OF PENTECOST, which is called by various names in the sacred writings; as the *feast of weeks*, (Exod. xxxiv. 22. Deut. xvi. 10. 16.) because it was celebrated seven weeks or a week of weeks after the first day of unleavened bread;—the *feast of harvest*, (Exod. xxiii. 16.) and also the *day of first-fruits*, (Numb. xxviii. 26.) because on this day the Jews offered thanksgivings to God for the bounties of harvest, and presented to him the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, in bread baked of the new corn * (Exod. xxiii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 14—21. Numb. xxviii.

* For the ceremony and typical reference of this offering, see p. 131 *supra*.

26—31.) The form of thanksgiving for this occasion is given in Deut. xxvi. 5—10. On this day also was commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. The Greek word Pentecost, Πεντηκοστή, (Acts iii. 1. xx. 16.) is derived from the circumstance of its being kept on the *fiftieth* day after the first day of unleavened bread. The number of Jews assembled at Jerusalem on this joyous occasion was very great *. This festival had a typical reference to the miraculous effusion of the holy Spirit upon the Apostles and first-fruits of the Christian church on the day of Pentecost (corresponding with our Whit-Sunday,) on the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Jesus Christ †.

X. The FEAST OF TABERNACLES, like the preceding festival, continued for a week. It was instituted to commemorate the dwelling of the Israelites in tents while they wandered in the desert (Levit. xxiii. 34, 43.) Hence it is called by St. John the *feast of tents* (σκηνοπηγία, John vii. 2.) ‡. It is likewise termed the *feast of ingatherings*, (Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22. Further, the design of this feast was, to return thanks to God for the fruits of the vine, as well as of other trees, which were gathered about this time, and also to implore his blessing upon those of the ensuing year. The following were the principal ceremonies observed in the celebration of this feast.

1. During the whole of the solemnity they were obliged to dwell in tents, which antiently were pitched on the flat terrace-like roofs of their houses, (Neh. viii. 16.)

2. Besides the ordinary daily sacrifices, there were several extraordinary ones offered on this occasion, which are detailed in Numb. xxix.

3. During the continuance of this feast, they carried in their hands branches of palm-trees, olives, citrons, myrtles, and willows, (Levit. xxiii. 40. Neh. viii. 15. 2 Macc. x. 7.) §; singing *Hosanna, Save I beseech thee*, (Psal. cxviii. 25.) in which words they prayed for the coming of the Messiah. These branches also bore the name of Hosanna, as well as all the days of the feast. In the same manner was Jesus Christ conducted into Jerusalem by the believing Jews, who, considering him to be the promised Messiah, expressed their boundless joy at finding in him the

* Acts ii. 9—11. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. ii. c. iii. § 1.

† Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 321—323. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 179. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 960. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 184. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 472.

‡ A similar appellation is given by Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 5. § 5. lib. viii. c. 4. § 1.

§ Lamy adds, that the Jews tied these branches with gold and silver strings, or with ribands, and did not lay them aside the whole day; carrying them into their synagogues, and keeping them by them while they were at their prayers. App. Bib. vol. i. p. 183.

accomplishment of those petitions, which they had so often offered to God for his coming, at the feast of tabernacles, (Matt. xxi. 8, 9.) During its continuance, they walked in procession round the altar with the abovementioned branches in their hands, amid the sound of trumpets, singing Hosanna: and on the last or seventh day of the feast, they compassed the altar seven times. This was called the Great Hosanna. To this last ceremony St. John probably alludes in Rev. vii. 9, 10. where he describes the saints as standing before the throne "*clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.*"

4. One of the most remarkable ceremonies performed at this feast, was the libation or pouring out of water, drawn from the fountain or pool of Siloam, upon the altar*. As, according to the Jews themselves, this water was an emblem of the HOLY SPIRIT, Jesus Christ manifestly alluded to it, when he "*cried, saying If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink,*" (John vii. 37, 39.)

No festival was celebrated with greater rejoicings than this, which Josephus calls "*a most holy and most eminent feast*†." Dancing, music, and feasting were the accompaniments of this festival, together with such brilliant illuminations as lighted the whole city of Jerusalem. These rejoicings are supposed to have taken place in the court of the women, in order that they might be partakers of the general hilarity‡.

XI. To the three grand *annual* festivals above described, Moses added two others, which were celebrated with great solemnity, though the presence of every male Israelite was not absolutely required. The first of these was the FEAST OF TRUMPETS, and was held on the first and second days of the month Tisri, which was the commencement of the civil year of the Hebrews: this feast derives its name from the blowing of trumpets in the temple with more than usual solemnity, (Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.) On this festival they abstained from all labour, (Levit. xxiii. 25.) and offered particular sacrifices to God, which are described in Numb. xxix. 1—6.

XII. The other feast abovementioned was the FAST OR FEAST OF EXPIATION, OR DAY OF ATONEMENT; which day the Jews

* See p. 15. *supra*, where this ceremony is described.

† Ant. Jud. lib. viii. c. iv. § 1. The greatness of these rejoicings, and their happening at the time of vintage, led Tacitus to suppose that the Jews were accustomed to sacrifice to Bacchus. Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. 5. (tom. iii. p. 268. edit. Bipont.)

‡ Schulzii Archæol. Heb. pp. 323—326. Relandi Antiq. Heb. p. 477. Ikenii Antiq. Heb. pp. 134, 135. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 964. vol. ii. pp. 641—643. Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, p. 295. Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 13.

observed as a most strict fast*, abstaining from all servile work, taking no food, and "afflicting their souls," (Levit. xxiii. 27—30.) Of all the sacrifices ordained by the Mosaic law, the sacrifice of the atonement was the most solemn and important: it was offered on the tenth day of the month Tisri by the high priest alone, for the sins of the whole nation. "On this day only, in the course of the year, was the high priest permitted to enter the sanctuary†, and not even then without due preparation, under pain of death; all others being excluded from the tabernacle during the whole ceremony, (Levit. xvi. 2—17.) Previously to his entrance he was to wash himself in water, and to put on the holy linen garments, with the mitre; and to bring a young bullock into the outer sanctuary, and present it before the Lord to be a sin-offering for himself and his household, including the priests and Levites, and a ram also for a burnt-offering, (xvi. 3. 4.) Next, he was to take two young goats, and present them before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, to be a sin-offering for the whole congregation of Israel, and a ram also for a burnt-offering, (xvi. 5.) He was then to cast lots upon the two goats, which of them should be sacrificed as a sin-offering to the Lord, and which should be let go for a scape-goat into the wilderness.

"After this, he was first to sacrifice the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his household, and to take some of the blood into the inner sanctuary, bearing in his hand a censer with incense burning, kindled at the sacred fire on the altar, and to sprinkle the blood with his finger upon the mercy-seat, and before it, seven times; to purify it from the pollution it might be supposed to have contracted from his sins and transgressions during the preceding year. He was then to sacrifice the allotted goat, for the sins of the whole nation, and to enter the inner sanctuary a second time, and to sprinkle it with blood as before, to purify it from the pollution of the people's sins and transgressions of the foregoing year. After which, he was

* The Jewish fasts, whether public or private, were distinguished by every possible mark of grief; the people being clothed in sackcloth, with ashes strewed on their heads, downcast countenances, rent garments, and (on public occasions) with loud weeping and supplication, (2 Sam. xiii. 19. Psal. xxxv. 13. Isa. lviii. 5. Lam. ii. 10. Joel i. 13, 14. ii. 12, 13.) At these times they abstained from food until evening. The sanctimonious Pharisees (who, besides the regular seasons, fasted twice a week, Luke xviii. 12.) affected the utmost humility and devotion, disfiguring their faces and avoiding every appearance of neatness: against this conduct our Lord cautions his disciples, in Matt. vi. 16, 17. See Lightfoot's *Hor. Heb.* on that passage, and also on Matt. ix. 14. and Luke xviii. 12. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* lib. iii. c. x. § 3.

† When the tabernacle was to be removed, and set up again, the inner sanctuary might safely be entered, but not at other times.

to purify, in like manner, the tabernacle and the altar. He was next to bring the live goat, and lay both his hands upon its head, and confess over him all the iniquities, transgressions, and sins of the children of Israel, putting them upon the head of the goat; and then to send him away by the hand of a fit person into the wilderness, to bear away upon him all their iniquities to a land of separation, where they should be remembered no more. After this atonement he was to put off his linen garments, and leave them in the sanctuary, and to wash himself again in water, and put on his usual garments; and then to offer burnt-offerings for himself and for the people, at the evening sacrifice, (Levit. xxvi. 3—28.)

“The whole of this process seems to be typical or pre-figurative of the grand atonement to be made for the sins of the whole world by Jesus Christ, “the high priest of our profession,” (Heb. iii. 1.) and a remarkable analogy thereto may be traced in the course of our Lord’s ministry. He began it with personal purification at his baptism, to “fulfil all legal righteousness,” (Matt. iii. 13—15.) Immediately after his baptism, he was led, by the impulse of the HOLY SPIRIT, into the wilderness, as the true scape-goat, who “bore away our infirmities, and carried off our diseases,” (Isa. liii. 4—6. Matt. viii. 17.) Immediately before his crucifixion, “he was afflicted,” and “his soul was exceeding sorrowful unto death,” when he was to be made a sin-offering, like the allotted goat, (Psal. xl. 12. Isa. liii. 7. Matt. xxvi. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. i. 3.); and “his sweat, as great drops of blood falling to the ground,” corresponded to the sprinkling of the mercy seat, (Luke xxii. 44.); and when, to prepare for the sacrifice of himself, he consecrated himself in prayer to God, (John xvii. 1—5. Matt. xxvi. 39—46.); and then prayed for his household, his apostles, and disciples, (John xvii. 6—9.) and for all future believers on him, by their preaching, (John xvii. 20—26.) He put off his garments at his crucifixion, when he became the sin-offering, (Psal. xxii. 18. John xix. 23, 24.); and as our spiritual high priest entered once for all into the most holy place, heaven, to make intercession with God for all his faithful followers, (Heb. vii. 24—28. ix. 7—15.) “Who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification*,” (Rom. iv. 25.)

* Dr. Hales’s Analysis, vol. ii. book i. pp. 274, 276. See also Jennings’s Jewish Antiquities, book iii. ch. viii. pp. 378—388. Lightfoot’s Works, vol. i. p. 961, 962. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 491. *et seq.* Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 328—334. The typical reference of the sacrifice offered on this day is discussed at considerable length

XIII. Besides the annual festivals above described, the Jews in later times introduced several fast and feast days in addition to those instituted by Moses. The two principal festivals of this kind were the feast of purim, and that of the dedication of the second temple.

The FEAST OF PURIM or of *Lots*, as the word signifies, is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar (or of Ve-Adar if it be an intercalary year), in commemoration of the providential deliverance of the Jews from the cruel machinations of Haman, who had procured an edict from Artaxerxes to extirpate them, (Esth. iii—ix.) On this occasion the entire book of Esther is read in the synagogues of the modern Jews; and, whenever the name of Haman occurs, the whole congregation clap their hands, stamp with their feet, and vociferate execrations on his memory. With these maledictions on Haman and his wife are conjoined prayers for the deliverance of their nation, and blessings on Mordecai and Esther. In order to heighten the general joy on this festival, Buxtorf relates that some Jews wore particoloured garments, and young foxes' tails in their hats, and ran about the synagogue exciting the congregation to laughter! This is a season of peculiar gaiety; alms are given to the poor; relations and friends send presents to each other; and all furnish their tables with every luxury they can command. These two days are the bacchanalia of the modern Jews; who think it no sin to indulge themselves largely in their cups, some of them indeed to intoxication, in memory of Esther's banquet of wine; at which she succeeded in defeating the sanguinary designs of Haman*.

XIV. The FEAST OF DEDICATION (mentioned in John x. 22.) was instituted by Judas Maccabeus, in imitation of those by Solomon and Ezra, as a grateful memorial of the cleansing of the second temple and altar, after they had been profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, (1 Mac. iv. 52—59.) It commenced on the twenty-fifth of the month Cisleu, corresponding with our December, and lasted eight days. This festival was also called the *feast of lights*, because the Jews illuminated their houses in testimony of their joy and gladness on this very important occasion†. The whole of this feast was spent in singing hymns,

by Witsius, De Œcon. Fœd. lib. iv. c. vi. or vol. ii. pp. 213—231. of the English translation. On the manner in which this fast is observed by the modern Jews, see Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 391—399.

* Buxtorf de Synagog. Jud. cap. xxix. Iken. Antiq. Hebr. pp. 336—338. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 334, 335. Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 405.

† Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. vii. § 6, 7.

offering sacrifices, and every kind of diversion *: it was celebrated with much solemnity in the time of Josephus.

Besides these two festivals, we find several others incidentally mentioned in the Old Testament, as being observed by the Jews in later ages, though not appointed by Moses. Such are the fast of the fourth month, on account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, (Jer. lii. 6, 7.); the fast of the fifth month, on account of their burning the temple and city, (2 Kings xxv. 8.); that of the seventh month, on account of the murder of Gedaliah, (2 Kings xxv. 25.); and the fast of the tenth month, when the Babylonian army commenced the siege of Jerusalem, (Jer. lii. 4.) All these fasts are enumerated together in Zech. viii. 19.; and to them we may perhaps add the *xylophoria*, or feast of wood-offering, when the people brought and offered large quantities of wood for the use of the altar: it is supposed to have been celebrated in the time of Nehemiah, (x. 34.) in whose praises, on this occasion, the Jews largely expatiated, and related several wonderful tales concerning him and the fire lighted upon the altar, (2 Macc. i. 18—22.)

The preceding are the chief annual festivals noticed in the sacred writings, that are particularly deserving of attention: the Jews have various others of more modern institution which are here designedly omitted. We therefore proceed to notice those extraordinary festivals which were only celebrated after the recurrence of a certain number of years. The first of these was,

XV. THE SABBATICAL YEAR. For, as the seventh day of the week was consecrated as a day of rest to man and beast, so this gave rest to the land; which, during its continuance, was to lie fallow, and the “sabbath of the land,” or its spontaneous produce was dedicated to charitable uses, to be enjoyed by the servants of the family, by the way-faring stranger, and by the cattle, (Levit. xxv. 1—7. Exod. xxiii. 11.) This was also the year of release from personal slavery (Exod. xxi. 2.) as well as of the remission of debts, (Deut. xv. 1, 2.) Beausobre is of opinion that the frequent mention made in the New Testament, of the remission of sins, is to be understood as an allusion to the sabbatical year. In order to guard against famine on this and the ensuing year, God was graciously pleased to promise a triple produce of the lands upon the sixth year, sufficient to supply the inhabitants till the fruits or harvest sown in the

* Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 335, 336. Lamy, vol. i. p. 186. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 246, 279. vol. ii. pp. 576, 1033, 1039. Relandi Antiq. Heb. p. 534.

eight year were ripe, (Levit. xxv. 2—20.) This was a singular institution, peculiar to a theocracy. And the breach of it was among the national sins that occasioned the captivity, that “the land might enjoy her sabbaths,” of which she had been defrauded by the rebellion of the inhabitants*, (Levit. xxvi. 34. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.)

XVI. The JUBILEE was a more solemn sabbatical year, held every seventh sabbatical year, that is, at the end of every forty-nine years, or the fiftieth current year, (Levit. xxv. 8—10.) Concerning the etymology of the Hebrew word *jobel* (whence our jubilee is derived) learned men are by no means agreed; the most probable of these conflicting opinions is that of Calmet, who deduces it from the Hebrew verb *jabal*, to recall, or bring back; because estates, &c. that had been alienated were then brought back to their original owners. Such appears to have been the meaning of the word, as understood by the Septuagint translators, who render the Hebrew word *jobel* by ἀφ᾽ ὧν, *remission*, and by Josephus, who says that it signified liberty.†

This festival commenced on the tenth day of the month Tisri, in the evening of the day of atonement, (Levit. xxv. 9.); a time, Bishop Patrick remarks, peculiarly well chosen, as the Jews would be better disposed to forgive their brethren their debts when they had been imploring pardon of God for their own transgressions. It was proclaimed by the sound of trumpet throughout the whole land, on the great day of atonement. All debts were to be cancelled; all slaves or captives were to be released. Even those who had voluntarily relinquished their freedom at the end of their six years' service, and whose ears had been bored in token of their perpetual servitude, were to be liberated at the jubilee: for then they were to “proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof,” (Levit. xxv. 10.) Further, in this year all estates that had been sold, reverted to their original proprietors, or to the families to which they had originally belonged; thus provision was made, that no family should be totally ruined, and doomed to perpetual poverty: for the family estate could not be alienated for a longer period than fifty years. The value and purchase-money of estates therefore diminished in proportion to the near approach of the jubilee, (Levit. xxv. 15.) From this privilege, however, houses in walled towns were excepted: these were to

* Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 337—339. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 387. *et seq.* Leusden, Philol. Hebr. Mixt. p. 307. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. p. 524. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 278.

† Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. xii. § 3.

be redeemed within a year, otherwise they belonged to the purchaser notwithstanding the jubilee, (v. 30.) During this year, as well as in the sabbatical year, the ground also had its rest, and was not cultivated.*

The law concerning the sabbatical year, and especially the year of jubilee, affords a decisive proof of the divine legation of Moses. No legislator, unless he were conscious that he was divinely inspired, would have committed himself by enacting such a law: nor can any thing like it be found among the systems of jurisprudence of any other nations, whether antient or modern. "How incredible is it, that any legislator would have ventured to propose such a law as this, except in consequence of the fullest conviction on both sides, that a peculiar providence would constantly facilitate its execution. When this law therefore was proposed and received, such a conviction must have existed in both the Jewish legislator and the Jewish people. Since then, nothing could have produced this conviction, but the experience or the belief of some such miraculous interposition as the history of the Pentateuch details, the very existence of this law is a standing monument that, when it was given, the Mosaic miracles were fully believed. Now this law was coeval with the witnesses themselves. If then the facts were so plain and public, that those who witnessed them could not be mistaken as to their existence or miraculous nature, the reality of the Mosaic miracles is clear and undeniable." †

The reason and design of the law of the jubilee was partly political and partly typical. It was *political*, to prevent the too great oppression of the poor as well as their liability to perpetual slavery. By this means the rich were prevented from accumulating lands upon lands, and a kind of equality was preserved through all the families of Israel. Never was there any people so effectually secure of their liberty and property, as the Israelites were; God not only engaging so to protect those invaluable blessings by his providence, that they should not be taken away from them by others; but providing, in a particular manner by this law, that they should not be thrown away through their own folly; since the property, which every man or family had in their dividend of the land of Canaan, could not be sold or any way alienated for above half a century.

* Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 341—344. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 529. Jennings's Jewish Antiq. book iii. ch. x. pp. 397—400. Leusden, Philol. Hebræo. Mixt. p. 309. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 376—386.

† Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 171.

By this means also the distinction of tribes was preserved, in respect both to their families and possessions; for this law rendered it necessary for them to keep genealogies of their families, that they might be able, when there was occasion, on the jubilee year, to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By this means it was certainly known from what tribe and family the Messiah sprung. Upon which Dr. Allix observes, that God did not suffer them to continue in captivity out of their own land for the space of two jubilees, lest by that means their genealogies should be lost or confounded.

A further civil use of the jubilee might be for the easier computation of time. For, as the Greeks computed by olympiads, the Romans by lustra, and we by centuries, the Jews probably reckoned by jubilees; and it might be one design of this institution to mark out these large portions of time for the readier computation of successive ages.

There was also a typical design and use of the jubilee, which is pointed out by the prophet Isaiah, when he says in reference to the Messiah, "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord," (Isa. lxi. 1, 2.) Where "the acceptable year of the Lord," when "liberty was proclaimed to the captives," and "the opening of the prison to them that were bound," evidently refers to the jubilee; but, in the prophetic sense, means the gospel state and dispensation, which proclaims spiritual liberty from the bondage of sin and satan, and the liberty of returning to our own possession, even the heavenly inheritance, to which, having incurred a forfeiture by sin, we had lost all right and claim.

That our Lord began his public ministry on a jubilee, Dr. Hales thinks, is evident from his declaration, "The LORD hath anointed me (as THE CHRIST) to preach the gospel to the poor: he hath sent me (as SHILOH, "THE APOSTLE") to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and restoration of sight to the blind; to set at liberty the bruised; to *proclaim the acceptable year of THE LORD**," (Luke iv. 18, 19.)

* Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 279. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 619. The best practical illustration we have seen, of the analogy between the Mosaic jubilee and the gospel, is to be found in the late reverend and learned Dr. Claudius Buchanan's "Three Sermons on the Jubilee," celebrated on the 25th October 1809, on the occasion of our venerable and beloved Sovereign's entering on the fiftieth year of his reign.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL STATE OF THE JEWS DURING
THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST.

ALTHOUGH Moses by the command and instruction of Jehovah had given to the Israelites such a religion as no other nation possessed, and notwithstanding all his laws were directed to preserve them from idolatry; yet, so wayward were the Israelites, that, almost immediately after their departure from Egypt, we find them worshipping idols, (Exod. xxxii. 1. Psal. cvi. 19, 20. Acts vii. 41—43.) Soon after their entrance into the land of Canaan, they adopted various deities that were worshipped by the Canaanites, and other neighbouring nations, (Judges ii. 13. viii. 33.); for which base ingratitude they were severely punished. And, after the division of the two kingdoms, it is well known that, with the exception of a few short intervals, both the sovereigns and people of Israel were wholly given to idolatry: nor were the people of Judah exempt from the worship of strange gods, as the frequent reproofs of the prophets abundantly testify. At length, however, become wiser by the severe discipline they had received, the tribes that returned into their native country from the Babylonian captivity, wholly renounced idolatry; and thenceforth uniformly evinced the most deeply-rooted aversion from all strange deities and foreign modes of worship. This great reformation was accomplished by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the eminent men who accompanied or succeeded them; but, in the progress of time, though the exterior of piety was maintained, the “power of godliness” was lost; and we learn from the New Testament, that, during our Saviour’s ministry, the Jews were divided into various religious parties, which widely differed in opinion, and pursued each other with the fiercest animosity and with implacable hatred. Of these sects and their respective tenets, to which there are frequent allusions in the New Testament, we are now to give some account.

SECTION I.

ACCOUNT OF THE JEWISH SECTS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *The Sadducees* — II. *The Pharisees* — III. *The Essenes* — IV. *The Scribes and Lawyers* — V. *The Samaritans* — VI. *The Herodians* — VII. *The Galileans and Zealots* — VIII. *The Sicarii*.

THE sect of the SADDUCEES derived its name from Sadok a pupil of Antigonus Sochæus president of the sanhedrim or great council; who flourished about two hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra, and who inculcated the reasonableness of serving God disinterestedly, and not under the servile impulse of the fear of punishment, or the mercenary hope of reward. Sadok, misunderstanding the doctrine of his master, deduced the inference that there was no future state of rewards or punishments. Their principal tenets were the following: 1. *That there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit*, (Matt. xxii. 23. Acts xxiii. 8.) and that the soul of man perishes together with the body *. 2. That there is no fate or providence, but that all men enjoy the most ample freedom of action; in other words, the absolute power of doing either good or evil, according to their own † choice; hence they were very severe judges ‡. 3. They paid no regard whatever to any tradition, adhering strictly to the letter of Scripture, but preferring the five books of Moses to the rest. It has been conjectured by some writers that they rejected all the sacred books but those of Moses, because Jesus Christ preferred to confute them out of these. But this hypothesis is no proof: for, though Josephus frequently mentions their rejecting the traditions of the elders, he nowhere charges them with rejecting any of the sacred books; and, as he was himself a Pharisee, and their zealous antagonist, he would not have passed over such a crime in silence. It is further worthy of remark, that our Saviour, who so severely censured the Sadducees for their other corruptions, did not condemn them for such rejection.

* Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. in fine. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. i. § 4.

† Ibid. Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 5. § 9. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 4.

‡ Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 10. § 6. lib. xviii. c. i. § 4.

In point of numbers, the Sadducees were an inconsiderable sect; but their numerical deficiency was amply compensated by the dignity and eminence of those who embraced their tenets, and who were persons of the first distinction. Several of them were advanced to the high priesthood *. They do not however appear to have aspired, generally, to public offices. Josephus affirms that scarcely any business of the state was transacted by them; and that, when they were in the magistracy, they generally conformed to the measures of the Pharisees, though unwillingly and out of pure necessity; for otherwise they would not have been endured by the multitude. †

II. The PHARISEES were the most numerous, distinguished, and popular sect among the Jews; the time when they first appeared is not known, but it is supposed to have been not long after the institution of the Sadducees, if indeed the two sects did not gradually spring up together. They derived their name from the Hebrew word *Pharash*, which signifies *separated* or *set apart*, because they *separated* themselves from the rest of the Jews to superior strictness in religious observances. They boasted that, from their accurate knowledge of religion, they were the favourites of heaven ‡; and thus, trusting in themselves that they were righteous, despised others (Luke xi. 52. xviii. 9, 11.) Among the tenets inculcated by this sect, we may enumerate the following, viz.

They ascribed all things to fate or providence, yet not so absolutely as to take away the free-will of man, though fate does not co-operate in every action §. They also believed in the existence of angels and spirits, and in the resurrection of the dead (Acts xxiii. 8.): but, from the account given of them by Josephus, it appears that their notion of the immortality of the soul was the Pythagorean metempsychosis ||; that the soul after the dissolution of one body, winged its flight into another; and that these removals were perpetuated and diversified through an infinite succession, the soul animating a sound and healthy body, or being confined in a deformed and diseased frame, according to its conduct in a prior state of existence. From the Pharisees, whose tenets and traditions the people generally

* Acts v. 17 xxiii. 6. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 10. § 6, 7. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.

† Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.

‡ Ibid. lib. xvii. c. 2. § 4.

§ Ibid. lib. xiii. c. 5. § 9. lib. xviii. c. 2. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. Acts v. 38, 39.

|| Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. lib. iii. c. 8. § 5. The author of the Book of Wisdom (ch. viii. 20.) seems to allude to the same doctrine, when he tells us *that, being good, he came into a body undefiled.*

received, it is evident that the disciples of our Lord had adopted this philosophical doctrine of the transmigration of souls; when, having met a man who had been *born* blind, they asked him whether it were the sins of this man in a pre-existent state which had caused the Sovereign Disposer to inflict upon him this punishment. To this inquiry Christ replied, that neither his vices or sins in a pre-existent state, nor those of his parents, were the cause of this calamity, (John ix. 1—4.) From this notion, derived from the Greek philosophy, we find that during our Saviour's public ministry, the Jews speculated variously concerning him, and indulged several conjectures, which of the antient prophets it was whose soul now animated him, and performed such astonishing miracles. Some contended that it was the soul of Elias; others of Jeremiah; while others, less sanguine, only declared in general terms that it must be the soul of one of the old prophets by which these mighty deeds were now wrought, (Matt. xvi. 14. Luke ix. 19.) *

Lastly, The Pharisees contended that God was in strict justice *bound* to bless the Jews, and make them all partakers of the *terrestrial* kingdom of the Messiah, to justify them, to make them eternally happy, and that he could not possibly damn any one of them! The cause of their justification they derived from the merits of Abraham, from their knowledge of God, from their practising the rite of circumcision, and from the sacrifices they offered. And as they conceived works to be meritorious, they had invented a great number of *supererogatory* ones, to which they attached greater merit than to the observance of the law itself. To this notion St. Paul has some allusions in those parts of his epistle to the Romans, in which he combats the erroneous suppositions of the Jews.†

The Pharisees were the strictest of the three principal sects that divided the Jewish nation, (Acts xxvi. 5.) and affected a singular probity of manners according to their system, which however was for the most part both lax and corrupt. Thus, many things which Moses had *tolerated* in civil life, in order

* Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 568, 569. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 355. To this popular notion of a transmigration of souls, Dr. H. ascribes the alarm of Herod, who had caused John the Baptist to be beheaded, when the fame of Christ's miracles reached his court: but, on comparing Matt. xvi. 6. with Mark viii. 15. it appears that Herod was a *Sadducee*, and consequently disbelieved a future state. His alarm therefore is rather to be attributed to the force of conscience, which haunted his guilty mind in despite of his libertine principles.

† See Rom. i.—xi. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 2. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 4. Justin Dialog. cum Tryphon. Pirke Aboth.

to avoid a greater evil, the Pharisees determined to be morally correct; for instance, the law of retaliation, and that of divorce from a wife for *any* cause (Matt. v. 31. *et seq.* xix. 3—12.). During the time of Christ, there were two celebrated philosophical and divinity schools among the Jews, that of Schammai and that of Hillel. On the question of divorce, the school of Schammai maintained, that no man could legally put away his wife except for adultery: the school of Hillel, on the contrary, allowed of divorce for *any* cause, (from Deut. xxiv. 1.), even if the wife found no favour in the eyes of her husband,—in other words, if he saw any woman who pleased him better. The practice of the Jews seems to have gone with the school of Hillel. Thus, we read (in Eccclus. xxv. 26.) “If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh; give her a bill of divorce and let her go:” and in conformity with this doctrine, Josephus*, who was a Pharisee, relates that he repudiated his wife who had borne him three children, because he was not pleased with her manners or behaviour!

Further, They interpreted certain of the Mosiac laws most literally, and distorted their meaning so as to favour their own philosophical system. Thus, the law of loving their neighbour, they expounded solely of the love of their friends, that is of the whole Jewish race; all other persons being considered by them as natural enemies, (Matt. v. 43. compared with Luke x. 31—33.), whom they were in no respect bound to assist. Dr. Lightfoot has cited a striking illustration of this passage from Maimonides†. An oath, in which the name of God was not distinctly specified, they taught was not binding, (Matt. v. 33.) maintaining that a man might even swear with his lips, and at the same moment annul it in his heart! So rigorously did they understand the command of observing the sabbath-day, that they accounted it unlawful to pluck ears of corn, and heal the sick, &c. (Matt. xii. 1. *et seq.* Luke vi. 6. *et seq.* xiv. 1. *et seq.*) Those natural laws which Moses did not sanction by any penalty, they accounted among the petty commandments inferior to the ceremonial laws, which they preferred to the former, as being the weightier matters of the law, (Matt. v. 19. xv. 4. xxiii. 23.), to the total neglect of mercy and fidelity.

* Life of himself, § 76. Grotius, Calmet, Drs. Lightfoot, Whitby, Doddridge, and A. Clarke, (on Matt. v. 30. *et seq.* and Matt. xix. 3. *et seq.*) have all given illustrations of the Jewish doctrine of divorce, from Rabbinical writers. See also Selden's *Uxor Hebraica*, lib. iii. c. 22. (Op. tom. ii. col. 782—786.)

† “A Jew sees a Gentile fall into the sea, let him by no means lift him out: for it is written, ‘*thou shalt not rise up against the blood of thy neighbour.*’ But this is NOT thy neighbour.” Works, vol. ii. p. 152.

Hence they accounted causeless anger and impure desires as trifles of no moment, (Matt. v. 21, 22, 27—30.); they compassed sea and land to make proselytes* to the Jewish religion from among the Gentiles, that they might rule over their consciences and wealth: and these proselytes, through the influence of their own scandalous examples and characters, they soon rendered more profligate and abandoned than ever they were before their conversion, (Matt. xxiii. 15.) Esteeming temporal happiness and riches as the highest good, they scrupled not to accumulate wealth by every means legal or illegal, (Matt. v. 1—12. xxiii. 4. Luke xvi. 14. James ii. 1—8.); vain and ambitious of popular applause, they offered up long prayers in public places, but not without a self-sufficiency of their own holiness, (Matt. vi. 2—5. Luke xviii. 11.); under a sanctimonious appearance of respect for the memories of the prophets whom their ancestors had slain, they repaired and beautified their sepulchres, (Matt. xxiii. 29); and such was their idea of their own sanctity, that they thought themselves defiled if they but touched or conversed with *sinner*s, that is with publicans or tax-gatherers, and persons of loose and irregular lives, (Luke vii. 39. xv. 1. *et seq.*)

But, above all their other tenets, the Pharisees were conspicuous for their reverential observance of the traditions or decrees of the elders: these traditions, they pretended, had been handed down from Moses through every generation, but were not committed to writing; and they were not merely considered as of equal authority with the divine law, but even preferable to it. “The words of the Scribes,” said they, “are lovely above the words of the law: for the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are ALL weighty †.” Among the traditions thus sanctimoniously observed by the Pharisees, we may briefly notice the following: 1. *The washing of hands* up to the wrist before and after meat, (Matt. xv. 2. Mark vii. 3.) which they accounted not merely a religious duty, but considered its omission as a crime equal to fornication, and punishable by excommunication. 2. *The purification* of the cups, vessels, and couches used at their meals by ablutions or

* On the subject of those proselytes, see pp. 99, 105. *supra*.

† Jerusalem Berachoth, fol. 3. 2. as cited by Dr. Lightfoot on Matt. xv. (Works, ii. p. 199.) The whole of his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on that chapter is singularly instructive. The collection of these traditions by which the Jews made the law of God of none effect, is termed the Talmud: of which, and of its use in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, see an account *infra*, part ii. chap. vii. sect. ii. § 3. On the Traditions of the Modern Jews (which illustrate very many passages of the New Testament), the reader may consult Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, chap. viii. to xv. pp. 140—280.

washings, (Mark vii. 4.); for which purpose the six large water-pots, mentioned by St. John, (ii. 6.), were destined. But these ablutions are not to be confounded with those symbolical washings mentioned in Psal. xxvi. 6. and Matt. xxvii. 24. 3. *Their fasting twice a week* with great appearance of austerity, (Luke xviii. 12. Matt. vi. 16.); thus converting that exercise into religion which is only a help towards the performance of its hallowed duties. The Jewish days of fasting were the second and fifth days of the week, corresponding with our Mondays and Thursdays: on one of these days they commemorated Moses going up to the mount to receive the law, which according to their traditions was on the fifth day or Thursday; and on the other, his descent after he had received the two tables, which they supposed to have been on the second day or Monday. 4. *Their punctilious payment of tithes* (temple-offerings), even of the most trifling things, (Luke xviii. 12. Matt. xxiii. 23.) 5. *Their wearing broader phylacteries and larger fringes* to their garments than the rest of the Jews, (Matt. xxiii. 5.) These phylacteries were pieces of parchment or the dressed skin of some clean animal, inscribed with four paragraphs of the law, taken from Exod. xiii. 1—10. and xiii. 11—16. Deut. vi. 4—9. and xi. 13—21. all inclusive; which the Pharisees, interpreting literally (as do the modern rabbins), Deut. vi. 8. and other similar passages, tied to the fronts of their caps and on their arms. The *fringe* was ordered by Moses, as we read in Numb. xv. 38, 39. He therefore, who wore his phylactery and his fringe of the largest size, was reputed to be the most devout*.

With all their pretensions to piety, the Pharisees entertained the most sovereign contempt for the people; whom, being ignorant of the law, they pronounced to be accursed, (John vii. 49.) Yet such was the esteem and veneration in which they were held by the people, that they may almost be said to have given what direction they pleased to public affairs: and hence the great men dreaded their power and authority. It is unquestionable, as Mosheim has well remarked, that the religion of the Pharisees was, for the most part founded in consummate hypocrisy; and that, at the bottom, they were generally the slaves of every vicious appetite, proud, arrogant, and avaricious, consulting only the gratification of their lusts even at the very moment when they professed themselves to be engaged in the service of their Maker. These odious features

* On the phylacteries and fringes of the Modern Jews, Mr. Allen has collected much curious information. Modern Judaism, pp. 304—318.

in the character of the Pharisees caused them to be reprehended by our Saviour with the utmost severity, even more than he rebuked the Sadducees; who, although they had departed widely from the genuine principles of religion, yet did not impose on mankind by a pretended sanctity, or devote themselves with insatiable greediness to the acquisition of honours and riches. *

III. The ESSENES, who were the third principal sect among the Jews, differed in many respects from the Pharisees and Sadducees, both in doctrines and in practice. They were divided into two classes: 1. The *practical*, who lived in society, and some of whom were married, though it appears with much circumspection. These dwelt in cities and their neighbourhoods, and applied themselves to husbandry and other innocent occupations. 2. The *contemplative* Essenes, who were also called Therapeutæ or Physicians from their application principally to the cure of the diseases of the soul, devoted themselves wholly to meditation, and avoided living in great towns as unfavourable to a contemplative life. But both classes were exceedingly abstemious, exemplary in their moral deportment, averse from profane swearing, and most rigid in their observance of the sabbath. They held, among other tenets, the immortality of the soul, (though they denied the resurrection of the body), the existence of angels, and a state of future rewards and punishments. They believed every thing to be ordered by an eternal fatality or chain of causes. Although Jesus Christ censured all the other sects of the Jews for their vices, yet he never spoke of the Essenes: neither are they mentioned by name in any part of the New Testament. This silence of the evangelical historians concerning them, is by some accounted for by their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of public resort; so that they did not come in the way of our Saviour as the Pharisees and Sadducees often did. Others, however, are of opinion, that the Essenes being very honest and sincere, without guile or hypocrisy, gave no room for the reproofs and censures which the other Jews deserved; and therefore no mention is made of them.

But though the Essenes are not expressly named in any of the sacred books, it has been conjectured that they are alluded to in two or three passages. Thus, those whom our Lord terms eunuchs who have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake, (Matt. xix. 12.) are supposed to be the contemplative Essenes, who abstained from all intercourse with

* Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians, vol. i. p. 83.

women, in the hope of acquiring a greater degree of purity, and becoming the better fitted for the kingdom of God. St. Paul is generally understood to have referred to them, in Col. ii. 18, 23; where “voluntary humility” and “neglecting the body” are peculiarly applicable to the Essenes; who, when they received any persons into their number, made them solemnly swear that they would keep and observe the books of the sect and the names of the angels, with care*. What is also said in the above cited passage, of “intruding into things not seen,” is likewise agreeable to the character of the Therapeutic Essenes; who placing the excellence of their contemplative life in raising their minds to invisible objects, pretended to such a degree of elevation and abstraction, as to be able to penetrate into the nature of angels, and assign them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given them; and also to pry into futurity and predict future events. On these accounts it is highly probable that they were “vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind.” Further, the tenets referred to by St. Paul, (Col. ii. 21. “touch not, taste not, handle not),” are such as the Essenes held, who would not taste any pleasant food, but lived on coarse bread and drank nothing but water; and some of whom would not taste any food at all till after sun-set: if touched by any that were not of their own sect, they would wash themselves, as after some great pollution. It has been conjectured that there might be a sodality of Essenes at Colosse, as there were in many other places out of Judea; and that some of the Christians, being too much inclined to Judaism, might also affect the peculiarities of this sect; which might be the reason of the apostle’s so particularly cautioning the Colossians against them. †

IV. There is in the gospels frequent mention of a set of men called SCRIBES and LAWYERS, who are often joined with the chief priests, elders, and Pharisees. They seem to have been men of learning, and on that account to have had great deference paid to them, (Matt. ii. 4. vii. 29.) but strictly speaking, they did not form any distinct sect. The scribes generally belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, in whose traditions and explanations of the law they were profoundly skilled; and on the sabbath days ‘they sat in Moses’ seat’ and instructed the people. Originally, they had their name from their employ-

* Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 7.

† Jennings’s Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 12. p. 243. (Edinb. 1808.) Michaelis thinks that St. Paul alludes to the tenets and practices of the Essenes in his epistle to the Ephesians, and in his first epistle to Timothy. Introd. to New Test. vol. iv. pp. 79—85. Dr. Prideaux has collected with great industry and fidelity all that Philo, Josephus, and Pliny have recorded concerning the Essenes. Connection, vol. ii. book v. sub anno 107. B. C. pp. 343—363. 8th edit.

ment, which at first was *transcribing* the law: but in progress of time they exalted themselves into the public ministry and teachers of it, authoritatively determining what doctrines were or were not contained in the scriptures, and teaching the common people in what sense to understand the law and the prophets. In short, they were the oracles, which were consulted in all difficult points of doctrine and duty.

LAWYERS (*νομικοι*, *teachers of the law*) and scribes appear to be synonymous terms importing one and the same order of men; as St. Matt. (xxii. 35.) calls him a scribe whom St. Mark (xii. 28.) terms a lawyer. Dr. Macknight conjectures the scribes to have been the public expounders of the law, and that the lawyers studied it in private: perhaps, as Dr. Lardner conjectures, they taught in the schools. *

V. The SAMARITANS, mentioned in the New Testament, were in part descended from the ten tribes, most of whom had been made captive by the Assyrians, blended with other distant nations, and settled in the same district with their conquerors. The different people for some time retained their respective modes of worship; but the country being depopulated by war and infested with wild beasts, the mixed multitude imagined, according to the ideas then generally prevalent in the heathen world, that this was a judgment upon them for not worshipping the God of the country, in which they resided. On this account one of the priests, whom they had carried away from Samaria, came and “dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord,” (2 Kings xvii. 24—33). The temple of Jerusalem being destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, the Samaritans proposed to join with the Jews, after their return from the captivity, in rebuilding it, but their proposal was rejected, (Ezra iv. 1—3); and, other causes of dissension arising, the Samaritans at length, by permission of Alexander the Great, erected a temple on Mount Gerizim, in opposition to that at Jerusalem. Here the Samaritans performed the same worship with the Jews; and also continued as free from idolatry as the Jews themselves: Sanballat, who was then governor of the Samaritans, constituted Manasses, the son of Jaddus the Jewish high priest, high priest of the temple at Gerizim; which,

* Prideaux, vol. ii. p. 343. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. iv. § 3. (Works vol. i. p. 126.) Macknight's Harmony, sect. 87. vol. ii. p. 74. (2d edit. 4to.) The *scribes* noticed in the Old Testament, it may not be irrelevant to remark, were political officers of great weight and authority; it being their employment to assist the kings or magistrates, and to keep an account in writing of public acts or occurrences, of the royal revenues, and the muster rolls of the army. (2 Sam. viii. 17. 1 Chron. xxiv. 6. 1 Kings iv. 3. 2 Kings xix. 2. xxii. 8—10. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11.)

from that time, they maintained to be “the place where men ought to worship.”

Hence arose that inveterate enmity and schism between the two nations, of which we meet with numerous examples in the New Testament. How flagrant and bitter their rage was, is evident from the instance of the woman of Samaria; who appeared amazed that our Lord, who was a *Jew*, should so far deviate from the national antipathy as to ask her, who was a *Samaritan*, even for a cup of cold water:—for the Jews, adds the sacred historian, have no friendly intercourse and dealings with the Samaritans, (John iv. 9.) With a Jew, the very name of Samaritan comprised madness and malice, drunkenness and apostacy, rebellion and universal detestation. When instigated by rage against our blessed Saviour, the first word their fury dictated was, *Samaritan*—“Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil!” (John viii. 48.) It is remarkable that the pious and amiable author of the book of Ecclesiasticus was not exempt from the national prejudices, but ranks them that sit upon the hill of Samaria, and the foolish people that dwell in Sichem, among those whom his soul abhorred; and reckons them among the nations that were most detestable to the Jews, (Ecclus. i. 25, 26.) Nor did the Samaritans yield to the Jews in virulence and invective, reproaching them for erecting their temple on a spot that was not authorized by the divine command; and asserting that Gerizim was the sole, genuine, and individual seat, which God had originally chosen to fix his name and worship there, (John iv. 20.) How sanguine the attachment of the Samaritans was to their temple and worship is manifest from their refusing to Jesus Christ the rites of hospitality, which in those early ages were hardly ever refused, “because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem,” (Luke ix. 52, 53); and it appeared that he intended only to pass transiently through their territories without visiting their temple*. Though greatly reduced in number there are still some descendants of the Samaritans at Napolese (the antient Shechem), at Gaza, Damascus, and Grand Cairo. Among other peculiarities by which the Samaritans are distinguished from the Jews, besides those already mentioned, we may notice their admission of the divine autho-

* As the way from Galilee to Judea lay through the country of the Samaritans, the latter often exercised acts of hostility against the Galileans; and offered them several affronts and injuries, when they were going up to their solemn feasts at Jerusalem. Of this inveterate enmity Josephus has recorded a very remarkable instance, which occurred during the reign of Claudius, (A. D. 52); when the Samaritans made a great slaughter of the Galileans, who were travelling to Jerusalem through one of the villages of Samaria. (Josephus, Antiq. l. xx. c. 6. § 1.)

rity of the Pentateuch, while they reject all the other books of the Jewish canon, or rather hold them to be apocryphal or of inferior authority; with the exception perhaps of the books of Joshua and Judges, which are also acknowledged, but not allowed to possess the same authority as the five books of Moses. That the old Samaritans did not *entirely* reject all the other books of the Jewish Scriptures, is evident from their expectation that the Messiah would not only be "a prophet" or instructor "like Moses," but also be the "Saviour of the world," (John iv. 25—42); titles these (Messiah and Saviour) which were borrowed from the Psalms and prophetical writings.

What is of unspeakable value, they preserve among themselves, in the antient Hebrew character, copies of the Pentateuch; which, as there has been no friendly intercourse between them and the Jews since the Babylonish captivity, there can be no doubt were the same that were in use before that event, though subject to such variations as will always be occasioned by frequent transcribing. And so inconsiderable are the variations from our present copies, (which were those of the Jews), that by this means we have a proof that those important books have been preserved uncorrupted for the space of nearly three thousand years, so as to leave no room to doubt that they are the same which were actually written by Moses.

The differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs may be accounted for, by the usual sources of various readings, viz. the negligence of copyists, introduction of glosses from the margin into the text, the confounding of similar letters, the transposition of letters, the addition of explanatory words, &c. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, is of great use and authority in establishing correct readings: in many instances it agrees remarkably with the Greek Septuagint, and it contains numerous and excellent various lections, which are in every respect preferable to the received Masoretic readings, and are further confirmed by the agreement of other antient versions.

The most material variations between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Hebrew, which affect the authority of the former, occur first, in the prolongation of the patriarchal generations; and secondly, in the alteration of Ebal into Gerizim, (Deut. xxvii. 4.) in order to support their separation from the Jews. The chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch has been satisfactorily vindicated by the Rev. Dr. Hales, whose arguments however will not admit of abridgement*; and with

* Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 80. *et seq.*

regard to the charge of altering the Pentateuch, it has been shewn by Dr. Kennicott, from a consideration of the character of the Samaritans, their known reverence for the law, our Lord's silence on the subject in his memorable conversation with the woman of Samaria, and various other topics; that what almost all biblical critics have hitherto considered as a wilful corruption by the Samaritans, is in all probability the *true* reading, and that the corruption is to be charged on the Jews themselves. In judging therefore of the genuineness of a reading we are not to declare absolutely for one of these Pentateuchs against the other, but to prefer the true readings in both. "One antient copy," Dr. Kennicott remarks with equal truth and justice, "has been received from the Jews, and we are truly thankful for it: another antient copy is offered by the Samaritans; let us thankfully accept that likewise. Both have been often transcribed; both therefore may contain errors. They differ in many instances, therefore the errors must be many. Let the two parties be heard without prejudice; let their evidences be weighed with impartiality; and let the genuine words of Moses be ascertained by their joint assistance. Let the variations of all the manuscripts on each side be carefully collected; and then critically examined by the context and the antient versions. If the Samaritan copy shall be found in some places to correct the Hebrew, yet will the Hebrew copy in other places correct the Samaritan. *Each* copy therefore is invaluable; each copy therefore demands our pious veneration and attentive study. The Pentateuch will never be understood perfectly till we admit the authority of BOTH." *

Although the Samaritan Pentateuch was known to and cited by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus of Tarsus, Jerome, Syncellus, and other antient fathers, yet it afterwards fell into oblivion for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence began to be questioned. Joseph Scaliger was the first who excited the attention of learned men to this valuable relic of antiquity; and M. Peiresc procured a copy from Egypt, which, together with the ship that brought it, was unfortunately captured by pirates. More successful was the venerable archbishop Usher, who procured six copies from the East; and from another copy, purchased by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy †, Father Morinus printed the Samaritan Pentateuch for the first time, in the Paris Polyglott. This was afterwards reprinted in the London

* Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 20—165.

† Then ambassador from France to Constantinople, and afterwards archbishop of St. Maloes.

Polyglott by Bishop Walton who corrected it from three manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Archbishop Usher. A neat edition of this Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, was edited by the late Rev. Dr. Blayney, in 8vo. Oxford, 1790.

Of the Samaritan Pentateuch two versions are extant; one in the Aramean dialect, which is usually termed the Samaritan Version, and another in Arabic.

The Samaritan version was made in Samaritan characters, from the Hebræo-Samaritan text into the Chaldæo-Samaritan or Aramæan dialect, which is intermediate between the Chaldee and Syriac languages, before the schism took place between the Jews and Samaritans. Such is the opinion of Le Jay who first printed this version in the Paris Polyglott, whence Bishop Walton introduced it into the London Polyglott. The author of this version is unknown; but he has in general adhered very closely and faithfully to the original text.

The Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch is also extant in Samaritan characters, and was executed by Abu Said, A. D. 1070, in order to supplant the Arabic translation of the Jewish Rabbi Saadia Gaon, which had till that time been in use among the Samaritans. Abu Said has very closely followed the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose readings he expresses, even where the latter differs from the Hebrew text: in some instances however, both Bishop Walton and Bauer have remarked, that he has borrowed from the Arabic version of Saadia. On account of the paucity of manuscripts of the original Samaritan Pentateuch, Bauer thinks this version will be found of great use in correcting its text. Some specimens of it have been published by Dr. Durell in "the Hebrew text of the parallel prophecies of Jacob relating to the twelve tribes," &c. (Oxford 1763, 4to), and before him by Castell in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott; also by Hwiid, at Rome, in 1780, in 8vo, and by Paulus at Jena, in 1789, in 8vo. *

VI. The HERODIANS were rather a political faction than a religious sect of the Jews; they derived their name from Herod the Great, king of Judea, to whose family they were strongly attached. They were distinguished from the other Jewish sects, first, by their concurring in Herod's plan of subjecting himself and his people to the dominion of the Romans; and secondly, in complying with them in many of their heathen practices, such

* Bishop Walton, Prol. c. xi. §§ 10—21. pp. 527—553; Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 585—620; Leusden, *Philologus Hebræus*, pp. 59—67.; Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 325—335. Dr. Priestley's *Notes on the Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83; Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article SAMARITANS; Dr. Harwood's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240; Pritii *Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti*, pp. 466—471.

as erecting temples with images for idolatrous worship, raising statues, and instituting games in honour of Augustus; which symbolizing with idolatry upon views of interest and worldly policy is supposed to have been a part at least of the leaven of Herod, against which Jesus Christ cautioned his disciples (Mark viii. 15.); consequently they were directly opposed to the Pharisees, who, from a misinterpretation of Deut. xvii. 15, maintained that it was not lawful to submit to the Roman Emperor, or to pay taxes to him. But Herod, and his followers understanding the text to exclude only a voluntary choice, and not a necessary submission where force had overpowered choice, held an opinion directly contrary, and insisted that in this case it was lawful both to submit to the Roman Emperor, and also to pay taxes to him. How keen then must have been the malice of the Pharisees against Christ, when they united with their mortal enemies the Herodians, in proposing to him the ensnaring question, whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? (Matt. xxii. 16.) If our Redeemer had answered in the negative, the Herodians would have accused him to the Roman power as a seditious person; and, if in the affirmative, the Pharisees were equally ready to accuse him to the people, and excite their indignation against him, as betraying the civil liberties and privileges of his country. It is further probable that the Herodians, in their doctrinal tenets, were chiefly of the sect of the Sadducees, who were the most indifferent to religion among the whole Jewish nation; since that which is by one evangelist called the “leaven of Herod”, (Mark viii. 15.) is by another termed, (Matt. xvi. 6.) the “leaven of the Sadducees.” *

VII. The GALILEANS were a sect that originated from the Pharisees, A. D. 12, when Archelaus was banished, Judea reduced into a Roman province, and a census taken by Quirinius or Cyrenius president of Syria, (to which province Judea was attached). On this occasion, Judas the Galilean, or Gaulonite, as he is also called †, exhorted the people to shake off this yoke, telling them, that tribute was due to God alone, and consequently ought not to be paid to the Romans; and that religious liberty and the authority of the divine laws were to be defended by force of arms. In other respects his doctrines appear to have been the same as those of the Pharisees.

* Prideaux's Connection, part ii. book v. (vol. ii. pp. 365—368.) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. xii. (pp. 244—246.), where the different opinions of former writers concerning the Herodians are enumerated; as also in Elsley's Annotations on the Gospels, vol. i. pp. 342—346. vol. ii. 15. Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, pp. 290, 291. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. iv. § 4. (Works, vol. i. pp. 126, 127.)

† He was a native of Gamala in the province of Gaulonitis.

The tumults raised by these pernicious tenets were indeed suppressed, (Acts v. 37.); but his followers, who were called Galileans, continued secretly to propagate them, and to make proselytes, whom they required to be circumcised. As the same restless disposition and seditious principles continued to exist at the time when the apostles Paul and Peter wrote their epistles, they took occasion thence to inculcate upon Christians, (who were at that time generally confounded with the Jews,) the necessity of obedience to civil authority, with singular ability, truth and persuasion. See Rom. xiii. 1. *et seq.* 1 Tim. ii. 1. *et seq.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. *et seq.* *

The ZEALOTS, so often mentioned in Jewish history, appear to have been the followers of this Judas. Lamy is of opinion that the JUST MEN whom the Pharisees and Herodians sent to entangle Jesus in his conversation, were members of this sect, (Matt. xxii. 15, 16. Mark xii. 13, 14. Luke xx. 20.) †

VIII. The SICARII, noticed in Acts xxi. 38. were assassins, who derived their name from their using poniards bent like the Roman *sicæ*, which they concealed under their garments, and privately stabbed the objects of their malice ‡. The Egyptian impostor, also mentioned by the sacred historian, is noticed by Josephus, who says that he was at the head of 30,000 men, though St. Luke notices only 4000: but both accounts are reconciled by supposing that the impostor (who in the second year of Nero pretended to be a prophet), led out 4000 from Jerusalem, who were afterwards joined by others to the amount of 30,000, as related by Josephus. They were attacked and dispersed by the Roman procurator Felix. §

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. i. § 1, 6. lib. xx. c. v. § 2. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 7—9. lib. vii. c. viii. § 1. The Theudas mentioned in Acts v. 36. must not be confounded with the Theudas or Judas referred to by Josephus, (Ant. lib. xx. c. v. § 1.) Theudas was a very common name among the Jews: and the person mentioned by the sacred historian was probably one of the many leaders who took up arms in defence of the public liberties, at the time of Cyrenius's enrolment and taxation, at least seven if not ten years before the speech delivered by Gamaliel, (Acts v. 34—40.) He seems to have been supported by smaller numbers than the second of that name, and (as the second afterwards did) perished in the attempt; but as his followers were dispersed, and not slaughtered, like those of the second Judas, survivors might talk much of him, and Gamaliel might have been particularly informed of his history, though Josephus only mentions it in general terms. See Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. vii. (Works, i. pp. 405—413.) Dr. Doddridge on Acts, v. 36.

† Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 239.

‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. § 10.

§ Ibid. lib. xx. c. viii. § 6. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiii. § 5. Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. viii. (Works, vol. i. p. 414—419.)

SECTION II.

ON THE EXTREME CORRUPTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE,
BOTH IN RELIGION AND MORALS, AT THE TIME OF CHRIST'S
BIRTH.

General corruption of the leaders of the Jewish nation — of their chief priests, and other ministers of religion — its deplorable effects on the people — state of the Jews not resident in Palestine.

THE preceding chapters* will have shown that the political state of the Jews was truly deplorable. Although they were oppressed and fleeced by various governors, who exercised the most rigorous authority over them, in many instances with peculiar avarice, cruelty, and extortion, yet they were in some measure governed by their own laws, and were permitted to enjoy their religion. The administration of their sacred rites continued to be committed to the high priest and the sanhedrim; to the former the priests and levites were subordinate as before; and the form of their external worship, except in a very few points, had suffered no visible change. But, whatever comforts were left to them by the Roman magistrates, they were not allowed to enjoy them by their chief priests and popular leaders, whom Josephus characterizes as profligate wretches, who had purchased their places by bribes or by acts of iniquity, and maintained their ill-acquired authority by the most flagitious and abominable crimes. Nor were the religious creeds of these men more pure: having espoused the principles of various sects, they suffered themselves to be led away by all the prejudice and animosity of party, (though, as in the case of our Saviour, they would sometimes abandon them to promote some favourite measure); and were commonly more intent on the gratification of private enmity, than studious of advancing the cause of religion, or promoting the public welfare. The subordinate and inferior members were infected with the corruption of the head; the priests, and the other ministers of religion, were become dissolute and abandoned in the highest degree; while the common people, instigated by examples so depraved, rushed headlong into every kind of iniquity, and by their incessant seditions, robberies, and extortions, armed against themselves both the justice of God and the vengeance of men.

* See particularly Chap. iv. Sections ii. and iii. pp. 64—76., and Chap. vi. Section i. pp. 165—179.

Owing to these various causes, the great mass of the Jewish people were sunk into the most deplorable ignorance of God and of divine things. Hence proceeded that dissoluteness of manners, and that profligate wickedness, which prevailed among the Jews during Christ's ministry upon earth; in allusion to which the divine Saviour compares the people to a multitude of lost sheep, straying without a shepherd, (Matt. x. 6. xv. 24.) and their teachers, or doctors, to blind guides, who professed to instruct others in a way with which they were totally unacquainted themselves*, (Matt. xv. 14. John ix. 39, 40.)

More particularly, in the New Testament,† the Jews are described as a most superstitious and bigotted people, attached to the Mosaic ritual, and to the whimsical traditions of their elders, with a zeal and fanaticism approaching to madness. They are represented as a nation of hypocrites, assuming the most sanctimonious appearance before the world, at the corners of crowded streets, uttering loud and fervent strains of rapturous devotion, merely to attract the eyes of a weak and credulous multitude, and to be noticed and venerated by them as mirrors of mortification and heavenly-mindedness; devoured with ostentation and spiritual pride; making a trumpeter walk before them in the streets, and make proclamation that such a rabbi was going to distribute his alms; publicly displaying all this showy parade of piety and charity, yet privately guilty of the most unfeeling cruelty and oppression; devouring widows houses, stripping the helpless widow and friendless orphan of their property, and exposing them to all the rigours of hunger and nakedness; clamouring, *The temple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord!* making conscience of paying tithe of mint, anise, and cummin to the support of its splendour and priesthood, but in practical life violating and trampling upon the first duties of morality,—justice, fidelity, and mercy,—as being vulgar and heathenish attainments, and infinitely below the regard of exalted saints and spiritual perfectionists. Their great men were to an incredible degree depraved in their morals, many of them Sadducees in principle, and in practice the most

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. book i. part i. chap. ii., and also his Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine the Great, vol. i. introd. chap. ii.

† For the following picture of the melancholy corruption of the Jewish church and people, the author is indebted to Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, (vol. ii. pp. 58, 61.) collated with Pritii Introductio, pp. 471. *et seq.* and verifying also the several authorities referred to by him.

profligate sensualists and debauchees; their atrocious and abandoned wickedness, as Josephus testifies*, transcended all the enormities which the most corrupt age of the world had ever beheld; they compassed sea and land to make proselytes to Judaism from the Pagans, and, when they had gained these converts, soon rendered them, by their immoral lives and scandalous examples, more depraved and profligate than ever they were before their conversion. The apostle tells them, that by reason of their notorious vices their religion was become the object of calumny and satire among the heathen nations. *The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you* †! (Rom. ii. 24.) And in his epistle to Titus he informs us, that the Jews in speculation indeed acknowledged a God, but in practice they were atheists; for in their lives they were abominably immoral and abandoned, and the contemptuous despisers of every thing that was virtuous. *They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate*, (Titus i. 16.) This testimony to the religious and moral character of the Jewish people, by Jesus Christ and his apostles, is amply corroborated by Josephus, who has given us a true estimate of their principles and manners, and is also confirmed by other contemporary historians ‡. The circumstance of their nation having been favoured with an explicit revelation from the Deity, instead of enlarging their minds, miserably contracted and soured them with all the bitterness and leaven of theological odium. They regarded uncircumcised heathens with sovereign contempt §,

* Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. p. 1314. Hudson. Again, saith this historian, "They were universally corrupt, both publicly and privately. They vied which should surpass each other in impiety against God and injustice towards men." Ibid. Oxon.

† The superstitious credulity of a Jew was proverbial among the heathens. Credat Judæus Apella. Horat. Epictetus mentions and exposes their greater attachment to their ceremonies than to the duties of morality. Dissertationes, lib. i. p. 115. edit. Upton. See also Josephus contra Apion. p. 480. Havercamp.

‡ "I cannot forbear," says Josephus, "declaring my opinion, though the declaration fills me with great emotion and regret, that if the Romans had delayed to come against these wretches, the city would either have been ingulphed by an earthquake, overwhelmed by a deluge, or destroyed by fire from heaven, as Sodom was: for that generation was far more enormously wicked than those who suffered these calamities." Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 13. p. 1256. "These things they suffered," says Origen, "as being the most abandoned of men." Origen contra Celsum, p. 62. Cantab. 1677.

§ "The Jews are the only people who refuse all friendly intercourse with every other nation, and esteem all mankind as enemies." Diod. Siculus, tom. ii. p. 524. edit. Wesseling, Amstel. 1746. "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican." (Matt. xviii. 17.) Of the extreme detestation and abhorrence which the Jews had for the Gentiles we have a very striking example in that speech which St. Paul addresses to them, telling them in the course of it, that God had commissioned him to go to the

and believed them to be hated by God, merely because they were born aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and lived strangers to their covenant of promise. They would not eat with them, (Acts xi. 3.) do the least friendly office for them, or maintain any social correspondence and mutual intercourse with them. The apostle comprises their national character in a few words, and it is a just one: *They were contrary to all men**. (1 Thess. ii. 15.) The supercilious insolence with which the mean and selfish notion of their being the only favourites of heaven and enlightened by God, inflated them as a people, and the haughty and scornful disdain in which they held the heathens, are in a very striking manner characterized in the following spirited address of St. Paul to them.—“Behold! thou art called a Jew, and retest in the law, and makest thy boast of God: and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law.” (Rom. ii. 17—20.) This passage exhibits to us a faithful picture of the national character of this people, and shows us how much they valued themselves upon their wisdom and superior knowledge of religion, arrogating to themselves the character of lights and guides, and instructors of the whole world, and contemptuously regarding all the heathen as blind, as babes, and as fools!

Another ever memorable instance of the national pride and arrogance of this vain and ostentatious people is, that when our Lord was discoursing to them concerning their pretensions to moral liberty, and representing the ignoble and despicable bondage in which sin detains its votaries, they imagined this to be an indirect allusion to the present condition of their country; their pride was instantly in flames; and they had the effrontery and impudence openly to assert, that they

Gentiles. The moment he had pronounced the word, the whole assembly was in confusion, tore off their clothes, pierced the air with their cries, threw clouds of dust into it, and were transported into the last excesses of rage and madness, “He said unto me, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles: they gave him audience,” says the sacred historian, “until this word, and then lifted up their voice and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live,” (Acts xxii. 21.)

* This character of the Jewish nation is confirmed by Tacitus, and expressed almost in the very words of the Apostle, “*Adversus omnes alios hostile odium.*” Tacit. Hist. lib. v. § 5. vol. iii. p. 261. edit. Bipont.

had always been free, and were never in bondage to any man (John viii. 33.); though every child must know the history of their captivities, must know that Judea was at that very time a conquered province, had been subdued by Pompey, and from that time had paid an annual tribute to Rome!

Another characteristic that distinguishes and marks this people, was that kind of evidence which they expected in order to their reception of truth. *Except they saw signs and wonders they would not believe!* (John iv. 48.) If a doctrine proposed to their acceptance was not confirmed by some visible displays of preternatural power, some striking phenomena, the clear and indubitable evidences of an immediate divine interposition, they would reject it. In antient times, for a series of many years, this people had been favoured with numerous signal manifestations from heaven: a cloud had conducted them by day, and a pillar of fire by night: their law was given them, accompanied by a peculiar display of solemn pomp and magnificence; and the glory of God had repeatedly filled their temple. Habituated as their understandings had been, for many ages, to receive as truth, only what should be attested and ratified by signs from heaven, and by some grand and striking phenomena in the sky, it was natural for them, long accustomed as they had been to this kind of evidence, to ask our Saviour to give them some *sign from heaven*, (Matt. xvi. 1.) to exhibit before them some amazing and stupendous prodigy in the air to convince them of the dignity and divinity of his character. *The Jews*, says St. Paul, *require a sign* (1 Cor. i. 22.); it was that species of evidence to which their nation had been accustomed. Thus we read that the Scribes and Pharisees came to John, desiring him that he would show them a sign from heaven. Again, we read that the Jews came and said to him, *What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these things?* Jesus answered and said unto them, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up!* (John ii. 18, 19.) What kind of signs these were which they expected, and what sort of preternatural prodigies they wanted him to display in order to authenticate his divine mission to them, appears from the following passages: *They said therefore, unto him, What sign shewest thou then, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven!* (John vi. 30, 31.) This method, therefore, of espousing religious doctrines, only as they should be confirmed by some

signal and indubitable interposition of the Deity, and their cherishing the vanity and presumption that heaven would lavish its miraculous signs whenever they called for them,—constitute a striking and very distinguishing feature in the national character of this people.

So exceedingly great was the fecundity of the Jewish people, that multitudes of them had occasionally been constrained to emigrate from their native country; so that at the time of our Saviour's birth there was scarcely a province in the Roman empire in which they were not to be found, either serving in the army, engaged in the pursuits of commerce, or exercising some lucrative arts. They were maintained, in foreign countries, against injurious treatment and violence, by various special edicts of the emperors and magistrates in their favour*; though, from the peculiarities of their religion and manners, they were held in very general contempt, and were not unfrequently exposed to much vexation and annoyance from the jealousy and indignation of an ignorant and superstitious populace. Many of them, in consequence of their long residence and intercourse with foreign nations, fell into the error of endeavouring to make their religion accommodate itself to the principles and institutions of some of the different systems of heathen discipline: but, on the other hand, it is clear that the Jews brought many of those among whom they resided to perceive the superiority of the Mosaic religion over the Gentile superstitions, and were highly instrumental in causing them to forsake the worship of a plurality of gods. Although the knowledge which the Gentiles thus acquired from the Jews respecting the only true God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, was doubtless both partial and limited, yet it inclined many of them the more readily to listen to the subsequent arguments and exhortations of the apostles of our Saviour, for the purpose of exploding the worship of false deities, and recalling men to the knowledge of true religion. All which, Mosheim observes, with equal truth and piety, appears to have been most singularly and wisely directed by the adorable hand of an interposing providence; to the end that this people, who were the sole depository of the true religion and of the knowledge of the one supreme God, being spread

* In proof of this observation Mosheim refers to *Jacobi Gronovii Decreta Romana et Asiatica pro Judæis ad cultum divinum per Asiæ Minoris urbes securè obeundum*. Lug. Bat. 1712, 8vo. See also Dr. Lardner's *Credibility*, part i. book i. ch. viii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 164—201), where numerous valuable testimonies are adduced.

abroad through the whole earth, might be every where, by their example, a reproach to superstition, contribute in some measure to check it, and thus prepare the way for that fuller display of divine truth which was to shine upon the world from the ministry and gospel of the Son of God*.

* Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 106. Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 52. edit. 1806. Besides the authorities cited in the preceding chapter, the Jewish sects, &c. are largely discussed by Pritius, *Introd. ad Nov. Test.* chap. xxxii—xxxv. pp. 429—475. Prideaux, *Connection*, book v. vol. ii. pp. 335—368. Relandi *Antiq. Sacr. Hebræorum*, pp. 276. *et seq.* Ikenius, *Antiq. Hebr.* pp. 33—42. Schachtii *Dictata in Ikenium*, pp. 241. *et seq.* Dr. Macknight's *Harmony*, vol. i. disc. 1. Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus*, vol. i. pp. 225—243. Dr. Lardner's *Credibility*, part i. book i. ch. 4. Leusden's *Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus*, pp. 138—170. Buddei *Hist. Philosophiæ Hebræorum*, pp. 86. *et seq.* Schulzii *Archæologia Hebraica*, pp. 170—183.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE JEWISH AND ROMAN MODES OF COMPUTING TIME,
MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Days* — II. *Hours* — III. *Weeks* — IV. *Months* — V. *Years*.
VI. *Parts of Time taken for the whole* — VII. *Remarkable
Æras of the Jews*.

IT is well known that, in the perusal of antient authors, we are liable to fall into many serious mistakes, if we consider their modes of computing time to be precisely the same as ours: and hence it becomes necessary that we observe their different notations of time, and carefully adjust them to our own. This remark is particularly applicable to the sacred writers, whom sceptics and infidels have charged with various contradictions and inconsistencies, which fall to the ground as soon as the various computations of time are considered and adapted to our own standard. The knowledge of the different divisions of time mentioned in the Scriptures will elucidate the meaning of a multitude of passages with regard to seasons, circumstances, and ceremonies.

I. The Hebrews computed their DAYS from evening to evening, according to the command of Moses*, (Lev. xxiii. 32.) It is remarkable that the evening or natural night precedes the morning or natural day in the account of the creation, (Gen. i. 5, &c.): whence the prophet Daniel employs the compound term *evening-morning* (Dan. viii. 14. marg. reading) to denote a civil day in his celebrated chronological prophecy of the 2300 days: and the same portion of time is termed in Greek *νυχθημερον*.

The Romans had two different computations of their days, and two denominations for them. The one they called the *civil*, the other the *natural* day: the first was the same as ours; the second, which was the vulgar computation, began at six in the morning, and ended at six in the evening†. The *civil* day

* Tacitus, speaking of the antient Germans, takes notice that their account of time differs from that of the Romans; and that instead of days they reckoned the number of nights. De Mor. Germ. c. xi. So also did the antient Gauls, (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. xvii.); and vestiges of this antient practice still remain in our own country. We say last *Sunday se'nnight*, or *this day fortnight*.

† Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. lxxvii.; Censorinus de Die Natali, c. xxiii.; Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. iii. c. iii. See also Dr. Ward's Dissertations on several passages of Scripture, p. 126. and Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. Prelim. Obs. v.

of the Jews varied in length according to the seasons of the year: the longest day in the Holy Land is only fourteen hours and twelve minutes, of our time; and the shortest day, nine hours and forty-eight minutes. This portion of time was at first divided into *four* parts, (Nehem. ix. 3.); which, though varying in length according to the seasons, could nevertheless be easily discerned from the position or appearance of the sun in the horizon. Afterwards, the civil day was divided into twelve hours, which were measured either from the position of the sun, or from dials constructed for that purpose.

II. These HOURS were equal to each other, but unequal with respect to the different seasons of the year: thus the twelve hours of the longest day in summer were much longer than those of the shortest day in winter. The *earliest* mention of hours in the sacred writings occurs in the prophecy of Daniel, (iii. 6. 15. v. 5.): and as the Chaldeans, according to Herodotus*, were the inventors of this division of time, it is probable that the Jews derived their hours from them. It is evident that the division of hours was unknown in the time of Moses, (compare Gen. xv. 12. xviii. 1. xix. 1. 15, 23.); nor is any notice taken of them by the most antient of the prophane poets, who mentions only the *morning* or *evening* or *mid-day*†. With Homer correspond the notations of time referred to by the royal psalmist, who mentions them as the times of prayer, (Psal. lv. 17.) The Jews computed their hours of the civil day from six in the morning till six in the evening: thus their *first* hour corresponded with our *seven* o'clock; their *second* to our *eight*; their *third* to our *nine*, &c. The knowledge of this will illustrate several passages of Scripture, particularly Matt. xx. where the third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours (v. 3, 5, 6, 9.) respectively denote nine o'clock in the morning, twelve at noon, three and five in the afternoon‡; see also Acts ii. 15. iii. 1. x. 9, 30. The first three hours (from six to nine) were their morning: during the *third* hour, from eight to nine, their morning sacrifice was prepared, offered up, and laid on the altar precisely at nine o'clock; this interval they termed the *preparation*. (Παρασκευη, John xix. 14. where the “preparation of the passover” fixes the precise time when our Saviour was

* Lib. ii. c. cix.

† ————— ὥς, ἡ Δειλη, ἡ μεσον ἡμαρ. Hom. II. lib. xxi. 3.

‡ On the apparently discordant accounts given by the evangelists Mark and John, relative to the hour of our Saviour's crucifixion, see Part ii. Chap. v. Sect. ii. § 3. canon iii. and Sect. iii. canon iv.

before Pilate.) Josephus confirms the narrative of the evangelists*.

The night was originally divided into three parts or watches, (Psal. lxxiii. 6. xc. 4.) although the division of twelve hours like those of the day afterwards obtained. The *first* or beginning of watches is mentioned in Lam. ii. 19.; the *middle watch* in Jud. vii. 19.; and the *morning watch* in Exod. xiv. 24. It is probable that these watches varied in length according to the seasons of the year: consequently those, who had a long and inclement winter watch to encounter, would ardently *desire* the approach of morning light, to terminate their watch. This circumstance would beautifully illustrate the fervour of the psalmist's devotion, (Psal. cxxx. 6.) as well as serve to explain other passages of the Old Testament†. These *three* watches are also mentioned by various profane writers‡.

During the time of our Saviour, the night was divided into four watches, a fourth watch having been introduced among the Jews from the Romans, who derived it from the Greeks. The second and third watches are mentioned in Luke xii. 38.; the fourth in Matt. xiv. 25.; and the four are all distinctly mentioned in Mark xiii. 35. "Watch therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh; at *even* (Ὠψίς, or the late watch), or at *midnight* (μεσονυκτίου), or at the *cock-crowing* (ἀλεκτοροφωνίας), or in the *morning*" (πρωί, the early watch). Here, the *first* watch was at even, and continued from six till nine; the *second* commenced at nine and ended at twelve, or midnight; the *third* watch, called by the Romans *gallicinium*, lasted from twelve to three; and the *morning watch* closed at six. A double cock-crowing indeed is noticed by St. Mark, (xiv. 30.) where the other evangelists mention only one, (Matt. xxvi. 34. Luke xxii. 34. John xiii. 38. But this may be easily

* During the siege of Jerusalem, the Jewish historian relates that the priests were not interrupted in the discharge of their sacred functions, but continued, twice a day, in the morning, and at the ninth hour (or at three o'clock in the afternoon), to offer up sacrifices at the altar. The Jews rarely, if ever, ate or drank till after the hour of prayer, (Acts x. 30.) and on sabbath days not till the sixth hour, (twelve at noon, Josephus, de vita sua, § 54.): which circumstance well explains the apostle Peter's defence of those on whom the Holy Spirit had miraculously descended on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 15.)

† Thus the 134th psalm gives us an instance of the temple watch: the whole psalm is nothing more than the alternate cry of two different divisions of the watch. The *first* watch addresses the second (v. 1, 2.) reminding them of their duty; and the second answers (v. 3.) by a solemn blessing. The address and the answer seem both to be a set form, which each individual proclaimed or sung aloud, at stated intervals, to notify the time of the night. Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 357.

‡ See Homer, Iliad. lib. x. v. 252, 253. Livy, lib. vii. c. xxxv. and Xenophon, Anab. lib. iv. p. 250. (edit. Hutchinson.)

reconciled. The Jewish doctors divided the cock-crowing into the first, second, and third; the heathen nations in general observed only *two*. As the cock crew the *second* time after Peter's third denial, it was this second or principal cock-crowing, (for the Jews seem in many respects to have accommodated themselves to the Roman computation of time), to which the evangelists Matthew, Luke, and John refer. Or, perhaps, the second cock-crowing of the Jews might coincide with the second of the Romans.*

It may be proper to remark that the word *hour* is frequently used with great latitude in the Scriptures, and sometimes implies the space of time occupied by a whole watch, (Matt. xxv. 13. xxvi. 40. Mark xiv. 37. Luke xxii. 59. Rev. iii. 3.) Perhaps the third *hour* mentioned in Acts xxiii. 23. was a military *watch* of the night.†

The Jews reckoned two evenings: the former began at the ninth hour of the natural day, or three o'clock in the afternoon; and the latter at the eleventh hour. Thus the paschal lamb was required to be sacrificed *between the evenings*, (Exod. xii. 6. Lev. xxiii. 4.); which, Josephus tells us, the Jews in his time did, from the ninth hour until the eleventh‡. Hence the law, requiring the paschal lamb to be sacrificed "at even, at the going down of the sun," (Deut. xvi. 6.) expressed both evenings. It is truly remarkable that "Christ our passover," the antitype of the paschal lamb, "expired at the ninth hour, and was taken down from the cross at the eleventh hour, or sun-set."§

III. Seven nights and days constituted a WEEK; six of these were appropriated to labour and the ordinary purposes of life, and the *seventh* day or *sabbath* was appointed by God to be observed as a day of rest, "because that on it he had rested from all his work which God had created and made," (Gen. ii. 3.) This division of time was universally observed by the descendants of Noah; and, being lost during the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt, was revived and enacted by Moses, agreeably to the divine command. The Jews had no particular name for the several days of the week, but called them *one*, or

* Lightfoot Hor. Heb. on John xiii. 38. (Works, vol. ii. p. 597.) Grotius and Whitby on Matt. xxvi. 34. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 112. By which writers various passages of classical authors are cited.

† Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, No. cclxiii. p. 164.

‡ De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. ix. § 3.

§ Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 114. In the two following pages, he illustrates several apparently chronological contradictions between the evangelists with equal felicity and learning.

the first day of the week, &c. as appears from several places of the New Testament, (see Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 2. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.) And we learn from Rev. i. 10. that, so early as that time, the first day of the week was called the *Lord's day*, because on that day our Saviour arose from the dead. The sixth day of the week is termed by St. Mark προσαββατον or *sabbath-eve*, and corresponds with παρασκευη or the *preparation-day* mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 62. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. John xix. 31. The *second sabbath after the first*, (Luke vi. 1.) δευτεροπρωτον, or rather the *second prime sabbath*, concerning which commentators have been so greatly divided, appears to have been the first sabbath after the second day of unleavened bread or of the passover week. Besides weeks of days, the Jews had *weeks of seven years*, (the seventh of which was called the *sabbatical year*); and weeks of seven times seven years, or of forty-nine years, which were reckoned from one jubilee to another. The fiftieth or *jubilee year* was celebrated with singular festivity and solemnity.*

IV. The Jews had their MONTHS, which like those of all other antient nations were lunar ones, being measured by the revolutions of the moon, and consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days. While the Jews continued in the land of Canaan, the commencement of their months and years was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but by the *phasis* or actual appearance of the moon. As soon as they saw the moon, they began the month. Persons were therefore appointed to watch on the tops of the mountains for the first appearance of the moon after the change: as soon as they saw it, they informed the sanhedrim, and public notice was given first by the sounding of trumpets, to which there is an allusion in Psal. lxxxi. 3.; and afterwards lighting beacons throughout the land; though (as the mishnical rabbins tell us) after they had frequently been deceived by the Samaritans who kindled false fires, they used to announce the appearance by sending messengers. As however they had no months longer than thirty days, if they did not see the new moon the night following the thirtieth day, they concluded that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds; and, without watching any longer, made the next day the first day of the following month. But, on the dispersion of the Jews throughout all nations, having no opportunities of being informed of the appearance of the new moons, they were obliged to have recourse to astronomical calculations and cycles, in order to fix the beginning of their months and years. At first, they employed a cycle of

* See an account of these various festivals, *supra*, pp. 134—163.

eighty-four years: but this being discovered to be defective, they had recourse to the Metonic cycle of nineteen years; which was established by the authority of rabbi Hillel, prince of the sanhedrim, about the year 360 of the Christian æra. This they still use, and say that it is to be observed until the coming of the Messiah. In the compass of this cycle there are twelve common years, consisting of twelve months, and seven intercalary years, consisting of thirteen months.*

Originally the Jews had no particular names for their months, but called them the first, second, &c. In Exod. xiii. 4. the *first* month is termed Abib; in 1 Kings vi. 1. the *second* is named Zif; in 1 Kings viii. 2. the *seventh* is named Ethanim; and the *eighth*, Bul, in 1 Kings vi. 38.: but concerning the origin of these appellations critics are by no means agreed. On their return from the Babylonish captivity, they introduced the names which they had found among the Chaldeans and Persians, and some of which are mentioned in the sacred writings. The following tables exhibit the order of the Jewish months, according to their ecclesiastical and civil computations:

1. *The Ecclesiastical or Sacred Year.*

1. Nisan or Abib	-	-	-	-	-	} answering to part of March and April.
(Neh. ii. 1. Esth. iii. 7.)	-	-	-	-	-	
2. Jyar or Zif	-	-	-	-	-	April and May.
3. Sivan (Esth. viii. 9.)	-	-	-	-	-	May and June.
4. Thammuz	-	-	-	-	-	June and July.
5. Ab	-	-	-	-	-	July and August.
6. Elul (Neh. vi. 15.)	-	-	-	-	-	August and September.
7. Tisri	-	-	-	-	-	September and October.
8. Marchesvan	-	-	-	-	-	October and November.
9. Kisleu or Chisleu	-	-	-	-	-	} November and December.
(Zech. vii. 1. Neh. i. 1.)	-	-	-	-	-	
10. Thebet	-	-	-	-	-	December and January.
11. Sebat (Zech. i. 7.)	-	-	-	-	-	January and February.
12. Adar (Ezr. vi. 15. Esth. iii. 7.)	-	-	-	-	-	February and March.

2. *The Civil Year.*

1. Tisri	-	corresponding with part of	-	-	-	September and October.
2. Marchesvan	-	-	-	-	-	October and November.
3. Chisleu	-	-	-	-	-	November and December.
4. Thebet	-	-	-	-	-	December and January.
5. Sebat	-	-	-	-	-	January and February.
6. Adar	-	-	-	-	-	February and March.
7. Nisan or Abib	-	-	-	-	-	March and April.
8. Jyar or Zif	-	-	-	-	-	April and May.
9. Sivan	-	-	-	-	-	May and June.
10. Thammuz	-	-	-	-	-	June and July.
11. Ab	-	-	-	-	-	July and August.
12. Elul	-	-	-	-	-	August and September.

Some of the preceding names are still in use in Persia.

* Dr. A. Clarke, at the end of his commentary on Deuteronomy, has given six elaborately constructed tables explanatory of the Jewish calendar. Mr. Allen has also given six tables; which, though less extensive than the preceding, are well calculated to afford a clear idea of the construction and variations of the Jewish calendar. See *Modern Judaism*, pp. 369—377.

V. As the Jewish months were regulated by the phases or appearances of the moon, their YEARS were consequently lunar years, consisting of twelve lunations, or 354 days and 8 hours; but as the Jewish festivals were held not only on certain fixed days of the month, but also at certain seasons of the year, consequently great confusion would, in process of time, arise by this method of calculating: the *spring* month sometimes falling in the middle of *winter*, it became necessary to accommodate the lunar to solar years, in order that their months, and consequently their festivals, might always fall at the same season. For this purpose, the Jews added a whole month to the year, as often as it was necessary; which occurred commonly once in three years, and sometimes once in two years. This intercalary month was added at the end of the ecclesiastical year after the month Adar, and was therefore called Ve-Adar, or the second Adar. *

As agriculture constituted the principal employment of the Jews, they also divided their *natural* year into seasons with reference to their rural work. These were six in number, each of two months duration, including one whole month and the halves of two others. They are enumerated in Gen. viii. 22. The annexed table will exhibit the natural division of the Jewish year:

1. Seed time,	{	The latter half of Tisri. Marchesvan.
	{	Former half of Cisleu.
2. Winter,	{	The latter half of Cisleu. Tebeth.
	{	The former half of Shebeth.
3. Cold season,	{	The latter half of Shebeth. Adar.
	{	The former half of Nisan.
4. Harvest,	{	The latter half of Nisan. Jyar.
	{	The former half of Sivan.
5. Summer,	{	The latter half of Sivan. Thammuz.
	{	The former half of Ab.
6. Hot season,	{	The latter half of Ab. Elul.
	{	The former half of Tisri.

* See the Jewish Calendar entire, in which are pointed out the various festivals celebrated by that people, with the state of the weather at the different seasons of the year, *infra*, vol ii. Appendix, No. 1.

To this natural division of the year there are several allusions in the sacred writings: as in Jer. xxxvi. 22. where king Jehoiakim is said to be sitting in the winter-house in the ninth sacred month Cisleu, the latter half of which fell in the winter or rainy season; so, in Ezra x. 13. it is said the congregation of the people, which had been convened on the twentieth day of the same month, were not able to stand out in the open air, because it was "a time of much rain." The knowledge of this mode of dividing the year illustrates John x. 22, 23. and accounts for our Lord's walking in the portico of the temple at the feast of dedication, which was celebrated towards the close of the same month.

Further, the Jews divided their year into four parts, called by them *Tekuphat* or quarters, which they distinguished by the names of the months with which they commenced: thus, the vernal equinox is termed *Tekuphat Nisan*; the autumnal equinox, *Tekuphat Tisri*; the winter solstice, *Tekuphat Tebeth*; and the summer solstice, *Tekuphat Tammuz*. Some critics have conjectured that our Lord refers to the intervening space of four months, from the conclusion of seed-time to the commencement of the harvest, in John iv. 35.

But the principal division of the Jewish year was that of the sacred and civil year; the former commencing, as already intimated, with the month Nisan, or vernal equinox, and the latter with that of Tisri, or the autumnal equinox. The sacred year was instituted on the departure from Egypt, and regulated the sacred festivals; the civil year was followed in all civil transactions, as well as in computing the sabbatical years and also the years of jubilee.

VI. In common with other nations, the Jews reckoned any *part* of a period of time for the whole, as in Exod. xvi. 35. An attention to this circumstance will explain several apparent contradictions in the sacred writings: Thus, a part of the day is used for the whole, and part of a year for an entire year.

In Gen. xvii. 12. circumcision is enjoined to be performed when a child is *eight days old*, but in Lev. xii. 3. on the *eighth day*; accordingly, when Jesus Christ was circumcised *when eight days were accomplished* (Luke ii. 21.), and John the Baptist *on the eighth day*, (Luke i. 59.) the last, which was the constant usage, explains the former passage. Abenezra, an eminent Jewish commentator, (on Levit. xii. 3.) says, that if an infant were born in the *last* hour of the day, such hour was counted for one *whole* day. This observation critically reconciles the account of our Lord's resurrection in Matt. xxvii. 63. and Mark viii. 31.

“*three days after*,” with that of his resurrection “*on the third day*,” according to Matt. xvi. 21. Luke ix. 22., and according to fact: for, as our Lord was crucified on Good Friday, about the sixth hour or noon, the remainder of that day to sun-set, according to the Jewish computation, was reckoned as one day. Saturday, it is universally admitted, formed the *second* day; and as the third day began on Saturday at sun-set, and our Saviour rose about sun-rise on the following morning, that part of a day is justly reckoned for the third day; so that the interval was “*three days and three nights*,” or three calendar days current, not exceeding 42 hours, and consequently not two entire days. * This observation also illustrates 2 Chron. x. 5, 12.

In like manner, in some parts of the East, the year ending on a certain day, any portion of the foregoing year is taken for a whole year: so that, supposing a child to be born in the last week of our December, it would be reckoned one year old on the first day of January, because born in the old year. If this mode of computation obtained among the Hebrews, the principle of it easily accounts for those anachronisms of single years, or parts of years taken for whole ones, which occur in sacred writ: it eases the difficulties which concern the half years of several princes of Judah and Israel, in which the latter half of the deceased king's last year has hitherto been supposed to be added to the former half of his successor's first year.

“We are told,” (1 Sam. xiii. 1. marg. reading) “a son of one year was Saul in his kingdom; and two years he reigned over Israel,” that is, say he was crowned in June; he was consequently *one year* old on the first of January following, though he had only reigned six months,—*the son* of a year. But, after this so following first of January, he was in the second year of his reign; though, according to our computation, the first year of his reign wanted some months of being completed: in this, his *second* year, he chose three thousand military, &c. guards.

“The phrase (*απο διερης*) used to denote the age of the infants slaughtered at Bethlehem, (Matt. ii. 16.) “from two years old and under,” is a difficulty that has been deeply felt by the

* Dr. Hales, to whom we are partly indebted for the above remark, has cited several passages from profane authors, who have used a similar phraseology, (Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 121, 122. Similar illustrations from Rabbinical writers are collected by Dr. Lightfoot, (Hor. Heb. in Matt. xii. 40.) and by Reland, (Antiq. Heb. lib. iv. c. 1.)

learned. Some infants *two weeks* old, some *two months*, others *two years*, equally slain! Surely those born so long before could not possibly be included in the order, whose purpose was to destroy a child, certainly born within *a few months*. This is regulated at once by the idea that they were *all* of nearly equal age, being recently born; some not long *before* the close of the old year, others a little time *since* the beginning of the new year. Now, those born *before* the close of the old year, though only a few months or weeks, would be reckoned not merely *one year* old, but also in their second year, as the expression implies; and those born *since* the beginning of the year, would be well described by the phrase "*and under*," that is, under one year old;—Some, *two years* old, though not born a complete twelvemonth (perhaps in fact barely six months); others, *under one year* old, yet born three, four, or five months, and therefore a trifle younger than those before described: according to the time which Herod had diligently inquired of the wise men, *IN their second year and UNDER.*" *

VII. Besides the computation of years, the Hebrews first, and the Jews afterwards, were accustomed to reckon their time from some remarkable æras or epochas. Thus, 1. From Gen. vii. 1. and viii. 13. it appears that they reckoned from the lives of the patriarchs or other illustrious persons: 2. From their departure out of Egypt, and the first institution of their polity, (Exod. xix. 1. xl. 17. Numb. i. 1. ix. 1. xxxiii. 38. 1 Kings vi. 1.) 3. Afterwards, from the building of the temple, (1 Kings ix. 10. 2 Chron. viii. 1.) and from the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel: 4. Then from the commencement of the Babylonian captivity, (Ezek. i. 1. xxxiii. 21. xl. 1.); and perhaps also from their return from captivity, and the dedication of the second temple. In process of time they adopted, 5. The æra of the Seleucidæ, which in the books of Maccabees is called the æra of the Greeks, and began from the year when Seleucus Nicanor attained the sovereign power, that is, about 312 years before the birth of Jesus Christ. This æra the Jews continued to employ for a thousand years. They were further accustomed to reckon their years from the years when their princes began to reign. Thus, in 1 Kings xv. 1. Isa. xxxvi. 1. and Jer. i. 2, 3. we have traces of their antiently computing according to the years of their kings; and in later times, (1 Macc. xiii. 42. xiv. 27.) according to the years of

* Calmet's Dictionary, 4to. edit. vol. ii. Supplementary Addenda.

the Asmonean princes. Of this mode of computation we have vestiges in Matt. ii. 1. Luke i. 5. and iii. 1. Lastly, ever since the compilation of the Talmud, the Jews have reckoned their years from the creation of the world. *

* Schulzii Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ, lib. i. c. 11. pp. 94—107. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, book i. ch. 5. vol. i. pp. 138—154. Calmet's Dictionary, Articles Day, Week, Month, Year. Jahn, Archæologia Biblica, pp. 34—38. 156—162. Jennings' Jewish Antiquities, book iii. ch. i. pp. 296—308. See also Waehner's Antiquitates Hebræorum, pars ii. p. 5. *et seq.*

PART II.

ON

THE INTERPRETATION

OF

SCRIPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SENSES OF SCRIPTURE.

- I. *Of the literal sense* — II. *Allegorical sense* — III. *Typical or spiritual sense* — IV. *Parabolic sense* — V. *Examination and vindication of the spiritual sense* — VI. *General rules for investigating the different senses of Scripture.*

MAN, being formed for society, has received from his Creator the faculty of communicating to his fellow-men, by means of certain signs, the ideas conceived in his mind. Hence, his organs of speech are so constructed, that he is capable of forming certain articulate sounds expressive of his conceptions; and these, being fitly disposed together, constitute discourse; which, whether it be pronounced or written, must necessarily possess the power of declaring to others what he wishes they should understand.

The vehicles, or signs, by which men communicate their thoughts to each other, are termed words: the idea, or notion, attached to any word, is its *signification*; and the ideas which are expressed by several words connected together,—that is, in entire sentences and propositions, and which ideas are produced in the minds of others,—are called the *sense* or proper meaning of words. Thus, if a person utter certain words, to which

another individual attaches the same idea as the speaker, he is said to *understand* the latter, or to comprehend the *sense* of his words. If we transfer this to sacred subjects, we may define the *sense of Scripture* to be that conception of its meaning, which the Holy Spirit presents to the understanding of man, by means of the words of Scripture, and by means of the ideas comprised in those words.

Although in every language there are very many words which admit of several meanings, yet in common parlance there is only *one true sense* attached to any word; which sense is indicated by the connexion and series of the discourse, by its subject matter, by the design of the speaker or writer, or by some other adjuncts, unless any ambiguity be purposely intended. That the same usage obtains in the sacred writings there is no doubt whatever. In fact, the perspicuity of the Scriptures requires this unity and simplicity of sense, in order to render intelligible to man the design of their Great Author, which could never be comprehended if a multiplicity of senses were admitted. In all other writings, indeed, besides the Scriptures, before we sit down to study them, we expect to find one single determinate sense and meaning attached to the words; from which we may be satisfied that we have attained their true meaning, and understand what the authors intended to say. Further, in common life, no prudent and *conscientious* person, who either commits his sentiments to writing or utters any thing, intends that a diversity of meanings should be attached to what he writes or says: and consequently neither his readers, nor those who hear him, affix to it any other than the true and obvious sense. Now, if such be the practice in all fair and upright intercourse between man and man, is it for a moment to be supposed that God, who has graciously vouchsafed to employ the ministry of men in order to make known his will to mankind, should have departed from this way of simplicity and truth? Few persons, we apprehend, will be found, in this enlightened age, sufficiently hardy to maintain the affirmative.*

I. The *literal sense* of Scripture is that which the words signify in their natural and proper acceptation, as in John x. 30., *I and the Father are one*; in which passage the deity of Christ, and his equality with God the Father, are so dis-

* On this subject the reader may consult M. Winterberg's *Prolusio de interpretatione unicâ, unicâ et certæ persuasionis de doctrinæ religionis veritate et amicæ consensionis caussâ*, in Velthusen's and Kuinöels *Commentationes Theologicæ*, vol. iv. pp. 420—438.

tingly and unequivocally asserted, that it is difficult to conceive how any other than its proper and literal meaning could ever be given to it. The literal sense has also been termed the grammatical sense; the term *grammatical* having the same reference to the Greek language as the term *literal* to the Latin, both referring to the elements of a word. Words may also be taken properly and physically, as in John i. 6. *There was a man whose name was John*: this is called the proper literal sense. When, however, words are taken metaphorically and figuratively, that is, are diverted to a meaning which they do not *naturally* denote, but which they nevertheless intend under some figure or form of speech,—as when the properties of one person or thing are attributed to another,—this is termed the *tropical* or *figurative* sense*. “Thus, when hardness is applied to *stone*, the expression is used literally, in its proper and natural signification:—when it is applied to the *heart*, it is used *figuratively*, or in an improper acceptation. Yet the sense, allowing for the change of subject, is virtually the same, its application being only transferred from a physical to a moral quality†.” An example of this kind occurs in Ezek. xxxvi. 26. and xi. 19., where the *heart of stone* denotes a hard, obdurate heart, regardless of divine admonitions, and the *heart of flesh* signifies a tender heart, susceptible of the best and holiest impressions. In like manner, in Zech. vii. 12., the obdurate Jews are said to have made their hearts as *an adamant stone*. Numerous similar expressions occur in the New as well as in the Old Testament, as in Luke xiii. 32. John i. 29. and xv. 5.; where Herod, for his craftiness and cruelty, is termed a *fox*; the Saviour of the world is called the *Lamb of God*, because to his great atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the lamb, which was offered every morning and evening, had a typical reference; he is also called a vine, as all true Christians are designated the branches, to intimate that Christ is the support of the whole church, and of every particular believer,—that, in the language of the New Testament, they are all implanted and grafted into him, that is, united to him by true faith and sincere love, and that they

* “The *tropical* sense is no other than the *figurative* sense. As we say in language derived from the Greek, that a trope is used, when a word is turned from its literal or grammatical sense; so we say, in language derived from the Latin, that a *figure* is then used, because in such cases the meaning of the word assumes a new form. The same opposition, therefore, which is expressed by the terms *literal* sense and *figurative* sense, is expressed also by the terms *grammatical* sense and *tropical* sense.” Bishop Marsh’s Lect. part iii. p. 67.

† Vanmildert’s Bamp. Lect. p. 222.

all derive spiritual life and vigour from him. It were unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind, as every diligent reader of the Word of God will doubtless be able to recollect them.

Further, the *literal sense* has been called the *historical sense*, as conveying the meaning of the words and phrases used by a writer at a certain time. Thus, in the more antient books of the Old Testament, the word *isles* or *islands* signifies every inhabited region, particularly all the western coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and the seats of Japhet's posterity, viz. the northern part of Asia, Asia Minor, and Europe, together with some other regions. Of this sense of the word we have examples in Gen. x. 5. Isa. xi. 11. xx. 6. xxiii. 6. xxiv. 15. xlii. 15. lxvi. 19. Ezekiel xxvi. 15, 18. xxvii. 3—7, 15, 35. But, in a later age, it denotes islands properly so called, as in Esther x. i., and, perhaps, Jer. xlvii. 4. (marginal rendering).^{*} Again, the phrase, to *possess* or *inherit the land*, which is of very frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, if we consider it *historically*, that is, with reference to the history of the Jewish nation, means simply, to hold the secure and undisturbed possession of the promised land; and, in the New Testament, the phrase to "*follow Christ*" must in like manner be understood *historically* in some passages of the Gospels; implying no more than that the persons there mentioned followed the Lord Jesus Christ in his progresses, and were auditors of his public instructions, precisely as the apostles followed him from place to place, and heard his doctrine.[†]

Where, besides the direct or immediate signification of a passage, whether literally or figuratively expressed, there is attached to it a more remote or recondite meaning, this is termed the *mediate, spiritual, or mystical sense* ‡: and this sense is founded, not on a transfer of words from one signification to another, but on the entire application of the matter

^{*} Jahn, *Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis*, p. 24. who cites Michaelis's *Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebrææ Exteræ*, part i. pp. 131—143. and also his *Supplementum ad Lexica Hebraica*, pp. 68, 69.

[†] Many additional instances might be offered, if the limits of this work would permit. The reader, who is desirous of fully investigating the *historic sense* of Scripture, will derive much solid benefit from Dr. Storr's *Disquisition De Sensu Historico*, in vol. i. (pp. 1—88.) of his "*Opuscula Academica ad Interpretationem Librorum Sacrorum pertinentia*," 8vo. Tubingen, 1796.

[‡] "Dicitur mysticus," says a learned and sensible Roman catholic writer, "*a μύω, claudio*; quia licet non semper fidei mysteria comprehendat, magis tamen occultus, et clausus est, quam literalis, qui *per verba rite intellecta* facilius innotescit." Adami Viser, *Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti*, pars ii. pp. 51, 52. See also Jahn's *Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis*, pp. 41, 42.; and Van Mildert's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 222.

itself to a different subject. Thus what is related *literally* of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham in Gen. xxii. is *spiritually* understood of Christ.

The spiritual sense of Scripture has frequently been divided into *allegorical*, *typical*, and *paraboli- cal*. The reason of this mode of classification, as well as of some other minor distinctions, does not sufficiently appear. Since, however, it has obtained a place in almost every treatise on the interpretation of the Scriptures, it may not be irrelevant to define and illustrate these senses by a few examples.

II. The *allegorical* sense is, when the Holy Scriptures, besides the literal sense, signify any thing belonging to faith or *spiritual doctrine*. Such is the sense which is required rightly to understand Gal. iv. 24. *ατινα εστιν αλληγορουμενα*, *which things are allegorically spoken, or, which things are thus allegorised, by me*; that is, under the veil of the literal sense they further contain a spiritual or mystical sense.

III. The *typical* sense is, when, under external objects or prophetic visions, secret things, whether present or future, are represented; especially when the transactions recorded in the Old Testament presignify or adumbrate those related in the New Testament. Thus, in Psal. xcv. 11., the words "*they should not enter into my rest*," literally understood, signify the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land; but, spiritually and typically, the entering into the rest and enjoyment of heaven through the merits and mediation of Christ, as is largely shewn in the epistle to the Hebrews, chapters iii. and iv.

IV. The *parabolic* sense is, when, besides the plain and obvious meaning of the thing related, an occult or spiritual sense is intended. As this chiefly occurs in passages of a moral tendency, the parabolic has by some writers been termed the *moral* or *tropological* sense. Of this description is the parable of the talents; the design of which is to shew that the duties which men are called to perform are suited to their situations and the talents which they severally receive; that whatever good a man possesses he has received from God, as well as the ability to improve that good; and that the grace and temporal mercies of God are suited to the power which a man has of improving them. Thus, also, the injunction in Deut. xxv. 4. relative to muzzling the ox while treading out the corn, is explained by St. Paul with reference to the right of maintenance of ministers of the Gospel. (1 Cor. ix. 9—11.)

It were easy to multiply examples of each of the different senses here mentioned; but as they have all one common foundation, and as we shall have occasion to adduce others in the course of the following pages, when stating the rules for interpreting the various senses of Scripture after they have been ascertained, the instances above quoted may suffice to illustrate the distinctions subsisting between them.

V. The spiritual interpretation of Scripture has been as much depreciated by some commentators and biblical critics, as it has been exaggerated and carried to the extreme by others: but if the argument against a thing from the possibility of its being abused be inadmissible in questions of a secular nature, it is equally inadmissible in the exposition of the sacred writings. All our ideas are admitted through the medium of the senses, and consequently refer in the first place to external objects: but no sooner are we convinced that we possess an immaterial soul or spirit, than we find occasion for other terms, or, for want of these, another application of the same terms to a different class of objects; and hence arises the necessity of resorting to figurative and spiritual interpretation. Now, the object of revelation being to make known things which “eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to conceive,” it seems hardly possible that the human mind should be capable of apprehending them, but through the medium of figurative language or mystical representations.

“The foundation of religion and virtue being laid in the mind and heart, the secret dispositions and genuine acts of which are invisible, and known only to a man’s self; therefore the powers and operations of the mind can only be expressed in figurative terms and external symbols. The motives also and inducements to practice are spiritual, such as affect men in a way of moral influence, and not of natural efficiency; the principal of which are drawn from the consideration of a future state; and consequently *these* likewise must be represented by allegories and similitudes, taken from things most known and familiar here. And thus we find in Scripture the state of religion illustrated by all the beautiful images we can conceive; in which natural unity, order, and harmony consist, as regulated by the strictest and most exact rules of discipline, taken from those observed in the best ordered temporal government. In the interpretation of places, in which any of these images are contained, the principal regard is to be had to the *figurative* or *spiritual*, and not to the literal sense of the words. From not attending to which, have arisen absurd doctrines and in-

ferences, which weak men have endeavoured to establish as Scripture truths; whereas, in the other method of explication, the things are plain and easy to every one's capacity, make the deepest and most lasting impressions upon their minds, and have the greatest influence upon their practice. Of this nature are all the rites and ceremonies prescribed to the Jews, with relation to the external form of religious worship; every one of which was intended to shew the obligation or recommend the practice of some moral duty, and was esteemed of no further use than as it produced that effect. And the same may be applied to the rewards and punishments peculiar to the Christian dispensation, which regard a future state. The rewards are set forth by those things, in which the generality of men take their greatest delight, and place their highest satisfaction of this life; and the punishments are such as are inflicted by human laws upon the worst of malefactors: but they can neither of them, be understood in the *strictly literal* sense, but only by way of analogy, and corresponding in the general nature and intention of the thing, though very different in kind." *

But independently of the able argument *a priori*, here cited, in favour of the mediate, mystical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, unless such interpretation be admitted, we cannot avoid one of two great difficulties: for, either we must assert that the multitude of applications, made by Christ and his apostles, are fanciful and unauthorized, and wholly inadequate to prove the points for which they are quoted; or, on the other hand, we must believe that the obvious and natural sense of such passages was never intended, and that it was a mere illusion. The *Christian* will not assent to the former of these positions; the *philosopher* and the *critic* will not readily assent to the latter. †

It has been, erroneously supposed, that this mediate, or mystical interpretation of Scripture is confined to the New Testament exclusively; we have, however, clear evidence of its adoption by some of the sacred writers of the Old Testament, and a few instances will suffice to prove its existence. In *Exod. xxviii. 38*. Moses says that the diadem or plate of gold, worn upon certain solemn festivals upon the high priest's forehead, signified that he bore in a vicarious and typical manner the sin of the holy things, and made an atonement for the imperfection of the Hebrew offerings and sacrifices. In *Levit.*

* Dr. John Clarke's Enquiry into the Origin of Evil in the collection of Boyle's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 229.

† See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, p. 580.

xxvi. 41. and Deut. x. 16. and xxx. 6. he mentions the circumcision of the heart, which was signified by the circumcision of the flesh. (Compare Jer. iv. 4. vi. 10. and ix. 25. with Exod. vi. 12. 30.) Further, the great lawgiver of the Jews explains the historical and typical import of all their great festivals. Thus, in Exod. xiii. 13. and Numb. iii. 12, 13, 44—51. and xviii. 14—16, he shews the two-fold meaning of the redemption of their first-born sons, viz. that the first-born of the Hebrews were preserved while Egypt groaned beneath the plague inflicted by divine vengeance, and that the first-born sons were formerly consecrated to the priesthood; which being afterwards transferred to the tribe of Levi, the first-born sons were exchanged for the Levites, and were thenceforth to be redeemed. The whole of the sacrificial law shewed that the bloody sacrifices morally signified the punishment of the person for or by whom they were offered *; and that the other sacred rites of the Hebrews should have a symbolical or spiritual import will be obvious to every one who recollects the frequent use of symbols which obtained in Egypt, from which country Moses brought out the Hebrews. The precepts delivered in the New Testament concerning the sacraments plainly intimate that those very sacred rites were then about to receive their real accomplishment, and their symbolic or spiritual meaning is explained: as in Rom. vi. 3—11. Col. ii. 12. 1 Cor. vi. 11. xi. 23—27. Eph. v. 26. and Tit. iii. 5. In which last passage baptism (by immersion in water probably) is said to signify not only the moral ablution of sin, but also the death and burial of guilty man, and (by his emersion from the water) his resurrection to a pious and virtuous life; in other words, our death unto sin, and our obligation to walk in newness of life. The spiritual import of the Lord's supper is self-evident.

Lastly, Since we learn from the New Testament that some histories, which in themselves convey no peculiar meaning, must be interpreted allegorically or mystically, (as Gal. iv. 22—24.) and that persons and things are there evidently types and emblems of the Christian dispensation, and its divine founder, as in Matt. xii. 40. John iii. 14, 15. 1 Cor. x. 4. and Heb. vii. 2, 3. it is plain that the mystical sense ought to be followed in the histories and prophecies †, of the Old Testament, and especially in such passages as are referred to by the inspired writers of the New Testament; who having given us the key

* Jahn, in his *Archæologia Biblica*, § 384. pp. 519—521, has in a short compass illustrated this topic with singular precision. See also some examples in part i. pp. 120 *et seq. supra*.

† On the *Double Sense of Prophecy*, see chapter xi. section ii. *infra*.

by which to unlock the mystical sense of Scripture, we not only may but ought *cautiously* and *diligently* to make use of it. Where the inspired writers themselves direct us to such an interpretation, when otherwise we might not perceive its necessity, then we have an *absolute authority* for the exposition, which supersedes our own conjectures, and we are not only safe in abiding by that authority, but should be unwarranted in rejecting it. *

VI. Having thus defined, and illustrated by examples, the various senses, which are to be found in the Scriptures, it remains that we offer a few general considerations and cautions, relative to their investigation; by attending to which the subsequent labour of the student will be essentially facilitated, in examining the signification of words and phrases. †

1. *The most simple sense is always that which is the genuine meaning.*

This remark is so obvious as to require no illustrative example. Where indeed two meanings or senses present themselves, without doing any violence to the words or to their scope and connexion, and to the subject matter, &c. in such case the different arguments for and against each meaning must be carefully discussed; and that meaning, which is supported by the most numerous and weighty arguments, and is found to be the most probable, must be preferred, as being the genuine sense.

2. Since it is the design of interpretation to render in our own language the same discourse which the sacred authors originally wrote in Hebrew or Greek, it is evident that our interpretation or version, to be correct, ought not to affirm or deny more than the inspired penmen affirmed or denied at the time they wrote, consequently *we should be more willing to take a sense from Scripture than to bring one to it.*

This is one of the most antient laws of interpretation extant, and cannot be sufficiently kept in mind, lest we should “teach

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 13—44. Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 1—150. J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 122—132. Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. cap. iii. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 633—638.) Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Test. pp. 14—30. (4th edit.) Mori Acroases Academicæ super Hermen. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 27—73. J. B. Carpzovii, Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sac. p. 24. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 580—590. Bishop Marsh's Lect. part iii. sect. xv. and xvi. pp. 42—78. and Prof. Van Mildert's Bampton Lectures, Serm. vii. pp. 217—232. and notes, pp. 385—396. By both of whom the senses of Scripture are illustrated by applying them to the discussion of some important controversial points between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which the limits of a practical work will not admit of being noticed.

† The following rules are chiefly drawn from Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 238—242; Jahn's Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 34. *et seq.* Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 16 *et seq.* Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, p. 53 *et seq.* and Semler's Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 179 *et seq.* See also J. E. Pfeiffer's Inst. Herm. Sacr. p. 349 *et seq.*

for doctrines the commandments of men," and impose our *narrow* and *limited* conceptions instead of the *broad* and *general* declarations of Scripture. For want of attending to this simple rule, how many forced and unnatural interpretations have been put upon the sacred writings!—interpretations alike contradictory to the *express* meaning of other passages of Scripture, as well as derogatory from every idea we are taught to conceive of the justice and mercy of the Most High. It will suffice to illustrate this remark by one single instance:—In John iii. 16, 17. we read that "God so loved the *world*, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life: for God sent not his son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." The plain obvious and literal sense of this passage, as well as of its whole context, is, that the whole of mankind, including both Jews and Gentiles without any exception in favour of individuals, were in a ruined state, about to perish everlastingly, and utterly without the power of rescuing themselves from destruction; that God provided for their rescue and salvation by giving his son to die for them; and that all who *believe* in him, that is, who believe what God has spoken concerning Christ, his sacrifice, the end for which it was offered, and the way in which it is to be applied in order to become effectual; that *all who thus believe* shall not only be exempted from eternal perdition, but shall also ultimately *have everlasting life*, in other words, be brought to eternal glory. Yet how are these "good tidings of great joy to all people," narrowed and restricted by those who adopt the hypothesis that Jesus Christ was given for the *elect alone*; and what violence are they compelled to do to the passage in question in order to reconcile it to their preconceived notions! They are obliged to interpret that comprehensive word, the *world*, by a synecdoche of a part for the whole; and thus say, that it means the nobler portion of the world, namely the *elect*, without calling to their aid those other parallel passages of Scripture, in which the above consolatory truth is explicitly affirmed in other words. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xviii. 11. where Jesus Christ is said to have "come to save that which was lost," τὸ ἀπολωλός; which word, as its meaning is not restricted by the Holy Spirit, is not to be interpreted in a restricted sense, and consequently must be taken in its most obvious and universal sense. In this way we are to understand Deut. xxvii. 26. and Isa. lxiv. 6.

3. *Although the plain, obvious, and literal sense of a passage may not always exhibit the mind of the Holy Spirit, yet it is*

ordinarily to be preferred to the figurative sense, and is not to be rashly abandoned, unless absolute and evident necessity require such literal sense to be given up.

“ I hold it,” says the learned and venerable Hooker, “ for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that, where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changes the meaning of words, as alchemy doth or would do the substance of metals, making of any thing what it pleases, and bringing in the end all truth to nothing*.” Hooker applies this rule to the discussion of some points controverted in his day, which it would be foreign to our plan to notice : we shall therefore proceed briefly to shew in what cases we may depart from the strict sense of the letter of Scripture, without incurring the charge of rashness or presumption.

(1.) *Where words, properly taken, contain any thing repugnant to the doctrinal or moral precepts delivered in other parts of the Scripture, such proper and literal sense may safely be abandoned.*

For it would be the extreme of absurdity to affirm that the Holy Spirit contradicts himself. Thus, the command of Jesus Christ, related in Matt. xviii. 8, 9. if interpreted literally, is directly at variance with the sixth commandment, (Exod. xx. 13.) and must consequently be understood figuratively.

(2.) *If the Holy Spirit, who is the best interpreter of his own words, elsewhere deliver his mind concerning the same thing, in proper and clearer words, the latter are preferably to be adopted.*

Jerome (on Isa. xix.) has long since remarked, that in the Scriptures clear expressions are ordinarily subjoined to those which are obscure, and that what is in one place stated in enigmatical terms, is in another passage delivered clearly and explicitly. In illustration of this remark, it will be sufficient to refer to and compare the following passages, viz. Matt. xiii. 15. with Mark iv. 12. and Luke xi. 20. with Matt. xii. 28. See also Ezek. xx. 37, 38. Isa. i. 22, 23. xliii. 20, 21. xliv. 3—5. and li. 1, 2.

(3.) *Where the proper signification presents a meaning that is either absurd, or manifestly contrary to truth, it must necessarily be given up.* As, first, *If the predicate contain any thing which will in no respect whatever suit the subject, taken in a literal sense; and, secondly, if the event does not correspond with the prediction.*

* Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. c. 58—60., or in p. 211. of Mr. Collinson's Analysis.

First, Matt. viii. 22. "Let the dead bury their dead" cannot possibly be applied to those who are really and naturally dead; and consequently must be understood figuratively, "Leave those who are spiritually dead to perform the rites of burial for such as are naturally dead." In Psal. cxxx. 1. David is said to have "cried unto the Lord out of the *depths*," by which word we are metaphorically to understand a state of the deepest affliction; because it nowhere appears from Scripture, nor is it probable, that the Jewish monarch was ever thrown into a well, even in his greatest adversity, as we read that the prophet Jeremiah was. Similar expressions occur in 1 Cor. iii. 13. and Rev. vi. 13.

Secondly, In Isa. i. 25. where the prophet is foretelling the purification of the Jewish church by the calamities consequent on the Babylonish captivity and exile, it is said, "I will purely purge away thy *dross*, and take away all thy *tin*." Now, here, reason teaches us that this expression cannot possibly be taken in its grammatical sense, because the event would not correspond with the prediction, (compare also Zech. iv. 10.). But, as *silver* may denote the sincere and pious worshippers of Jehovah, so *tin* is an apposite emblem of hypocrites; whose glaring profession might cause them to be taken for truly pious characters, while they are intrinsically worthless. It is the removal of such persons which is foretold in the passage above cited, as far as human weakness and the state of the church at that time permitted. Similar expressions occur in Isa. i. 10. and xiii. 10, 13. Ezekiel xxxii. 7. and Joel ii. 31. and iii. 15. Additional instances might be cited, but as they would in some degree anticipate a subsequent portion of this work, they are here omitted. The reader will find some further hints on this topic in chapter v. section iv. *infra*.

In the application of this rule, however, we must be convinced, after mature investigation and consideration, that an adherence to the proper signification *does* suggest a meaning that is *really* absurd or contrary to truth, before we give up the literal sense. It is not *every* apparent difficulty or absurdity which may strike *our* minds, nor a mere comparison of other passages where a single word may have a similar improper or figurative meaning (as Mark ix. 43, 44. compared with Jer. xvii. 27.) that will authorise a departure from the literal signification; and still less will it be sanctioned by the consideration of greater utility, or the larger measure of edification which we hope to derive from taking words figuratively and mystically. Inattention to this last-mentioned caution has led

the way to allegorical and mystical interpretations, the most far-fetched and contradictory that can well be imagined. Origen and many of the fathers have adopted this mode of interpretation, which was reduced into a regular method by the learned and pious professor John Cocceius, in the early part of the seventeenth century. We have already seen that many things related in the Old Testament are to be spiritually understood: but Cocceius represented the *entire* history of the Old Testament as a mirror, which held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church, under the New Testament dispensation, to the end of the world. He further affirmed, that by far the greatest part of the antient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, together with the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the sense of the words used in these predictions. And he laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation that the *words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in EVERY SENSE of which they are susceptible; or in other words, that they signify in effect every thing which they can signify**. These opinions have not been without their advocates in this country; and if our limits permitted, we could adduce numerous instances of evident misinterpretations of the Scriptures which have been occasioned by the adoption of them: one or two, however, must suffice. Thus, the first psalm, which, it is generally admitted, describes the respective happiness and misery of the pious and the wicked, according to the Cocceian hypothesis, has been applied to the Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the characters of goodness are made to centre, without any reference to its moral import! An ordinary reader, who peruses Isa. iv. 1., would naturally suppose that the prophet was predicting the calamities that should befall the impenitently wicked Jews, previously to the Babylonish captivity; which calamities he represents to be so great, that *seven women shall take hold of one man*, that is, use importunity to be married, and that upon the hard and unusual conditions of maintaining themselves. But this simple and literal meaning of the passage, agreeably to the rule that the words of Scripture signify everything which they can signify, has been distorted beyond measure; and, because in the *subsequent* verses of this chapter the prophet makes a transition to evangelical times, this first verse has been made to mean the rapid conversion of

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. p. 360. *et seq.* edit. 1808.

mankind to the Christian faith; the *seven women* are the converted persons, and the *one man* is Jesus Christ! A simple reference to the *context* and *subject matter* of the prophecy would have shewn that this verse properly belonged to the third chapter, and had no reference whatever to gospel times. On the absurdity of the exposition just noticed, it is needless to make any comment: it is perhaps only equalled by the application of Acts xxi. 15. (which in our version is rendered “we took up our carriages,” instead of we “took up our baggage”) to the right of ministers of the gospel to *keep their carriage*. Upon this evident mistranslation, a late celebrated teacher prevailed on his hearers not only to keep him a carriage, but also to defray the expense of keeping horses to draw it!

As the application of the spiritual sense of Scripture to the interpretation of the sacred writings, is discussed at some length in a subsequent part of this work*, any further observations here would be premature: it may therefore suffice to remark that the Cocceian hypothesis has been very fully exposed both in our own country and on the continent by the able writers referred to below†. And, although “*spiritual improvements*, (as they are sometimes called) of particular passages of Scripture,—that is, deducing from them spiritual instructions for the practical edification of the reader,—whether or not they flow directly and naturally from the subject, may at least be harmless:” yet “when brought forward for the purposes of interpretation, properly so called, they are to be viewed with caution and even with mistrust. For scarcely is there a favourite opinion, which a fertile imagination may not thus extract from some portion of Scripture: and very different, nay, contrary, interpretations of this kind have often been made of the very same texts, according to men’s various fancies or inventions.” ‡

* See chapter ix. *infra*.

† See particularly Dr. Whitby’s *Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum patrum commentarios*, 8vo. 1714, and Turretin *De Sacra Scripturæ interpretandæ methodo*, part i. c. iv. pp. 91—144. edit. 1728.

‡ Vanmildert’s Bampton Lectures, p. 247.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS AND PHRASES.

- I. *General rules for investigating the meaning of words* —
 II. *On emphatic words* — III. *Rules for the investigation of emphases.*

I. SINCE, as we have already seen, words compose sentences, and these form senses, it is necessary to ascertain the *individual meaning* of words, before we proceed further to investigate the senses of Scripture. In the prosecution of this important work, we may observe, generally, that, as the same method and the same principles of interpretation are common both to the sacred volumes and to the productions of uninspired man, consequently the signification of words in the Holy Scriptures must be sought, precisely in the same way in which the meaning of words in other works usually is, or ought to be sought. Hence also it follows, that the method of investigating the signification of words in the Bible is no more arbitrary than it is in other books, but is in like manner regulated by certain laws, drawn from the nature of languages. And since no text of Scripture has more than one meaning, we must endeavour to find out that *one true sense* precisely in the same manner as we would investigate the sense of Homer or any other antient writer: and in that sense, when so ascertained, we we ought to acquiesce, unless, by applying the just rules of interpretation, it can be shewn that the meaning of the passage has been mistaken, and that another is the only just, true, and critical sense of the place. This principle, duly considered, would alone be sufficient for investigating the sense of Scripture; but as there are not wanting persons who reject it altogether, and as it may perhaps appear too generally expressed, we shall proceed to consider it more minutely in the following observations.

1. Ascertain the notion affixed to a word by the persons in general, by whom the language either is now or formerly was spoken, and especially in the particular connection in which such notion is affixed.

2. The meaning of a word used by any writer, is the meaning affixed to it by those for whom he *immediately* wrote. For there is a kind of natural compact between those who

write and those who speak a language; by which they are mutually bound to use words in a certain sense: he, therefore, who uses such words in a different signification, in a manner violates that compact, and is in danger of leading men into error, contrary to the design of God, "who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." (1 Tim. ii. 3.)

3. The words of an author must not be so explained as to make them inconsistent with his known character, his known sentiments, his known situation, and the known circumstances under which he wrote.

4. Although the force of particular words can only be derived from etymology, yet too much confidence must not be placed in that frequently uncertain science.

5. The received signification of a word is to be retained, unless weighty and necessary reasons require that it should be abandoned or neglected.

Thus, we shall be justified in rejecting the received meaning of a word in the following cases, viz.

(1.) If such meaning clash with any doctrine revealed in the Scriptures. For instance, Acts xiii. 48. as rendered in the authorized version, is directly at variance with John iii. 16, 17. and numerous passages of similar import. In the former place it is translated, *as many as were ordained to eternal life believed*; in the latter it is declared that the offer of redemption is *general*. The proper rendering of Acts xiii. 48. is, *as many as were DISPOSED for eternal life*; that is, without prejudice or prepossession received the gospel, these persons *believed**. Thus the whole of Scripture naturally harmonizes.

(2.) If a certain passage *require* a different explanation from that which it appears to present: as Mal. iv. 5, 6. compared with Luke i. 17. and Matt. xi. 14.

(3.) If the thing itself will not admit of a tropical or figurative meaning being affixed to the word.

6. The idea conveyed by a word, does not always contain the author's true meaning: for sometimes metaphors require another sense, as in Matt. xvi. 6, 7, 12. Mark ix. 43—48. and John iii. 3. The nature and application of Metaphors are discussed *infra*, chapter iv. section iii.

* See chap. xv. sect 1. canon 4. *infra*, in which the above rendering of Acts xiii. 48. is justified.

7. Where a word has several significations in common use, that must be selected which best suits the passage in question. This will appear either from the nature of the thing spoken of, or from the scope, as in John xxi. 15. or from some parallel place, as in Exod. xxxiv. 30. compared with 2 Cor. iii. 7.

8. The distinctions between words which are apparently synonymous, should be carefully examined and considered.

In the Latin language many words are accounted perfectly synonymous; which, however, only partially accord together. Thus, a person whose discourse is cut short, is said to be *silent* (*silere*); and one, who has not begun to speak, is said to *hold his tongue* (*tacere*.) Cicero, speaking of beauty, observes, that there are two kinds of it; the one *dignified and majestic*, (*dignitas*), the other *soft and graceful* (*venustas*); the *latter* to be considered proper to *women*, the *former* to *men* *. The same remark will apply to the language of Scripture. For instance, in the 119th Psalm there are not fewer than ten different words, pointing out the word of God; viz. Law, Way, Word, Statutes, Judgements, Commandments, Precepts, Testimonies, Righteousness, and Truth, or Faithfulness. Now all these words, though usually considered as synonymous, are not *literally* synonymous, but refer to some latent and distinguishing properties of the Divine word, whose manifold excellencies and perfections are thus illustrated with much elegant variety of diction. In the New Testament we meet with similar instances, as in Col. ii. 22. *ἐνταλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας ἀνθρώπων*, the commandments and doctrines of men. *Doctrines*, in this passage, include *Truths* propounded to be believed or known; *Commands* imply *Laws*, which direct what is to be done or avoided: the latter depend upon and are derived from the former. The apostle is speaking of the *traditions taught* by the elders, and the *load of cumbrous ceremonies commanded* by them in addition to the significant rites prescribed in the law of Moses. In Rom. xiv. 13. *προσκόμμα*, a *stumbling block*, means a slighter cause of offence, viz. that which wounds and disturbs the conscience of another; *σκάνδαλον*, an *occasion to fall*, means a more weighty cause of offence, that is, such as may cause any one to apostatize from the Christian faith. Similar examples occur in Rom. xvi. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 1. and 1 Pet. iv. 3. †

9. The epithets introduced by the sacred writers, are also to be carefully weighed and considered, as all of them have either a declarative or explanatory force, or serve to distinguish one thing from another, or unite these two characters together. The Epithets of Scripture then are:

1. *Exegetical* or *Explanatory*, that is, such as declare the nature and properties of a thing. Thus, in Tit. ii. 11. the *grace of God* is termed *saving*, not indeed as if there were any other divine grace bestowed on man, that was not saving: but because the grace of God revealed in the gospel is the primary and true source of eternal life. Similar epithets occur in 2 Tim. i. 9. in which our *calling*

* Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera sint, quorum in altero *venustas* sit, in altero *dignitas*; venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus; dignitatem virilem. Cicero de officiis lib. i. c. xxxvi. (op. tom. xii. p. 57. ed Bipont.)

† On the subject of words commonly thought synonymous, see Dr. Campbell's Dissertation prefixed to his Translation of the Gospels, vol. i. pp. 164—240. edit. 1807.

is styled *holy*; in 1. Pet. iv. 3. where *idolatry* is termed abominable; and in 1 Pet. ii. 9. where the Gospel is called the marvellous light of God, because it displays so many amazing scenes of divine wonders.

2. *Diacritical or Distinctive*, that is, such as distinguish one thing from another. For instance in 1 Pet. v. 4. the *crown* of future glory is termed a *never-fading crown*, *αμαραντινός*, to distinguish it from that *corruptible* crown which in the Grecian games was awarded to the successful candidate. In like manner, genuine faith, in 1 Tim. i. 5. is called *undissembled*, *ανυποκρίτος*; God, in the same chapter (v. 17.) is designated the *King incorruptible*, *βασιλεὺς ἀφθαρτος*; and in Rom. xii. 1. Christians dedicating themselves to God, is termed a *reasonable service*, *λατρεία λογική*, in contradistinction to the Jewish worship, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of *irrational creatures*,

3. *Both Explanatory and Distinctive*, as in Rom. ix. 5. where Christ is called *God blessed for ever*. By which epithet both his divine nature is *declared*, and he is eminently *distinguished* from the Gentile deities. Similar examples occur in John xvii. 11. (compared with Luke xi. 11—13.) where God is termed Holy Father; in 1 John v. 20. where Christ is styled *the true God*, as also the *Great God* in Tit. ii. 13; and Heb. ix. 14. where the Holy Spirit is denominated the *Eternal Spirit*.

II. The preceding remarks are chiefly applicable to the investigation of the *ordinary* signification of words; but, besides these, it is well known that the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, abound with *emphases*, that is, with phrases, which import much more than words in their ordinary acceptation can possibly convey.

Emphases are either *verbal*, that is, such as occur in *words* both separately and together, or *real*, that is, such as appear in the magnitude and sublimity of the *thing* described by words. The propriety of this division has been contested by Huet, Ernesti*, and some others, who affirm that emphases subsist

* Ernesti (Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 41.) and after him Bauer (Herm. Sacra, p. 232.) and Morus (Hermeneut. Nov. Test. Acroases pp. 323—326.) have distinguished emphases into *temporary* and *permanent*. The *former* are found in words at a certain time and place, and arise from the feelings of the party speaking, or from the importance of the thing. The *latter* or permanent emphases are those, in which a word receives from custom a greater signification than it has of itself, and which it retains under certain forms of speech. The knowledge of both these is to be derived from a consideration of the context and subject matter. But the examples adduced in defence of this definition concur to make it a distinction without a difference, when compared with the ordinary classification of emphases into verbal and real, which we have accordingly retained.

in words only, and not in things, and that in things grandeur and sublimity alone are to be found. On this classification, however, there is a difference of opinion; and Longinus himself, who has placed emphases among the sources of the sublime, seems to have admitted that they exist also in things. In the first instance, unquestionably, they are to be sought in words, sometimes in particles, and also in the Greek article *; and when their force is fully apprehended, they enable us to enter into the peculiar elegances and beauties of the sacred style. A few examples illustrative of this remark must suffice.

Verbal Emphases.

(1.) *Emphases of the Greek article.* In Matt. xxvi. 28, our Saviour having instituted the sacrament of the Lord's supper, after giving the cup to his disciples, adds: "for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Almost every syllable of the original Greek, especially the articles, is singularly emphatic. It runs thus—ΤΟΥΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΜΟΥ, ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ, ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΚΧΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ. The following literal translation and paraphrase do not exceed its meaning—"For this is THAT blood of mine, which was pointed out by all the sacrifices under the Jewish law, and particularly by the shedding and sprinkling of the blood of the paschal lamb; THAT BLOOD of the sacrifice slain for the ratification of the new covenant; THE blood ready to be poured out for the multitudes, the whole Gentile world as well as the Jews, for the taking away of sins; sin, whether original or actual, in all its power and guilt, in all its energy and pollution." † In Matt. xvi. 16. the following sentence occurs—ΣΥ ΕΙΣ 'Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ 'Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΩΝΤΟΣ, "Thou art THE Christ, THE son of THE living God." In this passage also, every word is highly emphatic, agreeably to a rule of the Greek language, which is observed both by the sacred writers, as well as by the most elegant profane authors, viz. That when the article is placed before a noun, it denotes a certain and definitive object; but when it is omitted, it in general indicates any person or thing indefinitely. The apostle did not say "Thou art Christ, son of God," without the article; but, "Thou art THE Christ, the Messiah, THE SON," that very son, thus positively asserting his belief of that fundamental article of the Christian religion, the divinity and office of the Redeemer of the world—"Of the living God, or of God the living one." Similar instances occur in John i. 21. 'Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΙΣΟΥ; "art thou THAT Prophet whom the Jewish nation have so long and so anxiously expected, and who had been promised by Moses, (Deut. xviii. 15—18.); and also in John x. 11. ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Ο ΠΟΙΜΗΝ Ο ΚΑΛΟΣ, I am THAT good shepherd, or the shepherd, THAT good one, of whom David, (Psal. xxiii. Isaiah xl. 11. and Ezekiel xxxiv. 23.) respectively prophesied.

Another very important rule in the construction of the Greek article, is the following which was first completely illustrated by the late eminently learned Granville Sharp; though it appears not to have been unknown to former critics and commentators.

"When two personal nouns of the same case are connected by the copulative και, (and), if the former has the definitive article, and the latter has not, they both relate to the same person."

* The importance and force of the Greek Article are fully illustrated in the Bishop of Calcutta's (Dr. Middleton's) Doctrine of the Greek Article, 8vo. 1808; in the late Mr. Granville Sharp's Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article of the Greek text of the New Testament, 12mo, 1803; in Dr. Wordsworth's Six Letters to Mr. Sharp; and in the Supplementary Researches of Mr. Hugh Stuart Boyd, inserted in Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Eph. vi. and at the end of his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus. In the latter, Mr. Boyd has combated and refuted the philosophical objections of Unitarians.

† Dr. A. Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 61, 62.

This rule Mr. S. has illustrated by the eight following examples :

1. Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ κυρίου ἡμῶν. 2 Cor. i. 3.
2. Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

These examples are properly rendered, in the authorized translation, and according to the preceding rule ;

1. The God and Father of our Lord.
2. To God, even the Father.

3. Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ. Eph. v. 5.

Common Version.

In the Kingdom of Christ and of God.

Corrected Version.

In the Kingdom of Christ, even of God.

4. Κατὰ χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Thess. i. 12.

Common Version.

According to the grace of our God, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Corrected Version.

According to the grace of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord.

5. Ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Tim. v. 21.

Common Version.

Before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Corrected Version.

Before Jesus Christ, the God and Lord ;
or, our God and Lord.
(For the definitive Article has sometimes
the power of a possessive Pronoun.)

6. Ἐπιφανείαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Titus ii. 13.

Common Version.

The glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Corrected Version.

The glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

7. Ἐν δικαιοσυνῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Pet. i. 1.

Common Version.

Through the righteousness of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ,

Corrected Version.

Through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.

8. Καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσποτὴν Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνεύμενοι. Jude 4.

Common Version.

And denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Corrected Version.

And denying our only Master, God, and Lord, Jesus Christ. *

The above rule and examples are further confirmed by the researches of Bishop Middleton; and all together furnish a most striking body of evidence in behalf of the divinity of our Saviour. That fundamental and most important doctrine of the Christian faith does not indeed depend upon the niceties of grammatical construction; but when these are eagerly seized by those who deny the divinity of the son of God, in order to support their interpretation, we are amply justified in combating them with the same weapons.

(2.) *Emphases of other words.* John i. 14. "The word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," ἐσκηνώσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, literally *tabernacled among us*. The verb *σκηνοῶ* (from *σκηνη*) signifies to erect a booth, tabernacle, or temporary residence, and not a permanent habitation or dwelling place: it was therefore fitly applied to the human nature of Christ; which, like the antient Jewish tabernacle, was to be only for a temporary residence of the eternal Divinity.

* Sharp on the Greek Article, pp. xxxix, xl. 1—56.

Matt. ix. 36. "*When Jesus saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them,*" — *Εσπλαγχνισθη* (from *Σπλαγχνον* a bowel); the ancients generally, and the Jews in particular, accounting the bowels to be the seat of sympathy and the tender passions, applied the organ to the sense*. The proper meaning therefore of this phrase is, that our Lord was moved with the deepest sympathy and commiseration for the neglected Jews.

Heb. iv. 13. "*All things are naked and opened,* *τετραχηνλισμينا*, *to the eyes of him with whom we have to account.*" The emphasis is here derived from the manner in which sacrifices were antiently performed; see it fully illustrated *supra*, p. 123.

(3.) Sometimes ADVERBS OF TIME are emphatic; and a careful notation of the time indicated by them will materially illustrate the force and meaning of the sacred writings. Thus, in Mal. iii. 16. we read, "*THEN they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another,*" &c. The word THEN is here peculiarly emphatic, and refers to the time when the last of the prophets wrote, and when many bold infidels and impious persons were found among the Jews, who spake "stout words" against God, and vindicated them. They considered all the time spent by them in his service as lost; they attended his "ordinances" with many expressions of self-denial and humiliation, but they derived no benefit from them; and they concluded that those haughty rebels who cast off all religion, and tempted God by their presumptuous wickedness, were the most prosperous and happy persons, (v. 13—15.) *At this season of open wickedness* there was a remnant of pious Jews, who 'spake often one to another,' met together from time to time that they might confer on religious subjects, animate each other to their duty, and consult how to check the progress of impiety. Of these persons, and their pious designs and discourses, we are told that Jehovah took especial notice; and that "a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name."

A knowledge of historical circumstances, however, is requisite, lest we ascribe the emphasis to a *wrong source*; as in Acts ix. 31. "*THEN had the churches rest*" (*εἰρήνην*, literally peace or prosperity). The cause of this peace has by some commentators been ascribed to the conversion of Saul, who had previously "made havoc of the church:" but this is not likely, as *he* could not be a cause of universal persecution and distress, whatever activity and virulence he might have shewn during the time of his enmity to the Christian church. Besides, his own persecution (as the context shews) proves that the opposition to the Gospel continued with considerable virulence three years after *his* conversion. If we advert to the political circumstances of the Jewish nation at that time, we shall find the true cause of this rest. The emperor Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem; and, in pursuance of his mandate, Petronius, the president of Syria, was on his march with an army for that purpose. Filled with consternation, the Jews met him in vast multitudes in the vicinity of Ptolemais or Acre, and ultimately prevailed on him to abandon his design. It was this persecution of the Jews by the Romans, that the sacred writer had in view, which diverted the Jews from persecuting the Christians; and "*THEN had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria;*" the terror occasioned by the imperial decree having spread itself throughout those regions.†

Real Emphases.

The knowledge of these can only be derived from an acquaintance with the manners, customs, &c. of antient nations, which are noticed by writers on biblical antiquities and by commentators, so far as they are necessary to illustrate the sacred writings. Two or three instances of these also will suffice to explain their nature.

* Kuinöel in loc. who has given illustrations from classical writers, and also from the Apocrypha.

† Dr. Lardner has collected and given at length various passages from Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. c. 10. and *Ant. Jud.* lib. xviii. c. 9.) and Philo (*De Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1024.), which confirm the above statement. See his *Credibility*, book i. ch. ii. § 12. (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 97, *et seq.*)

Matt. vi. 7. *Use not vain repetitions.* Μη βαττολογησητε. The word is derived from one Battus, a poet, who composed very prolix hymns, in which the same idea constantly recurred.

Matt. vi. 16. *Be ye not of a sad countenance.* Μη γινισθε σκυθωποι, i. e. Be not of a gloomy, morose, austere countenance, like that of a Scythian.

Rom. xi. 17. In this verse we have a very beautiful illustration taken from the ingrafting of trees; an art, with which we find St. Paul was well acquainted. The point to be explained was, the union of the Gentiles with the Jews under the gospel dispensation. The Jews were the olive tree; the grafts were both Gentiles and Jews; and the art of ingrafting was, the initiation of both into the Christian religion. The Jews are informed that olive-branches may with greater ease be engrafted into their own original stock, which is more natural and congenial to them. The Gentiles again are reminded, that, if the natural branches were not spared because of their unfruitfulness, much less would they be spared who were aliens to the Jewish stock, if they should prove unfruitful.*

The prize, βραβειον, mentioned in 1 Cor. ix. 24. is the crown awarded to the victor in the olympic games; whence καταβραβευν, rendered "*beguile you of your reward*," (Col. ii. 18.) means to deprive any one of a reward or prize, either by partial judgment or in any way impeding him in his Christian course. In 1 Cor. ix. 24. the apostle illustrates the necessity of being in earnest in the Christian race, by a beautiful allusion to the games of the heathen. As the racers and wrestlers in those games fitted themselves for their different exercises, and each strove zealously for the victory, so should the Christian prepare himself for his religious course, and strive for the victory in his great contest with the world.

1 Cor. iv. 13. *We are made the filth of the earth,* περικαρματα literally a purgation or lustrative sacrifice: the allusion is to a custom common among heathen nations in times of public calamity, who selected some unhappy men of the most abject and despicable character. These, after being maintained a whole year at the public expense, were then led out crowned with flowers, as was usual in sacrifices, and were devoted to appease or avert the anger of their deities, being either precipitated into the sea, or burnt alive, after which their ashes were thrown into the sea.

2 Cor. viii. 20. *Avoiding this, that no man should blame us*—Μητις ημας μωμησεται—Literally, should sneer at or ridicule us, imitate Momus, the fictitious deity of mirth and ridicule.

Eph. v. 27. *That it (the church of Christ) should be holy and WITHOUT BLEMISH,* αμωμος, i. e. so pure and spotless, so free from all censure, that even Momus himself could find nothing to carp at or ridicule.

III. A consideration of the affections by which the sacred authors were animated, when they committed their inspired communications to writing, as well as the scope and context of the passage under consideration, together with the nature of its subject, will always enable us to ascertain the *true* emphases of words: but, as ingenious and fanciful minds are apt to discover them where they do not actually exist, it may not be irrelevant to offer a few leading hints respecting the particular investigation of emphases, selected from the great mass of observations, which have been collected by eminent biblical critics.

1. No emphases are to be sought in refined explanations of passages, or from etymology, both of them uncertain guides at the best; and which are too often carried to extremes by

* Gilpin's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 408.

men of lively imaginations. Neither will prepositions always enlarge or give additional force to the meaning of a word, particularly in the Greek language. We may instance in 1 Cor. xiii. 6., where we read that true charity rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth (συγχαίρει) in the truth. Some commentators have conceived that this word is emphatic, and have rendered the passage *rejoiceth jointly* (with true believers) in the truth. But in this instance, as Schleusner has remarked from Hesychius, the Greek compound verb means no more than the simple verb χαίρω implies, viz. to be delighted or to rejoice in a thing. Our authorised version therefore fully expresses the apostle's meaning. But in Heb. xii. 2. the preposition is highly emphatic, and demands particular attention, in order to apprehend the full force and beauty of the passage, which is wholly *agonistical*, i. e. allusive to the antient foot races. Having in the first verse exhorted Christians to divest themselves of every incumbrance, and to run with patience their Christian course, St. Paul adds, (v. 2.) *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.* The original word here rendered *looking* (αφορῶντες)*, literally means to *look off* FROM every other object to some particular object placed full in view; as the reward destined to the victor in the olympic foot race was placed immediately in view of the candidates. It is impossible to express the full import of this passage without the aid of a paraphrase. The whole clause may be thus rendered—*Wherefore, seeing we are also compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, who (like the spectators at the antient olympic race) surround us on every side in a vast innumerable assembly, the spectators of our trial, let us lay aside every incumbering weight, and especially the sin, which in present circumstances has the greatest advantage [against us], or the well circumstanced sin, that which has every thing in its favour, time, place, and opportunity, more particularly, a disposition to relinquish or dissemble our profession of the gospel for fear of sufferings; and let us run with patience and perseverance the race which is set before us,*

* This word occurs in Josephus precisely in the very same meaning as it is used by the apostle. The Jewish historian, relating the aggressions of the Jews which led to the war with the Romans, says, among other things, that those who officiated in the temple service, rejected the sacrifice for Cæsar and the Roman people. "And when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their number, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them," ΑΦΟΡΩΝΤΕΣ εἰς τὸν Εὐλαζαρον, "*having the chief regard to Eleazar the governor of the temple;*" *looking TO HIM EXCLUSIVELY*, by whom they had been instigated to those offensive measures. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 2.

resolutely persisting in it, however long and painful it may be: *Looking off* from every object that would interrupt us in our career, and fixing our eyes *upon* (or *to*) *Jesus the author* (or *leader*) *and finisher of our faith*; who called us out to this strenuous yet glorious enterprise; who animates us by his example, and supports us by his grace, until the season arrive, when he will bestow upon us the promised crown.*

2. Further: Emphases are not to be sought in *versions*; which, however excellent they may in general be, are yet liable to error; consequently the derivation of emphases from them may lead us not merely to extravagant, but even to false expositions of Scripture. One instance will suffice to illustrate this remark. In Col. ii. 6. according to the authorised English version, we read thus, “As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, *so* walk ye in him.” From this rendering of the Greek text many persons have laid much stress on the words *as* and *so*, (which last is not to be found in the original) and have deduced a variety of inferences from them, viz. *As* ye received Jesus Christ in a spirit of faith, *so* walk ye in him; *as* ye received him in a spirit of humility, *so* walk ye in him, &c. Now all these inferences, though proper enough in themselves, are derived from *false emphases*, and are contrary to the apostle’s meaning, who intended to say no such thing. His meaning, as Dr. Macknight has well translated the passage, is simply this—“*Since ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, walk ye in him:*” in other words, as the context plainly shews, “Since ye have embraced the doctrine of Christ, continue to hold it fast, and permit not yourselves to be turned aside by sophistical or Judaising teachers.”†

3. No emphases are to be sought in the plural number of words. Thus *οὐρανοί* and *οὐρανοὶ* simply mean *heaven*; yet Origen, following the trifling distinctions of some Jewish writers, has attempted to distinguish between them, and has announced the existence of several heavens each above the other.

4. No emphasis is to be sought in words, where the abstract is put for the concrete, as is very frequent in the Hebrew Scriptures‡, in which substantives are necessarily put in the place of adjectives, on account of the simplicity of the language which has few or no adjectives.

* See Braunius, Krebsius, Kypke, Ernesti, and also Drs. Doddridge, Macknight, and A. Clarke on Heb. xii. 1, 2. by whom every emphatic word in these two verses is particularly illustrated.

† See Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on Col. ii. 6.

‡ See numerous examples in which the abstract is put for the concrete, *infra*, chap. iv. sect. ii. § 4.

5. Lastly, As every language abounds with *idioms**, or expressions peculiar to itself, which cannot be rendered verbatim into another language without violating its native purity, we should be careful not to look for emphases in such expressions. †

* On the Hebraisms, or idioms peculiar to the sacred writings, see vol. ii. Appendix, No. III.

† Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 231—240. Ernesti Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 40—45. Mori Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 321—336. Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. vi. § 16—23. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 649—651.) Wetstein, Libelli ad Crisin et Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 120—139. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars iii. pp. 263—277. Bishop Marsh's Lectures, lect. xv. pp. 43—49. where the three first rules (p. 212, 213, *supra*,) are admirably illustrated. Prof. Gerard has collected numerous valuable observations on the topics discussed in this chapter in his Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 293—369, particularly in sect. iii. (pp. 300—314.) on the signification of words. J. B. Carpzovii Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacræ, pp. 23, 40—45. The subject of emphases is copiously treated by Langius, in his Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 64—96.; by Rambach, in his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. ii. cap. 8. pp. 317—362.; by Jahn, in his Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 127—135.; by Chladenius, in his Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 310—322; and by J. E. Pfeiffer, in his Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 534—569.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE SUBSIDIARY MEANS FOR ASCERTAINING THE SENSE
OF SCRIPTURE.

WORDS are arbitrary signs of things: their use depends on the will of those, among whom, by common consent, particular sounds are appropriated to denote particular things. The modes of speech, therefore, in *living* languages, are to be ascertained from the testimonies of those persons who take the words of their native tongue in their common and received application: but in *dead* languages they can only be known from the testimonies of the individuals who used them, and who were perfectly acquainted with them.

In investigating the senses of Scripture, our first and most important source is to be derived from a knowledge of the original languages in which they were written; but the mere knowledge of the force and power of particular words and phrases, however necessary to be acquired in the first instance, will not enable us to understand any author; for it is possible that we may be acquainted with all the significations affixed to a word in lexicons, and yet not apprehend the writer's sense, because we may not be able to select that particular one which the passage requires. It is therefore of very great importance that we examine and apply that meaning which the subject-matter, context, and scope of the sacred writer require. In the prosecution of this subject the following topics will come under our consideration: 1. The original languages of Scripture: 2. The cognate or kindred dialects which may illustrate them: 3. Versions of the Bible, both antient and modern: 4. Parallel passages: 5. Scholiasts and glossographers: 6. The subject-matter: 7. The context: 8. The scope: and, 9. The analogy of faith, or the general tenor of the doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures.

SECTION I.

ON THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

§ I. OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

I. *Antiquity of the Hebrew language* — II. *And of its characters* — III. *Of the vowel points* — IV. *Hebrew grammars* — V. *Hebrew lexicons.*

A KNOWLEDGE of the original languages of Scripture is of the utmost importance, and indeed absolutely necessary, to him who is desirous of ascertaining the genuine meaning of the Sacred Volume. Happily, the means for acquiring these languages are now so numerous, and easy of access, that the student, who wishes to derive his knowledge of the Oracles of God from pure sources, can be at no loss for guides to direct him in this delightful pursuit.

I. The HEBREW LANGUAGE, in which the Old Testament is written with the exception of a few words and passages which are in the Chaldean dialect*, is generally allowed to have derived its name from Heber, one of the descendants of Shem, (Gen. x. 21, 25. xi. 14, 16, 17.); though some learned men are of opinion that it is derived from the root עבר, (*aber*) *to pass over*, whence Abraham was denominated the *Hebrew*, (Gen. xiv. 13.) having *passed over* the river Euphrates to come into the land of Canaan. This language has been conjectured by some philologists to have been that in which Jehovah spoke to Adam in Paradise, and that the latter transmitted it to his posterity. Without adopting this hypothesis, which rests only on bare probabilities, we may observe that the Hebrew is the most antient of all the languages in the world: at least we know of none that is older. Although we have no certain proof that it was the unvaried language of our first parents, yet it is not improbable that it was the general language of men at the dispersion: and, however it might have subsequently been altered and improved, it appears to be the original of all the languages, or rather dialects, which have since arisen in the world.†

* Besides some Chaldee words occasionally inserted in the historical and prophetical books, after the Israelites became acquainted with the Scythians and Babylonians, the following passages of the Old Testament are written in the Chaldee dialect, viz. Jer. x. 11. Dan. ii. 4. to the end of ch. vii. and Ezra iv. 8. to vi. 19. and vii. 12 to 17.

† Dr. Gr. Sharpe's *Dissertations on the Origin of Languages, &c.* pp. 22. *et seq.*

Various circumstances combine to prove that Hebrew is the original language, neither improved nor debased by foreign idioms. The words of which it is composed are very short, and admit of very little flexion as may be seen on reference to any Hebrew grammar or lexicon. The names of places are descriptive of their nature, situation, accidental circumstances, &c. The names of brutes express their nature and properties more significantly and more accurately than any other known language in the world. The names also of various antient nations are of Hebrew origin, being derived from the sons or grandsons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet; as, the Assyrians from Ashur; the Elamites from Elam; the Arameans from Aram; the Lydians from Lud; the Cimbrians or Cimmerians from Gomer; the Medians from Madai the son of Japhet; the Ionians from Javan, &c.* Further, the names given to the heathen deities suggest an additional proof of the antiquity and originality of the Hebrew language: thus, Japetus is derived from Japhet; Saturn from the Hebrew word *סַטָן*, (*saton*) *to be concealed*, as the Latins derive Latium from *latere*, *to lie hidden*; because Saturn was reported to have been concealed in that country from the arms of Jupiter†, or Jove, as he is also called, which name is by many deduced from JEHOVAH; Vulcan from Tubal-Cain, who first discovered the use of iron and brass, &c. Lastly, the traces of Hebrew which are to be found in very many other languages, and which have been noticed by several learned men, afford another argument in favour of its antiquity and priority. These vestiges are particularly conspicuous in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Phœnician, and other languages spoken by the people who dwelt nearest to Babylon, where the first division of languages took place‡.

The knowledge of the Hebrew language was diffused very widely by the Phœnician merchants, who had factories and colonies on almost every coast of Europe and Asia: that it was identically the same as was spoken in Canaan, or Phœnicia, is evident from its being spoken by the inhabitants of that country from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua, who gave to places, mentioned in the Old Testament, appellations which are pure Hebrew: such are, Kiriath-sepher or the *city of books*, and Kiriath-sannah or the *city of learning*,

* Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. sect. 16. Walton's Prolegomena to the London Polyglott, prol. iii. § 6. (p. 76. ed. Dathii.)

† Virg. Æn. lib. viii. v. 322.

‡ Walton, prol. iii. § 7, 8. (pp. 76, 77.)

(Josh. xv. 15, 49.) Another proof of the identity of the two languages arises from the circumstance of the Hebrews conversing with the Canaanites without an interpreter; as the spies sent by Joshua with Rahab, (Josh. ii.); the ambassadors sent by the Gibeonites to Joshua, (Josh. ix. 3—25.) &c. But a still stronger proof of the identity of the two languages is to be found in the fragments of the Punic tongue which occur in the writings of antient authors. That the Carthaginians (Pœni) derived their name, origin, and language from the Phœnicians, is a well known and authenticated fact; and that the latter sprang from the Canaanites might easily be shewn from the situation of their country, as well as from their manners, customs, and ordinances. Not to cite the testimonies of profane authors on this point, which have been accumulated by Bishop Walton, we have sufficient evidence to prove, that they were considered as the same people, in the fact of the Phœnicians and Canaanites being used promiscuously to denote the inhabitants of the same country. Compare Exod. vi. 15. with Gen. xlv. 10. and Exod. xvi. 35. with Josh. v. 12. in which passages, for the Hebrew words translated *Canaanitish* and *land of Canaan*, the Septuagint reads Phœnician and the country of Phœnicia.

The period, from the age of Moses to that of David, has been considered the *golden* age of the Hebrew language, which declined in purity from that time to the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, having received several foreign words, particularly Aramæan, from the commercial and political intercourse of the Jews and Israelites with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This period has been termed the *silver* age of the Hebrew language. In the interval between the reign of Hezekiah and the Babylonish captivity, the purity of the language was neglected, and so many foreign words were introduced into it, that this period has not inaptly been designated its *iron* age. During the seventy years captivity, though it does not appear that the Hebrews *entirely* lost their native tongue, yet it underwent so considerable a change from their adoption of the vernacular languages of the countries where they had resided, that afterwards, on their return from exile, they spoke a dialect of Chaldee mixed with Hebrew words. On this account it was, that, when the Scriptures were read, it was found necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldean language; as, when Ezra the scribe brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because “they read in the

book, in the law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." (Neh. viii. 8.) Some-time after the return from the great captivity, Hebrew ceased to be spoken altogether: though it continued to be cultivated and studied, by the priests and levites, as a learned language, that they might be enabled to expound the law and the prophets to the people, who, it appears from the New Testament, were well acquainted with their general contents and tenor: this last-mentioned period has been called the *leaden age* of the language.*

II. The present Hebrew characters, or letters, are twenty-two in number, and of a square form: but the antiquity of these letters is a point that has been most severely contested by many learned men. From a passage in Eusebius's Chronicle †, and another in St. Jerome ‡, it was inferred by Joseph Scaliger, that Ezra, when he reformed the Jewish church, transcribed the antient characters of the Hebrews into the square letters of the Chaldeans: and that this was done for the use of those Jews, who, being born during the captivity, knew no other alphabet than that of the people among whom they had been educated. Consequently, the old character, which we call the Samaritan, fell into total disuse. This opinion Scaliger supported by passages from both the Talmuds, as well as from rabbinical writers, in which it is expressly affirmed that such characters were adopted by Ezra. But the most decisive confirmation of this point is to be found in the antient Hebrew coins, which were struck before the captivity, and even previously to the revolt of the ten tribes. The characters engraven on all of them are manifestly the same with the modern Samaritan, though with some trifling variations in their forms, occasioned by the depredations of time. These coins, whether shekels or half-shekels, have all of them, on one side, the golden manna-pot, (mentioned in Exod. xvi. 32, 33.) and on its mouth, or over the top of it, most of them have a Samaritan Aleph, some an Aleph and Schin, or other letters, with this inscription, *The shekel of Israel*, in Samaritan characters. On the opposite side is to be seen Aaron's rod with almonds, and in the same letters this in-

* Walton, prol. iii. § 15—24. (pp. 84—97.) Schleusner's Lexicon, voce 'Εβραϊς. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, pp. 94—96. Parkhurst (Gr. Lex. voce 'Εβραϊς) has endeavoured to shew, but unsuccessfully, that no change from Hebrew to Chaldee ever took place.

† Sub anno 4740.

‡ Præf. in 1 Reg.

scription, *Jerusalem the holy*. Other coins are extant with somewhat different inscriptions, but the same characters are engraven on them all.*

The opinion originally produced by Scaliger, and thus decisively corroborated by coins, has been adopted by Casaubon, Vossius, Grotius, Bishop Walton, Louis Cappel, Dr. Prideaux, and other eminent biblical critics and philologists, and is now generally received: it was, however, very strenuously though unsuccessfully opposed by the younger Buxtorf, who endeavoured to prove, by a variety of passages from rabbinical writers, that *both* the square and the Samaritan characters were antiently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited in the ark, were written; and the other characters being used in the copies of the law which were written for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that, after the captivity, Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and apostates. Independently, however, of the strong evidence against Buxtorf's hypothesis, which is afforded by the antient Hebrew coins, when we consider the implacable enmity that subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, is it likely that the one copied from the other, or that the former preferred to the beautiful letters used by their ancestors the rude and inelegant characters of their most detested rivals? And, when the vast difference between the Chaldee (or square) and the Samaritan letters, with respect to convenience and beauty, is calmly considered, it must be acknowledged that they never could have been used at the same time. After all, it is of no great moment which of these, or whether either of them, were the original characters, since it does not appear that any change of the words has arisen from the manner of writing them, because the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs almost always agree, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages. It is most probable that the form of these characters has varied at different periods: this appears from the direct testimony of Montfau-

* Walton, prol. iii. § 29—37. (pp. 103—125.) Carpzov. *Critica Sacra*, pp. 225—241. Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 111—127. But the latest and most useful work on Hebrew characters, according to Bishop Marsh, is "Josephi Dobrowsky de Antiquis Hebræorum Characteribus Dissertatio." Pragæ, 1783. 8vo. "This tract," he says, "contains in a short compass a perspicuous statement of all the arguments, both for and against the antiquity of the Hebrew letters; and the conclusion which the author deduces is, that not the Hebrew, but that the *Samaritan*, was the antient alphabet of the Jews." (*Divinity Lectures*, part. ii. p. 135.)

con*, and is implied in Dr. Kennicott's making the characters, in which manuscripts are written, one test of their age.†

III. But however interesting these inquiries may be in a philological point of view, it is of far greater importance to be satisfied concerning the much litigated and yet undecided question respecting the antiquity of the Hebrew points; because unless the student has determined for himself, after a mature investigation, he cannot with confidence apply to the study of this sacred language. Three opinions have been offered by learned men on this subject. By some, the origin of the Hebrew vowel points is maintained to be co-eval with the Hebrew language itself: while others assert them to have been first introduced by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, when he compiled the canon, transcribed the books into the present Chaldee characters, and restored the purity of the Hebrew text. A third hypothesis is, that they were invented, about five hundred years after Christ, by the doctors of the school of Tiberias, for the purpose of marking and establishing the genuine pronunciation, for the convenience of those who were learning the Hebrew tongue. This opinion, first announced by Rabbi Elias Levita in the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been adopted by Cappel, Calvin, Luther, Casaubon, Scaliger, Masclef, Erpenius, Houbigant, L'Advocat, Bishops Walton, Hare, and Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, Dr. Geddes, and other eminent critics, British and foreign, and is now generally received, although some few writers of respectability continue strenuously to advocate their antiquity. The *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* of Cappel was strenuously opposed by Buxtorf in a treatise *de punctorum vocalium antiquitate*, by whom the controversy was almost exhausted. We shall briefly state the evidence on both sides.

That the vowel points are of modern date, and of human invention, the anti-punctualists argue from the following considerations:

1. The Samaritan letters, which (we have already seen) were the same with the Hebrew characters before the captivity, have no points; nor are there any vestiges whatever of vowel points to be traced either in the shekels struck by the kings of Israel, or in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The words have always been read by the aid of the four letters Aleph, He, Vau, and Jod, which are called *matres lectionis*, or mothers of reading.

* Hexapla Origenis, tom. i. pp. 22. et seq.

† Dissertation on the Hebrew text, vol. i. pp. 310—314.

2. The copies of the Scriptures used in the Jewish synagogues to the present time, and which are accounted particularly sacred, are constantly written without points, or any distinctions of verses whatever; a practice that could never have been introduced, nor would have been so religiously followed, if vowel points had been co-eval with the language, or of divine authority. To this fact we may add, that in many of the oldest and best manuscripts, collated and examined by Dr. Kennicott, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a *late* addition; and that all the antient various readings, marked by the Jews, regard only the letters; not one of them relates to the vowel points, which could not have happened if these had been in use.

3. Rabbi Elias Levita ascribes the invention of vowel points to the doctors of Tiberias, and has confirmed the fact by the authority of the most learned rabbins.

4. The antient Cabbalists* draw all their mysteries from the letters, but none from the vowel points; which they could not have neglected if they had been acquainted with them. And hence it is concluded that the points were not in existence when the Cabbalistic interpretations were made.

5. Although the Talmud contains the determinations of the Jewish doctors concerning many passages of the law, it is evident that the points were not affixed to the text when the Talmud was composed; because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been controverted if the points had then been in existence. Besides, the vowel points are never mentioned, though the fairest opportunity for noticing them offered itself, if they had really then been in use. The compilation of the Talmud was not finished until the *sixth century*.†

* The Cabbalists were a set of rabbinical doctors among the Jews, who derived their name from their studying the *Cabbala*, a mysterious kind of science, comprising mystical interpretations of Scripture, and metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity and other beings, which are found in Jewish writings, and are said to have been handed down by a secret tradition from the earliest ages. By considering the numeral powers of the letters of the sacred text, and changing and transposing them in various ways, according to the rules of their art, the Cabbalists extracted senses from the sacred oracles, very different from those which the expressions seemed naturally to import, or which were even intended by their inspired authors. Some learned men have imagined that the Cabbalists arose soon after the time of Ezra; but the truth is, that no Cabbalistic writings are extant but what are posterior to the destruction of the second temple. For an entertaining account of the Cabbala, and of the Cabbalistical philosophy, see Mr. Allen's *Modern Judaism*, pp. 65—94, or Dr. Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. pp. 199—221.

† For an account of the Talmud, see chapter vii. section ii. § 3. *infra* on the Jewish and Rabbinical Writings.

6. The antient various readings, called Keri and Ketib or Khetibh, (which were collected a short time before the completion of the Talmud), relate entirely to consonants and not to vowel points; yet, if these had existed in manuscript at the time the Keri and Khetib were collected, it is obvious that some reference would directly or indirectly have been made to them. The silence, therefore, of the collectors of these various readings is a clear proof of the non-existence of vowel points in their time.

7. The antient versions,—for instance, the Chaldee paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, but especially the Septuagint version,—*all* read the text, in many passages, in senses different from that which the points determine them to mean. Whence it is evident, that if the points had then been known, pointed manuscripts would have been followed as the most correct: but as the authors of those versions did not use them, it is a plain proof that the points were not then in being.

8. The antient Jewish writers themselves are totally silent concerning the vowel points, which surely would not have been the case if they had been acquainted with them. Much stress indeed has been laid upon the books Zohar and Bahir, but these have been proved not to have been known for a thousand years after the birth of Christ. Even Buxtorf himself admits that the book Zohar could not have been written till after the tenth century; and the rabbis Gedaliah and Zachet confess that it was not mentioned before the year 1290, and that it presents internal evidence that it is of a much later date than is pretended. It is no uncommon practice of the Jews to publish books of recent date under the names of old writers, in order to render their authority respectable, and even to alter and interpolate antient writers in order to subserve their own views.

Equally silent are the antient fathers of the Christian church, Origen and Jerome. In some fragments, still extant, of Origen's vast biblical work, entitled the Hexapla (of which some account is given in a subsequent page*), we have a specimen of the manner in which Hebrew was pronounced in the third century; and which, it appears, was widely different from that which results from adopting the Masoretic reading. Jerome also, in various parts of his works, where he notices the different pronunciations of Hebrew words, treats *only of the letters*,

* See sect. iii. § 1. pp. 272 *et seq. infra.*

and no where mentions the points, which he surely would have done, had they been found in the copies consulted by him.

10. "The letters א, ה, ו, י, (Aleph, He, Vau, and Yod) upon the plan of the Masorites, are termed *quiescent*, because, according to them, they have no sound. At other times, these same letters indicate a variety of sounds, as the fancy of these critics hath been pleased to distinguish them by points. This single circumstance exhibits the whole doctrine of points as the *baseless fabric of a vision*. To suppress altogether, or to render insignificant, a *radical* letter of any word, in order to supply its place by an *arbitrary dot or a fictitious mark*, is an invention fraught with the grossest absurdity."*

11. Lastly, as the *first* vestiges of the points that can be traced are to be found in the writings of Rabbi Ben Asher, president of the western school, and of Rabbi Ben Naphthali, chief of the eastern school, who flourished about the middle of the *tenth* century, we are justified in assigning that as the epoch when the system of vowel points was established.

Such are the evidences on which the majority of the learned rest their convictions of the modern date of the Hebrew points: it now remains that we concisely notice the arguments adduced by the Buxtorfs, and their followers, for the antiquity of these points.

1. From the nature of all languages it is urged that they require vowels, which are in a manner the soul of words. This is readily conceded as an indisputable truth, but it is no proof of the antiquity of the vowel points: for the Hebrew language always had and still has vowels, independent of the points without which it may be read. Origen, who transcribed the Hebrew Scriptures in Greek characters in his Hexapla, did not invent new vowels to express the vowels absent in Hebrew words, neither did Jerome, who also expressed many Hebrew words and passages in Latin characters. The Samaritans, who used the same alphabet as the Hebrews, read without the vowel points, employing the *matres lectionis*, Aleph, He, or Hheth, Jod, Oin, and Vau, (a, e, i, o, u,) for vowels; and the Hebrew may be read in the same manner, with the assistance of these letters, by supplying them where they are not expressed, agreeably to the modern practice of the Jews, whose Talmud and rabbinical commentators, as well as the copies of the law preserved in the synagogues, are to this day read without vowel points.

* Wilson's Elements of Hebrew Grammar, as extracted in the Monthly Review, (O. S.) vol. lxxviii. p. 426.

2. It is objected that the reading of Hebrew would be rendered very uncertain and difficult without the points, after the language ceased to be spoken. To this it is replied, that even after Hebrew ceased to be a vernacular language, its true reading might have been continued among learned men to whom it was familiar, and also in their schools, which flourished before the invention of the points. And thus daily practice in reading, as well as a consideration of the context, would enable them not only to fix the meaning of doubtful words, but also to supply the vowels which were deficient, and likewise to fix words to one determinate reading. Cappel *, and after him Masclef †, have given some general rules for the application of the *matres lectionis*, to enable us to read Hebrew without points.

3. “Many Protestant writers have been led to support the authority of the points, by the supposed uncertainty of the unpointed text; which would oblige us to follow the direction of the church of Rome. This argument, however, makes against those who would suppose Ezra to have introduced the points: for in that case, from Moses to *his* day, the text being unpointed must have been obscure and uncertain; and if this were not so, why should not the unpointed text have remained intelligible and unambiguous *after* his time, as it had done before it? This argument, moreover, grants what they who use it are not aware of: for if it be allowed that the unpointed text is ambiguous and uncertain, and would oblige us in consequence to recur to the church of Rome, the Roman Catholics may prove—at least with every appearance of truth—that it has always been unpointed, and that therefore we must have recourse to the church to explain it. Many writers of that communion have had the candour to acknowledge, that the unpointed Hebrew text can be read and understood like the Samaritan text: for although several words in Hebrew may, when separate, admit of different interpretations, the context usually fixes their meaning with precision ‡; or, if it ever fail to do so, and leave their meaning still ambiguous, recourse may be had to the interpretations of antient translators or commentators. We must likewise remember, that the Masorites, in affixing points to the text, did not do so according to their own notions how it ought to be read; they followed the re-

* Arcanum Punctuationis revelatum, lib. i. c. 18.

† Grammatica Hebraica, vol. i. cap. i. § iv.

‡ “Thus the English verb *to skin* has two opposite meanings: but the context will always determine which it bears in any passage where it occurs.”

ceived reading of their day, and thus fixed unalterably that mode of reading which was authorized among them: and therefore, though we reject these points as their invention, and consider that they never were used by any inspired writer, yet it by no means follows, that for the interpretation of Scripture we must go to a supposed infallible church; for we acknowledge the divine original of what the points express, namely, the sentiments conveyed by the letters and words of the sacred text." *

4. In further proof of the supposed antiquity of vowel points, some passages have been adduced from the Talmud, in which *accents* and *verses* are mentioned. The fact is admitted, but it is no proof of the existence of points; neither is mention of certain words in the Masoretic notes, as being irregularly punctuated, any evidence of their existence or antiquity: for the Massora was not finished by one author, nor in one century, but that system of annotation was commenced and prosecuted by various Hebrew critics through several ages. Hence it happened that the latter Masorites, having detected mistakes in their predecessors, (who had adopted the mode of pronouncing and reading used in their day), were unwilling to alter such mistakes, but contented themselves with noting particular words as having been irregularly and improperly pointed. These notes therefore furnish no evidence of the existence of points before the time of the first compilers of the Massora. †

The preceding are the chief arguments usually urged for and against the vowel points: and from an impartial consideration of them, the reader will be enabled to judge for himself. The weight of evidence, we apprehend, will be found to determine *against* them: nevertheless, "the points *seem* to have their uses, and these not inconsiderable; and to have this use among others—that, as many of the Hebrew letters have been corrupted since the invention of the points, and as the points subjoined originally to the true letters have been in many of these places regularly preserved, these points will frequently concur in proving the truth of such corruptions, and will point out the method of correcting them." ‡

Such being the relative utility of the vowel points, it has been recommended to learn the Hebrew language, in the first

* Hamilton's Introd. to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, pp. 44, 45.

† Walton Prol. iii. §§ 38—56, (pp. 125—170.) Carpzov. Crit. Sac. Vet. Test. part i. c. v. sect. vii. pp. 242—274. Pfeiffer, Critica Sacra, cap. iv. sect. ii. (Op. pp. 704—711.) Gerard's Institutes, pp. 32—38. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, pp. 129—131. Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 128—141. Bishop Marsh, (Lectures, part ii. pp. 136—140.) has enumerated the principal writers for and against the vowel points.

‡ Dr. Kennicott, Dissertation i. on Hebrew Text, p. 345.

instance without them, as the knowledge of them can at any time be superadded without very great labour. And as an account of the principal manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew Scriptures is given in a subsequent part of this work *, it only remains that we notice the principal Hebrew grammars and lexicons, both with and without points.

V. So great a variety of Hebrew grammars has been published by eminent Hebraists, at different times, that it is difficult to determine which is preferably to be adopted. We shall therefore briefly indicate those which have been most highly recommended for their utility and simplicity of method.

1. *Without Points*.—Mr. *Parkhurst's* grammar, prefixed to his Hebrew Lexicon, is the shortest and most compendious we have seen. Mr. *Newton's* (12mo. 1805) “is conducted with a simplicity and perspicuity which affords every assistance to those who may be disposed to become acquainted with the rudiments of the Hebrew tongue †.” The *Bishop of St. David's* Hebrew Copies, Hebrew Primer, and Hebrew Reader, (8vo. 2 parts, 1808, also in 12mo.) form the simplest and clearest introduction to the *reading* of Hebrew which we have hitherto seen. The “Rudiments of Hebrew Grammar,” announced by the same eminent divine, have not yet been published. But the most copious Hebrew grammar is the *Grammatica Hebræa* of *Masclef*, (12mo. 2 vols. Paris, 1731), of which, says Dr. Hey, “I know none more to be recommended; as it gives rules for the Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan, as well as for what is commonly called Hebrew ‡.” But as *Masclef's* work is now extremely scarce and dear, he recommends Mr. *Wilson's* “Elements of Hebrew Grammar,” (8vo. 1782) § as a substitute for it.—“An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of the Hebrew Language without the Points, by Jas. P. Wilson D. D.” was announced as recently published in America while this sheet was passing through the press.

2. *Hebrew Grammars with Points*.—Mr. *Yeates's* and Mr. *Lyons's* Hebrew grammars have long been used in different academies and universities, and are recommended by their brevity. Simplicity of method and clearness of illustration mark Mr. *Gyles's* Elements of Hebrew Grammar: his second

* See vol. ii. Appendix, No. iv. and v.

† British Critic, vol. ii. (O. S.) vol. xxvii. p. 441.

‡ Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. p. 23.

§ This book is now extremely scarce. See an account of it in the Monthly Review, vol. lxxviii. (O. S.) pp. 424—427.

part, which treats on the structure and idioms of the language, contains a good selection of rules and examples, principally from the first volume of Dathe's edition of Glassius's *Philologia Sacra*, the completest system of Hebrew grammar perhaps that is extant, and which is indispensably necessary to the biblical student. Mr. Frey's *Hebrew Grammar* particularly excels in the tables of accents and particles, which are very complete; and "his mode of teaching the Hebrew is very masterly*." Mr. Offor's "Easy Introduction to reading the Hebrew Language" is recommended by its brevity and easy price to those who cannot purchase more expensive works. Many important rules relative to the use of the *conversive vau*† are contained in the late venerable Granville Sharp's "Three Tracts on the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue:" and Dr. Gerard has accumulated a variety of important observations on the structure and genius of the Hebrew language from Glassius, Schultens, Robertson, Buxtorf, and other eminent Hebraists‡. Of the Latin grammars of this language, the works of Schultens and Robertson are unquestionably the best.

VI. Of the various Hebrew Lexicons extant, the following are in the highest repute, viz.

1. *Lexicons without Points*.—Mr. Parkhurst's Lexicon is a treasure of sacred criticism and philology. His second edition, 4to. printed in 1792, is reputed to be the best; but the later editions in royal 8vo, being executed under the critical eye of his daughter, are more easy of purchase. Dr. Taylor's *Hebrew Concordance*, which is more fully noticed in a subsequent page §, should be mentioned here: but an eminent writer has observed, that "there is such a connexion between the different oriental tongues, that I should recommend some of those lexicons that contain more than mere Hebrew; as Schindler's *Pentaglotton*, or Castellus's (Castell's) *Heptaglotton*." ||

2. *Lexicons with Points*.—*Stockii Clavis Linguae Sanctae Veteris Testamenti* (8vo. Lipsiæ 1753) is a work of great value and highly esteemed, but unfortunately it is *very* dear. The same remark is applicable to *Simonis Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, by Eichorn, (8vo. 2 vols. Halæ, 1793), and also to *Dindorf's Novum Lexicon Linguae Hebraico-Chaldaicæ*, in five parts,

* Month. Rev. vol. lxxvii. (N. S.) p. 55.

† The letter *vau*, it may be proper to remark, is said to be *conversive*; because it has the power of changing the signification of preterites into futures, and vice versâ.

‡ *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, pp. 40—51, 297—377.

§ See sect. iv. *infra*, towards the close.

|| Dr. Hey's *Norrisian Lectures*, vol. i. p. 23.

forming two large octavo volumes, (Lipsiæ, 1801). More cheap, and consequently to be preferred, is Mr. Frey's Hebrew, Latin, and English Dictionary, 8vo. 2 vols. in which every Hebrew and Chaldee word is arranged under one alphabet, with the derivatives referred to their proper roots, and the significations are given in Latin and English, according to the best authorities. Leusden's *Clavis Hebraica Veteris Testamenti* (4to. Utrecht, 1683), and Robertson's *Clavis Pentateuchi*, (8vo. Latin and English, Edinburgh, 1770), are useful manuals for those who commence their Hebrew reading with the book of Genesis; as Bythner's very scarce and dear, *Lyra Prophetica*, (4to. London, 1664); and Messrs. Keyworth and Jones's *Principia Hebraica*, (8vo. London, 1817), are to those who begin with the book of Psalms. The last-mentioned work comprises a grammatical analysis of five hundred and sixty-four verses, so selected from the various parts of the Hebrew Psalms as to contain within themselves nearly all the words, of common use, that occur in the Old Testament. The serviles are printed throughout in hollow characters, and other assistances are afforded, in order to facilitate the study of the sacred tongue. A concise grammar is prefixed; and the whole is so arranged as to *suit those students who approve of the Hebrew points, as well as those who reject them.*—Of J. H. Meisner's *Nova Veteris Testamenti Clavis*, only two volumes have appeared, (Leipsic, 8vo. 1809): it is executed on the plan of Leusden's or Robertson's works, but does not go through the Old Testament. Its value is enhanced by the addition of the significations of Hebrew words from the Septuagint version; the differences of which from the Hebrew are often examined and accounted for with much critical acumen.

§ 2. OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

I. *Similarity of the Greek Language of the New Testament with that of the Alexandrian or Septuagint Greek Version*—II. *The New Testament why written in Greek*—III. *Examination of its style*—IV. *Its Dialects*—*Hebraisms*—*Rabbinisms*—*Syriasms and Chaldaisms*—*Latinisms*—*Persisms and Cilicisms*—V. *Principal Greek Lexicons.*

I. IF a knowledge of Hebrew be necessary and desirable in order to understand the Old Testament aright, an acquaintance with the Greek language is of equal importance for understanding the New Testament correctly. It is in this lan-

guage that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was executed: and as the inspired writers of the New Testament thought and spoke in the Chaldee or Syriac tongues, whose turns of expression closely corresponded with those of the antient Hebrew, the language of the apostles and evangelists, when they wrote in Greek, necessarily resembled that of the translators of the Septuagint. "And as every Jew, who read Greek at all, would read the Greek bible, the style of the Septuagint again operated in forming the style of the Greek Testament *." The Septuagint version therefore being a source of interpretation equally important to the Old and New Testament, a knowledge of the Greek language becomes indispensably necessary to the biblical student.

II. A variety of solutions has been given to the question, why the New Testament was written in Greek. The true reason is simply this—that it was the language best understood both by writers and readers, being spoken and written, read and understood, throughout the Roman empire, and particularly in the eastern provinces. In fact, Greek was at that time as well known in the higher and middle circles as the French is in our day. To the universality of the Greek language, Cicero †, Seneca ‡, and Juvenal § bear ample testimony: and the circumstances of the Jews having had both political, civil, and commercial relations with the Greeks, and being dispersed through various parts of the Roman empire, as well as their having cultivated the philosophy of the Greeks, of which we have evidence in the New Testament, all sufficiently account for their being acquainted with the Greek language. And if the eminent Jewish writers Philo and Josephus had motives for preferring to write in Greek, there is no reason—at least there is no general presumption—why the first publishers of the gospel might not use the Greek language ||. It is indeed not improbable that the common people

* Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. pp. 30, 31. The question relative to the supposed Hebrew originals of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, is purposely omitted in this place, as it is considered in the subsequent part of this Work.

† Orat. pro Archia Poeta, c. 10. *Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus; Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.*

‡ In Consolat. ad Helviam, c. 6. *Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus Græcæ urbes? Quid inter Indos Persasque Macedonicus sermo? Scythia et totus ille ferarum indomitarumque gentium tractus civitates Achaia, Ponticis impositas litoribus, ostentat.*

§ Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas. Sat. xv. v. 110. Even the female sex, it appears from the same satyrist, made use of Greek as the language of familiarity and passion. See Sat. vi. v. 185—191.

|| Josephus, de Bell. Jud. Proœm. § 2. says, that he composed his history of the Jewish war in the language of his country, and afterwards wrote it in Greek for the information of the Greeks and Romans.

were acquainted with it; though it may perhaps be objected, that, the Christian churches being in many countries composed chiefly of that class of persons, they did not understand Greek. “True: but in every church there were numbers of persons endowed with the gifts of tongues, and of the interpretation of tongues; who could readily turn the apostles’ Greek epistles into the language of the church to which they were sent. In particular, the president or the spiritual man, who read the apostle’s Greek letter to the Hebrews in their public assemblies, could without any hesitation read it in the Hebrew language, for the edification of those who did not understand Greek. And with respect to the Jews in the provinces, Greek being the native language of most of them, this epistle was much better calculated for their use, written in the Greek language, than if it had been written in the Hebrew, which few of them understood.” Further, “it was proper that all the apostolical epistles should be written in the Greek language; because the different doctrines of the gospel being delivered and explained in them, the explanation of these doctrines could with more advantage be compared so as to be better understood, being expressed in one language, than if, in the different epistles, they had been expressed in the language of the churches and persons to whom they were sent. Now what should that one language be, in which it was proper to write the Christian Revelation, but the Greek, which was then generally understood; and in which there were many books extant, that treated of all kinds of literature, and on that account were likely to be preserved, and by the reading of which Christians, in after ages, would be enabled to understand the Greek of the New Testament? This advantage none of the provincial dialects used in the apostles’ days could pretend to. Being limited to particular countries, they were soon to be disused: and few (if any) books being written in them which merited to be preserved, the meaning of such of the apostles’ letters as were composed in the provincial languages, could not easily have been ascertained.” *

III. The style of the New Testament has a considerable affinity with that of the Septuagint version which was executed at Alexandria †, although it approaches somewhat nearer to the idiom of the Greek language; but the peculiarities of the Hebrew phraseology are discernible throughout: the lan-

* Dr. Macknight on the Epistles, Pref. to Hebrews, sect. ii. § 3. vol. iv. p. 336. 4to edit.

† Michaelis has devoted an entire section to shew that the language of the New Testament has a tincture of the Alexandrian idiom. Vol. i. p. 143, *et seq.*

guage of the New Testament being formed by a mixture of oriental idioms and expressions with those which are properly Greek. Hence it has by some philologists been termed *Hebraic-Greek*, and (from the Jews having acquired the Greek language, rather by practice than by grammar, among the Greeks, in whose countries they resided in large communities) *Hellenistic-Greek*. The propriety of this appellation was severely contested towards the close of the seventeenth and in the early part of the eighteenth century: and numerous publications were written on both sides of the question, with considerable asperity, which, together with the controversy, are now almost forgotten. The dispute, however interesting to the philological antiquarian, is after all a mere 'strife of words*'; and as the appellation of Hellenistic or Hebraic Greek is sufficiently correct for the purpose of characterizing the language of the New Testament, it is now generally adopted.†

Of this Hebraic style, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark exhibit strong vestiges: the former presents harsher Hebraisms than the latter; and the Gospel of St. Mark abounds with still more striking Hebraisms. "The epistles of St. James and Jude are somewhat better, but even these are full of Hebraisms, and betray in other respects a certain Hebrew tone. St. Luke has, in several passages, written pure and classic Greek, of which the four first verses of his Gospel may be given as an instance: in the sequel, where he describes the actions of Christ, he has very harsh Hebraisms, yet the style is more agreeable than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. In the Acts of the Apostles he is not free from Hebraisms, which he seems to have never studiously avoided; but his periods are more classically turned,

* Michaelis ascribes the disputes above noticed either to "a want of sufficient knowledge of the Greek, the prejudices of pedantry and school orthodoxy, or the injudicious custom of choosing the Greek testament as the *first* book to be read by learners of that language; by which means they are so accustomed to its singular style, that in a more advanced age they are incapable of perceiving its deviation from the language of the classics." (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. p. 211.)

† Prof. Morus has given a long review (too long to admit of abridgment) of the arguments advanced for and against the purity of the language of the New Testament, in his *Acroases*. (vol. i. pp. 202—233.); in which he has enumerated the principal writers on each side of the question. A similar list has been given by Beckius (*Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti*, part i. pp. 28—32.), by Rumpæus (*Isagoge ad Lectionem N. T.* pp. 33, *et seq.*), and by Rambach (*Instit. Herm. Sacr.* pp. 23, 399). Dr. Campbell has treated the subject very ably in the first of his *Preliminary Dissertations*, prefixed to his version of the four gospels; and Wetstein (*Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem N. T.* pp. 48—60.) has given some interesting extracts from Origen, Chrysostom, and other fathers, who were of opinion that the language of the New Testament was *not* pure Greek. Other writers might be mentioned, who have treated bibliographically on this topic: but the preceding foreign critics only are specified, as their works can now be easily procured from the continent.

and sometimes possess beauty devoid of art. St. John has numerous, though not uncouth, Hebraisms both in his gospel and epistles: but he has written in a smooth and flowing language, and surpasses all the Jewish writers in the excellence of narrative. St. Paul again is entirely different from them all: his style is indeed neglected and full of Hebraisms, but he has avoided the concise and verse-like construction of the Hebrew language, and has, upon the whole, a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition. It is as evident that he was as perfectly acquainted with the Greek manner of expression as with the Hebrew; and he has introduced them alternately, as either the one or the other suggested itself the first, or was the best approved.*

This diversity of style and idiom in the sacred writers of the New Testament, affords an intrinsic and irresistible evidence for the authenticity of the books which pass under their names. If their style had been uniformly the same, there would be good reason for suspecting that they had all combined together when they wrote; or, else, that having previously concerted what they should teach, one of them had committed to writing their system of doctrine. In ordinary cases, when there is a difference of style in a work professing to be the production of *one* author, we have reason to believe that it was written by several persons. In like manner, and for the very same reason, when books, which pass under the names of *several* authors, are written in different styles, we are authorized to conclude that they were not composed by one person.

Further, If the New Testament had been written with classic purity; if it had presented to us the language of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, or Plutarch, there would have been just grounds for suspicion of forgery; and it might with propriety have been objected, that it was impossible for Hebrews, who professed to be men of no learning, to have written in so pure and excellent a style, and consequently that the books which were ascribed to them must have been the invention of some impostor. The diversity of style therefore which is observable in them, so far from being any objection to the authenticity of the New Testament, is in reality a strong argument for the truth and sincerity of the sacred writers. In fact, the vulgarisms, foreign idioms, and other disadvantages and defects, which some critics imagine that they have discovered in the Hebraic-Greek of the New Testament, “are assigned by the

* Michaelis, vol. i. p. 112.

inspired writers as the reasons of God's preference of it, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways. Paul argues, that the success of the preachers of the gospel, in spite of the absence of those accomplishments in language, then so highly valued, was an evidence of the divine power and energy with which their ministry was accompanied. He did not address them, he tells us (1 Cor. i. 17.) *with the wisdom of words*,—with artificial periods and a studied elocution,—*lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect*;—lest to human eloquence that success should be ascribed, which ought to be attributed to the divinity of the doctrine and the agency of the Spirit, in the miracles wrought in support of it. There is hardly any sentiment which he is at greater pains to enforce. He *used none of the enticing or persuasive words of man's wisdom*. Wherefore?—"That their faith might not stand *in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God*," (1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.) should I ask, what was the reason why our Lord Jesus Christ chose for the instruments of that most amazing revolution in the religious systems of mankind, men perfectly illiterate and taken out of the lowest class of the people. Your answer to this will serve equally for an answer to that other question,—Why did the Holy Spirit chuse to deliver such important truths in the barbarous idiom of a few obscure Galileans, and not in the politer and more harmonious strains of Grecian eloquence?—I repeat it, the answer to both questions is the same—That it might appear, beyond contradiction, that the excellency of the power was of God, and not of man."*

A large proportion, however, of the phrases and constructions of the New Testament is pure Greek; that is to say, of the same degree of purity as the Greek which was spoken in Macedonia, and that in which Polybius wrote his Roman History. Hence the language of the New Testament will derive considerable illustration from consulting the works of classic writers, and especially from diligently collating the Septuagint version of the Old Testament: the collections also, of Raphelius, Palaiet, Bos, Abresch, Ernesti, and other writers whose works are noticed in a subsequent page (†), will afford the biblical student very essential assistance in explaining the pure

* Dr. Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations; Diss. i. (vol. i. 3d edit.) p. 50. Bishop Warburton has treated this topic with his usual ability, in his "Doctrine of Grace," book i. chapters VIII—X. (Works, vol. viii. pp. 279—302.) See also Dr. Maltby's "Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion," pp. 3—13.; and Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 116—123.

† Vide *infra* vol. ii. Appendix, No. II. sect. 4.

Greek expressions of the New Testament according to the usage of classic authors. It should further be noticed, that there occur, in the New Testament, words that express both doctrines and practices, which were utterly unknown to the Greeks; and also words, bearing widely different interpretation from those which are ordinarily found in Greek writers.

IV. The New Testament contains examples of all the dialects occurring in the Greek language, as the Æolic, Bœotic, Doric, Ionic, and especially of the Attic; which, being most generally in use on account of its elegance, pervades every book of the New Testament (*). To these, some have added the poetic dialect, chiefly, it should seem, because there are a few passages cited by Saint Paul from the antient Greek poets, in Acts xvii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. and Tit. i. 12 †. But the sacred writers of the New Testament, being Hebrews, and composing their books principally for Jews, in writing Greek, have naturally introduced the idioms, and in some instances have made use of words peculiar to their own language. The whole arrangement of their periods “is regulated according to the Hebrew verses (not those in Hebrew poetry, but such as are found in the historical books); which are constructed in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of Grecian language, and for want of variety have an endless repetition of the same particles ‡.” Georgi, Pfochenius, Blackwall, and others, have altogether denied the existence of these Hebraisms; while their antagonists have, perhaps unnecessarily, multiplied them §. The New Testament, however, contains fewer Hebrew grammatical constructions than the Septuagint, except in the Book of Revelation, where we often find a nominative, when another case should have been substituted, in imitation of the Hebrew which is without cases ||. But, besides these Hebraisms, there occur Rabbinical, Syriac, Persic, Latin, and other idioms

* Wyssius, in his *Dialectologia Sacra*, has treated largely on the dialects of the New Testament: but the most useful treatise, perhaps, is that of Leusden, (*De Dialectis N. T.*) which originally formed dissertations xi—xv. of his *Philologus Græcus*, and has twice been separately published by M. Fischer. The best edition is that of Leipsic, 1792, 8vo. Some brief but judicious observations on the dialects of the New Testament, particularly on the Attic, are inserted in the Greek Grammar, (p. 71.) prefixed by Mr. Parkhurst to his Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament.

† J. B. Carpzov, *Primæ Linæ Hermeneuticæ*, p. 16. Pfeiffer *Herm. Sacra*, c. vii. § 6. (Op. tom. ii. p. 652.)

‡ Leusden *de Dialectis*, p. 20. Michaelis, vol. i. p. 123.

§ Vide *infra*, vol. ii. Appendix, No. III. for an account of the different classes of Hebraisms, and canons for determining them with precision.

|| Michaelis, vol. i. p. 125. Glassius has given several instances in his *Philologia Sacra*, canons xxviii. and xxix. vol. i. pp. 67—72. edit. Dathe.

and words, which are respectively denominated Rabbinisms, Syriasm, Persisms, Latinisms, &c. &c. on which it may not be improper to offer a few remarks.

1. *Rabbinisms*.—We have already seen that during, and subsequent to, the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish language sustained very considerable changes *. New words, new sentences, and new expressions were introduced, especially terms of science, which Moses or Isaiah would have as little understood as Cicero or Cæsar would a system of philosophy or theology composed in the language of the schools. This new Hebrew language is called Talmudical or Rabbinical, from the writings in which it is used; and, although these writings are of a much later date than the New Testament, yet, from the coincidence of expressions, it is not improbable that, even in the time of Christ, this was the learned language of the Rabbins †. Lightfoot, Schoetgenius, Meuschen ‡, and others, have excellently illustrated the Rabbinisms occurring in the New Testament.

2. *Syriasm*.—3. *Chaldaisms*.—The vernacular language of the Jews, in the time of Jesus Christ, was the Aramean; which branched into two dialects, differing in pronunciation rather than in words, and respectively denominated the *Chaldee* or East Aramæan, and the *Syriac* or West Aramæan. The East Aramæan was spoken at Jerusalem and in Judea; and was used by Christ in his familiar discourses and conversations: the West Aramæan was spoken in ‘Galilee of the Gentiles.’ It was therefore natural that numerous Chaldee and Syriac words, phrases, and terms of expression, should be intermixed with the Greek of the New Testament, and even such as are not to be found in the Septuagint: and the existence of these Chaldaisms and Syriasm, affords a strong intrinsic proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament. Were this, indeed, “free from these idioms, we might naturally conclude that it was not written either by men of Galilee or Judea, and therefore was spurious; for, as certainly as the speech of Peter betrayed him to be a Galilean, when Christ stood before the Jewish tribunal, so certainly must the written language of a man, born, educated, and grown old in Galilee, discover marks of his native idiom, unless we assume the absurd hypo-

* See p. 226, 227, *supra*.

† Michaelis, vol. i. p. 129, who has given some illustrative examples. Mori *Acroases super Hermeneuticæ Novi Testamenti*, vol. i. p. 238. See also Olearius *de Stylo Novi Testamenti*, membr. iii. aphorism. vii. pp. 23, 24.

‡ Vide *infra* chap. vii. § 3. for an account of their valuable labours.

thesis, that God hath interposed a miracle, which would have deprived the New Testament of one of its strongest proofs of authenticity *". The following are the principal Aramæan or Chaldee and Syriac words occurring in the New Testament:—*Αββα* (*Abba*), Father, Rom. viii. 15—*Ακελδαμα* (*Aceldama*), the field of blood, (Acts i. 19.)—*Αρμαγεδδων* (*Armageddon*), the mountain of Megiddo, *or of the Gospel*, (Rev. xvi. 16.)—*Βηθεσδα* (*Bethesda*), the house of mercy, (John v. 2.)—*Κηφας* (*Cephas*), a rock or stone, (John i. 43.)—*Κορβαν* (*Corban*), a gift or offering dedicated to God, (Mark vii. 11.)—*Ελωι, Ελωι, λαμα σαβαχθανι* (*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*), my God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me? (Matt. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.)—*Εφφαθα* (*Ephphatha*), be thou opened, (Mark vii. 34.)—*Μαμμωνας* (*Mammon*), riches, (Matt. vi. 24.)—*Μαραν Αθα* (*Maran Atha*), the Lord cometh, (1 Cor. xvi. 22.)—*Ρακα* (*Raca*), thou worthless fellow! (Matt. v. 22.)—*Ταλιθα κουμι* (*Talitha cumi*), maid arise! (Mark v. 41.) †

4. *Latinisms*.—"The sceptre having departed from Judah," (Gen. xlix. 10.) by the reduction of Judea into a Roman province, the extension of the Roman laws and government would naturally follow the success of the Roman arms: and if to these we add the imposition of tribute by the conquerors, together with the commercial intercourse necessarily consequent on the political relations of the Jews with Rome, we shall be enabled readily to account for the Latinisms, or Latin words and phrases, that occur in the New Testament. The following is a list of the principal Latinisms:—*Ασσαριον* (*assarion*, from the Latin word *assarius*), equivalent to about three farthings of our money, (Matt. x. 29. Luke xii. 6.)—*Κησος* (*census*), assessment or rate, (Matt. xvii. 25.)—*Κεντουριων* (*centurio*), a centurion, (Mark xv. 39, 44, 45.)—*Κολωνια* (*colonia*), a colony.—(Acts xvi. 12.)—*Κουστωδια* (*custodia*), a guard of soldiers, Matt. xxvii. 65, 66,

* Michaelis. vol. i. p. 135. Morus, vol. i. p. 237. Bishop Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, states, that a new branch of the Aramæan language has been discovered by Professor Adler, which differs in some respects from the East and West Aramæan dialects. For an account of it, he refers to the third part of M. Adler's *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ*, &c. 4to., Hafniæ, 1789, of which work we have not been able to obtain a sight. Pfeiffer has an amusing disquisition on the Galilean dialect of Peter, which in substance corresponds with the above cited remark of Michaelis, though Pfeiffer does not seem to have known the exact names of the dialects then in use among the Jews. Op. tom. i. pp. 616—622.

† Additional examples of Chaldaisms and Syriasms may be seen in Olearius de Stylo *Novi Testamenti*, membr. iii. aphorism. vi. (*Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, tom. ii. pp. 22, 23.)

xxviii. 11.)—*Δηναριος* (*denarius*), a Roman penny, equivalent to about seven-pence halfpenny of our money. (Luke vii. 41.)—*Φραγελλιον*, (*flagellum*), a scourge, (John ii. 15.); from this word is derived *Φραγελλω*, to scourge with whips, (Matt. xxvii. 26. Mark xv. 15.) As this was a Roman punishment, it is no wonder that we find it expressed by a term nearly Roman*.—*Ιουσιος* (*Justus*), Acts i. 23.)—*Λεγεων* (*legio*) a legion, (Matt. xxvi. 53.)—*Κοδραντης* (*quadrans*) a Roman coin equivalent to about three-fourths of an English farthing, (Matt. v. 26.)—*Λιβερτινος* (*libertinus*) a freed man, (Acts vi. 9.)—*Λιτρα* (*libra*) a pound, (John xii. 3.)—*Λεντεον* (*linteum*) a towel, (John xiii. 4.)—*Μακελλον* (*macellum*), shambles, (1 Cor. x. 25.)—*Μεμβρανα*, (*membrana*), parchment, (2 Tim. iv. 13.)—*Μιλιον* (*mille*) a mile; the Roman mile consisting of a thousand paces, (Matt. v. 41.)—*Ξεστης* (*sextarius*), a kind of pot, (Mark vii. 4, 8.)—*Πραιτωριον* (*prætorium*) a judgement-hall, or place where the prætor or other chief magistrate heard and determined causes, (Matt. xxvii. 27.)—*Σημικινδιον* or *Σιμικινδιον* (*semicinctium*) an apron, (Acts xix. 12.)—*Σικαριος* (*sicarius*), an assassin, (Acts xxi. 38.)—*Σουδαριον* (*sudarium*) a napkin or handkerchief, (Luke xix. 20.)—*Σπεκουλατωρ* (*speculator*) a soldier employed as an executioner, (Mark vi. 27.)—*Ταβερνα* (*taberna*) a tavern, (Acts xxviii. 15.)—*Τιτλος* (*titulus*) a title, (John xix. 19, 20).*

5. From the unavoidable intercourse of the Jews with the neighbouring nations, the Arabs, Persians, (to whose sovereigns they were formerly subject), and the inhabitants of Asia Minor, numerous words, and occasional expressions may be traced in the New Testament, which have been thus necessarily introduced among the Jews. These words, however, are not sufficiently numerous to constitute so many entire dialects: for instance, there are not more than four or five Persian words in the whole of the New Testament. These cannot, therefore, be in strictness termed *Persisms*: and though the profoundly learned Michaelis is of opinion that the Zend-avesta, or antient book of the Zoroastrian religion, translated by M. Anquetil du Perron, throws considerable light on the phraseology of Saint John's writings; yet, as the authenticity of that work has been

* Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 320—322. Olearius, sect. ii. memb. iii. aph. ix. pp. 24, 25. Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 162—173. Morus, vol. i. pp. 235, 236. Olearius and Michaelis have collected numerous instances of latinising phrases occurring in the New Testament, which want of room compels us to omit. Full elucidations of the various idioms above cited, are given by Schleusner and Parkhurst in their Lexicons to the New Testament. The Græco-Barbara Novi Testamenti (16mo. Amsterdam, 1649.) of Cheitomæus, may also be consulted when it can be met with.

disproved by eminent orientalists, it cannot (we apprehend) be with propriety applied to the elucidation of the New Testament. From the number of words used by Saint Paul in peculiar senses, as well as words not ordinarily occurring in Greek writers, Michaelis is of opinion (after Jerome) that they were provincial idioms used in Cilicia in the age in which he lived; and hence he denominates them *Cilicisms*. *

V. The preceding considerations and examples may suffice to convey some idea of the genius of the Greek language of the New Testament: the most useful Lexicons that can be consulted are, 1. Biel's *Novus Thesaurus Philologicus*, sive *Lexicon* in LXX. 8vo. 3 vols, published at the Hague in 1779 and 1783; to which should be added Schleusner's *Spicilegia*, 8vo. Lipsiæ 1784, and 1786; and Bretschneider's *Supplementary Spicilegium*, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1805;—2. Schleusner's† *Novum Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum, cum Commentariis Philologicis*, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1808, two volumes in four. An elegant reprint of this invaluable work was executed at the University Press, Edinburgh, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1814. The German quotations introduced by Schleusner are in this edition translated into English by the editors, Messrs. Smith, Strauchon, and Dickenson; Schleusner's *Lexicon* has also been reprinted at Glasgow, in 2 vols, 1817;—3. Mr. Parkhurst's *Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament*, royal 8vo. Of this truly valuable work, there have been several editions printed: the plain and easy Greek grammar, which is prefixed for the use of those who understand only English, is one of the best summaries of the Greek grammar that ever was printed. Both the last-mentioned Lexicographers, (especially Schleusner) have inserted the most valuable of the philological observations on the New Testament which have been published at different times; so as in some degree to supply the want of them to such students as may not be able to procure them.‡

* Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 149—162.

† Schleusner has given a list of all former lexicons to the New Testament, the deficiencies of which were pointed out by Fischer in his *Prolusiones*, published at Leipsic, in 1791, 8vo.

‡ Many valuable remarks, illustrating the phraseology of the New Testament, occur in Glassius's *Philologia Sacra*, (edit. Dathii), vol. i. containing *Grammatica Sacra*. On the Ellipses, and other peculiarities of the Greek idiom, much valuable information will be found in Bos's *Ellipses Græce*, with Schaefer's notes; in Vigerus's *Præcipuis Græcæ Dictionis Idiotismis*; and in M. Schutze's *Epitome of Hoogeven's celebrated Treatise, De Doctrina particularum Græcarum*. New and correct reprints of all these works appeared at Edinburgh in 1813, 8vo.

SECTION II.

OF THE COGNATE OR KINDRED LANGUAGES.

- I. *The Chaldee*; — II. *The Syriac*; — III. *The Arabic*; — IV. *The Ethiopic*; — V. *Use and importance of the Cognate Languages illustrated.*

THE *cognate* or kindred languages are those, which, together with the Hebrew, are dialects immediately derived from the primitive language, if indeed, (as many learned men have thought), they are not derived from the Hebrew itself, confessedly the most antient language in the world, and with which they preserve nearly the same structure and analogy. The modern Italian language, as well as the antient Greek and Latin, will furnish us with numerous examples of this affinity. The two last indeed are not dialects, but entirely different languages; the Latin having acquired very many words from the Greek, in consequence of the numerous colonies of Greeks that settled in Italy, from whom the Aborigines imperceptibly borrowed many words*. In like manner the antient Greek and modern Russ are allied, as also are the old German and modern Danish, together with the British and German of Lower Saxony, &c. although languages have in progress of time become distinct, yet, in many respects, they may all be considered as similar, from the connexion which may be traced between them†.

The principal cognate dialects or languages are the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic.

I. The *Chaldee*, we have already seen, was a dialect of the Aramean language: it was acquired by the Jews during the Babylonian captivity, and was currently spoken at the time our Saviour appeared in Judea. Besides the parts already stated as being written in this tongue, numerous Chaldaic words occur in the book of Job, the Proverbs, and other parts of the sacred writings, for the correct understanding of which the knowledge of Chaldee is necessary. It is further of great use for enabling us to read the Chaldee paraphrases which shew the sense put by the Jews themselves on the words of scripture‡. The larger Hebrew grammars and Lexicons

* Scaliger, in his treatise *De causis Linguae Latinae*, and Vossius, in his *Etymologicum Linguae Latinae*, have illustrated this subject at considerable length.

† Morus, vol. i. p. 174.

‡ Walton's *Prolegomena*, c. 12, § 2, 3. (pp. 559—562. edit. Dathii.)

noticed in a former page*, contain the principles of Chaldee grammar as well as the Chaldee words found in the Bible.

II. The *Syriac*, though written in a different character, is also a dialect of the Aramean language: it was vernacular in Galilee: hence, though several of the sacred writers of the New Testament expressed themselves in Greek, their ideas were Syriac; and they consequently used many Syriac idioms, and a few Syriac words†. The chief difference between the Syriac and Chaldee consists in the vowel-points or mode of pronunciation; and, notwithstanding the forms of their respective letters are very dissimilar, yet the correspondence between the two dialects is so close, that if the Chaldee be written in Syriac characters without points it becomes Syriac, with the exception of a single inflexion in the formation of the verbs‡. The best grammar of the Syriac language is that of J. D. Michaelis, printed at Halle, 1784, in 4to. A Chaldaico-Syriac grammar was published by Schaaf, at Leyden, 1686, 8vo. The *Lexicon Syriacum* of Gutbirius, Hamburgh, 1667, 12mo. was reprinted with the Syriac New Testament, at Leyden, 1709, 2 vols. 4to. Our learned countryman Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton* also contains a Syriac Lexicon, which was separately printed at Gottingen, in 1807, in 2 vols. 8vo.§

III. Though more remotely allied to the Hebrew than either of the preceding dialects, the *Arabic* language possesses sufficient analogy to explain and illustrate the former, and is not perhaps inferior in importance to the Chaldee or the Syriac; particularly as it is a living language, in which almost every subject has been discussed, and has received the minutest investigation from native writers and lexicographers. The learned Jews who flourished in Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century under the dominion of the Moors, were the first who applied Arabic to the illustration of the Hebrew language: and subsequent christian writers, as Bochart, Olaus Celsius, and others, have diligently and successfully applied the Arabian historians, geographers, and authors on natural history, to the explanation of the Bible||. The “Arabick alphabet, or an

* See p. 235, *supra*.

† Masclef. Gramm. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 114. Wotton's Misna, vol. i. præf. p. xviii.

‡ Walton, Prol. c. xiii. § 2, 3, 4, 5. (pp. 594—603.)

§ This elaborate work of Castell's, forming two folio volumes, (London, 1669), comprises a Lexicon of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Arabic languages *together*, and a separate Persic lexicon: to it is prefixed a grammatical harmony of all the languages just noticed. For a minute account of Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton, the reader is referred to the Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. pp. 267—270.

|| Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 82, 83. 106, 107. Walton, Prol. c. xiv. § 2—7, 14. (pp. 635—641, 649.) Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part iii. p. 28.

easy introduction to the reading of Arabick, for the use of Hebrew students," by the Bishop of Saint David's, (12mo. Newcastle 1809), is the simplest help towards learning this language, with which we are acquainted. Until the Rev. J. F. Usko's long announced "Introduction to the reading of the Arabic version of the Scriptures," shall appear, recourse must still be had to the well-known *Grammatica-Arabica* of Erpenius, (4to. Leyden 1748 or 1767), and to the the Arabic Grammar of Richardson, (4to. London 1776).

IV. The Ethiopic language, which is immediately derived from the Arabic, has been applied with great advantage to the illustration of the Scriptures by Bochart, De Dieu, Hottinger, and Ludolph (to whom we are indebted for an Ethiopic grammar and Lexicon)*: and Pfeiffer has explained a few passages in the books of Ezra and Daniel, by the aid of the Persian language. †

V. The Cognate Languages are of considerable use for illustrating the sacred writings. They confirm by their own authority a Hebrew form of speech, already known to us from some other source: they supply the deficiencies of the Hebrew language, and make us fully acquainted with the force and meaning of obscure words and phrases, of which, otherwise, we must remain ignorant, by restoring the lost roots of words, as well as the primary and secondary meanings of such roots; by illustrating words, whose meaning has hitherto been uncertain, and by unfolding the meanings of other words that are of less frequent occurrence, or are only once found in the Scriptures. Further, the cognate languages are the most successful if not the only means of leading us to understand the meaning of phrases or idiomatical combinations of words found in the Bible, and the meaning of which cannot be determined by it, but which, being agreeable to the genius of the original languages, are preserved in books written in them. Lastly, the knowledge and diligent comparison of the cognate dialects with the Hebrew will also materially contribute to illustrate its analogy and structure‡. Schleusner has availed himself of the cognate dialects, to illustrate many important passages of the New Testament: and, of the various *modern* commentators on

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 107. Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 6—8. (pp. 674—678.)

† Dubia Vexata, cent. iv. no. 66. (Opp. tom. i. pp. 420—422.) and Herm. Sacra. c. vi. § 9. (Ibid. tom. ii. p. 648.) Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 5. (pp. 691. 692.)

‡ Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 78—118. He illustrates the above positions with numerous examples, which do not admit of abridgement. See also Professor Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 58—70; who has given various examples, drawn (like those of Bauer) chiefly from Schultens's *Origines Hebrææ*.

the Bible, no one perhaps has more successfully applied the kindred languages to its interpretation, than Dr. Adam Clarke.

In consulting the cognate languages, however, much care and attention are requisite, lest we should be led away by *any* verbal or *literal* resemblance that may strike the mind, and above all by *mere* etymologies, which, though in some instances they may be advantageously referred to, are often uncertain guides. The resemblance or analogy must be a *real* one. We must therefore compare not only similar *words* and *phrases*, but also similar *modes of speech*, which, though perhaps differing as to the etymology of the *words*, are yet evidently spoken of a similar thing. The two following examples will illustrate this remark:

1.—In Rom. vii. 14. St. Paul personifying the natural man, represents him as being *sold under sin*, πεπραμμενος υπο την αμαρτιαν. It was a common expression among the Jews, that a person was sold under his master, when by sale he was transferred to the service of another, whose slave he *absolutely* and *irredeemably* became. The very same expression occurs in 1 Kings xxi. 20. and Isa. l. 1. (Sept.), and also in 1 Mac. i. 15. and Judith vii. 25. (Gr.). The apostle's meaning therefore is, that the *carnal* or natural man is the willing slave of sin, in whose *drudgery* he is employed, and that he is sold over to this service, without the power of disobeying this tyrant until redeemed by another person. With this expression let the use of the Latin word *addictus* be compared. A man is said to be *addictus alicui rei*, i. e. addicted to any thing, who is manifestly given up to it: and, in a bad sense, he is *addicted to vice*, who is the slave of vice, and as it were assigned over to it. This word, *addictus*, then clearly expresses the apostle's idea, when he uses the term *sold under sin*; being employed, according to the usage of the Latin tongue, when any thing is sold at an auction, and, after several persons have bidden for it, it is assigned over or knocked down to a bidder in such a manner, as henceforward to become his absolute property. Thus, although there is a very great difference between the two words πεπραμμενος and *addictus*, when considered in themselves, yet there is a *real* analogy in them, which enables us to explain one language by another.*

* Ernesti, (Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, p. 69. edit. 3^a.) has cited the following expression of Cicero, which bears a very striking analogy to the expression of Saint Paul;—*Vino VENDITA fides*, h. e. *addicta*. Unfortunately, he has not cited the part of Cicero's works in which it is to be found, and, after a long and fruitless search, the author of the present volume has been compelled to relinquish his inquiry.

2.—In 1 Cor. iii. 15. St. Paul, speaking of certain Christian teachers at Corinth, observes, that, “*if any man’s work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.*” On this passage, by a forced and erroneous construction, has the church of Rome erected the doctrine of purgatory, a place in which she pretends that the just, who depart out of this life, expiate certain offences that do not merit eternal damnation. Let us, however, consider the subject matter of the apostle’s discourse in his Epistle to the Corinthians. Reflecting on the divisions which were among them, and on that diversity of teachers who formed men into different parties, he compares them to various builders; some of whom raised an edifice upon the only foundation, Jesus Christ, composed of “gold, silver,” and “precious stones,” in other words, who preached the pure and uncorrupted doctrines of the Gospel; while others, upon the same foundation, built “wood, hay, stubble,” that is, disseminated false and corrupt doctrines; of both these structures, he says, (v. 13.) “Every man’s work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man’s work of what sort it is.” Either the day of the heavy trial of persecution, or rather the final judgment of God, shall try every man’s work, search it as thoroughly as fire does things that are put into it. Then adds the apostle, “*if any man’s work abide which hath built thereupon,*” if the doctrines he hath taught bear the test, “*he shall receive a reward.*” But, “*if any man’s work shall be burnt,*” if, preserving the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, he hath built errors on them, “*he shall suffer loss,*” the pains he hath taken shall be of no benefit; “*but he himself shall be saved.*” If he have sincerely and conscientiously believed what he preached, and yet preached what was wrong, not through malice or opposition to the Gospel, but through mere ignorance, he shall be saved; God in his mercy will pass by his errors; and he shall not suffer punishment because he was mistaken. Yet, as in most erroneous teachings there is generally a portion of wilful and obstinate ignorance, the salvation of such erroneous teachers is very rare, and is expressed by St. Paul to be “*yet so as by fire,*” *ως δια πυρος*—that is, not without extreme hazard and difficulty, as a man is preserved from the flames of his house when he escapes naked through them, and thus narrowly saves his life though with the loss of all his property. This expression is proverbial concerning persons who escape with great hazard out of imminent danger; and similar expressions are to be found in the Old

Testament, as in Amos iv. 11.* and Zech. iii. 2. and also in the Epistle of Jude v. 23. Now, let this phrase be compared with the Latin words *ambustus* and *semiustus*. Livy, speaking of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, says that he had very narrowly escaped being sentenced to punishment *prope ambustus evaserat*, (Lib. xxii. c. 35.); and again (c. 40.) the consul is represented as saying that he had, in his former consulate, escaped the flames of the popular rage not without being scorched, *se populare incendium semiustum evasisse*†. Here also, though there is no *verbal* resemblance between the expression of Saint Paul and those of the Roman historian, yet the *real* analogy is very striking, and shews that the apostle employed a well known proverbial expression, referring solely to a narrow escape from difficulty, and not, as the Romanists erroneously assert, to the fire of purgatory, a doctrine, which is justly characterized as “a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.”‡

* Grotius, in his note on this passage, has remarked that a similar mode of speaking obtained among the Greeks, *Σωζεσθαι εκ πυρος*, or *εκ φλογος*, but he has not cited any examples. Palaiet cites the following passage from one of the orations of Aristides; who, speaking of Apelles, says, that the God saved him out of the midst of the fire, *ΕΚ ΜΕΣΟΥ ΠΥΡΟΣ τον ανδρα ΣΩΖΕΙΝ*. *Observationes Philologico-Criticæ* in Nov. Test. p. 386. Some additional instances are given in Elsner's *Observationes Sacræ in Novi Fæderis Libros*, vol. ii. p. 78. See Bishop Porteus's *Brief Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome*, pp. 48, 49. 12mo. London, 1796.; and the Bishop of Lincoln's *Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 347—351.; Drs. Whitby, Macknight, and A. Clarke, on 1 Cor. iii.

† Cicero, (*Orat. pro Milone*, c. 5.) has the following passage: “*Declarant hujus ambusti tribuni plebis illæ intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiose criminabatur*,” (tom. vi. p. 91. edit. Bipont.); and, in his second pleading against Verres, the following sentence, which is still more fully in point: “*Sic iste (Verres) multo sceleratior et nequior, quam ille Hadrianus, aliquanto etiam felicior fuit. Ille quodd ejus avaritiam cives Romani ferre non potuerant, Uticæ domi suæ vivus exustus est; idque ita illi merito accidisse existimatum est, ut lætaruntur omnes neque ulla animadversio constitueretur: hic sociorum ambustus incendio, tamen ex illa flamma periculoque evolavit*,” &c. (*Cent. Verr. action ii. lib. i. c. 27. tom. iii. p. 265.*)

‡ Article. xxii. of the Anglican Church. The antisciptural doctrine of purgatory is copiously and ably exposed by Mr. Fletcher in his “*Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion*,” pp. 236—250.

SECTION III.

ON THE ANTIENT VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Importance of versions*; — II. *Of the TARGUMS, or CHALDEE PARAPHRASES*; — 1. *Targum of Onkelos*; — 2. *Of the Pseudo-Jonathan*; — 3. *The Jerusalem Targum*; — 4. *The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel*; — 5. *The Targum on the Hagiographa*; — 6. *The Targum on the Megilloth*; — 7, 8, 9. *Three Targums on the Book of Esther* — *real value of the different Targums*; — III. *Of the Greek versions of the Scriptures* — *history of the SEPTUAGINT* — *Critical account of its execution* — *what MSS. were used by its authors* — *account of the Biblical labours of Origen* — *editions of the Septuagint text by the fathers* — *peculiar importance of the Septuagint version in the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament* — *history of the cardinal editions of the Septuagint*; — IV. *Account of OTHER GREEK VERSIONS of the Old Testament*; — 1. *Version of Aquila*; — 2. *Of Theodotion*; — 3. *Of Symmachus*; — 4, 5, 6. *Anonymous versions* — *references in antient MSS. to other versions*; — V. *SYRIAC VERSIONS*; — *Syriac MSS. brought from India by Dr. Buchanan*; — *editions of the Syriac version*; — VI. *ARABIC VERSIONS, and editions*; — VII. *Notice of the PERSIAN, EGYPTIAN, ETHIOPIC, ARMENIAN, and other versions of the Old Testament*; — VIII. *LATIN VERSIONS of the Scriptures* — *the old Italic or Ante-Hieronymian version* — *Latin version of Jerome* — *Vulgate version and its editions.*

I. **NEXT** to the kindred languages, versions afford the greatest assistance to the interpretation of the scriptures, “It is only by means of versions, that they, who are ignorant of the original languages, can at all learn what the Scripture contains: and every version, so far as it is just, conveys the sense of Scripture to those, who understand the language in which it is written.”

Versions may be divided into two classes, *antient* and *modern*: the former were made immediately from the original languages by persons to whom they were familiar; and who, it may be reasonably supposed, had better opportunities for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, than more recent translators can possibly have. Modern versions are those made in later times, and chiefly since the reformation: they are useful only for explaining the sense of the inspired writers, while antient versions are of the utmost importance both for the criticism

and interpretation of the Scriptures. The present section will therefore be appropriated to giving an account of those which are most esteemed for their antiquity and excellence*.

§ 1. *Antient versions of the Old Testament.*

The principal antient versions, which illustrate the Scriptures, are the Chaldee paraphrases, generally called Targums, the Septuagint, or Alexandrian Greek Version, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodosion, and what are called the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, (of which latter translations fragments only are extant), together with the Syriac, and Latin or Vulgate versions. Although the authors of these versions did not flourish at the time when the Hebrew language was spoken, yet they enjoyed many advantages, for understanding the Bible, especially the Old Testament, which are not possessed by the moderns: for, living near the time when that language was vernacular, they could learn by tradition the true significations of some Hebrew words, which are now forgotten. Many of them also being Jews, and from their childhood accustomed to hear the Rabbins explain the Scriptures, the study of which they diligently cultivated, and likewise speaking a dialect allied to the Hebrew,—they could not but become well acquainted with the latter. Hence it may be safely inferred that the antient versions generally give the true sense of Scripture, and not unfrequently in passages where it could scarcely be discovered by any other means. All the antient versions, indeed, are of great importance both in the criticism, as well as in the interpretation, of the sacred writings, but they are not all witnesses of equal value; for the *authority* of the different versions depends partly on the age and country of their respective authors, partly on the text whence their translations were made, and partly on the ability and fidelity with

* A brief but perspicuous account of modern versions is given by Messrs. Thomson and Orme, in their "Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures, from the earliest Period to the present Time," 8vo. 1815; and also in Mr. Townley's Biblical Anecdotes, 12mo. 1813. The memoirs printed relative to the translations of the Holy Scriptures, executed or in progress by the learned Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, will also supply much interesting information concerning the *modern* Oriental editions and translations of the Bible. But, for *historical and bibliographical* information, Messrs. Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in two vols. 4to. Halæ, 1778—1790, is the best and fullest work that can be consulted, up to the date of its publication. For the English translations of the Scriptures, the reader is referred to Archbishop Newcome's "Historical View of the English Biblical Translations;" to Mr. Johnson's "Historical Account," inserted in vol. iii. of Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, or to Lewis's "History of the English Translation of the Bible," of which very scarce work a new edition has just been published.

which they were executed. It will therefore be not irrelevant to offer a short historical notice of the principal versions above mentioned, as well as of some other antient versions of less celebrity perhaps but which have been beneficially consulted by biblical critics.

II. The Chaldee word תרגום *Targum* signifies, in general, any version or explanation; but this appellation is more particularly restricted to the versions or paraphrases of the Old Testament, executed in the East Aramean or Chaldee dialect, as it is usually called. These targums are termed paraphrases or expositions, because they are rather comments and explications, than literal translations of the text: they are written in the Chaldee tongue which became familiar to the Jews after the time of their captivity in Babylon, and was more known to them than the Hebrew itself: so that, when the law was “read in the synagogue every sabbath day,” in pure biblical Hebrew, an explanation was subjoined to it in Chaldee; in order to render it intelligible to the people, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. This practice, as already observed, originated with Ezra *: as there are no traces of any written targums prior to those of Onkelos and Jonathan, who are *supposed* to have lived about the time of our Saviour, it is highly probable that these paraphrases were at first merely oral; that, subsequently, the ordinary glosses on the more difficult passages were committed to writing; and that as the Jews were bound by an ordinance of their elders to possess a copy of the law, these glosses were either afterwards collected together and deficiencies in them supplied, or new and connected paraphrases were formed. The uniformity of style in the different targums seems to render the latter conjecture most probable.

There are at present extant ten paraphrases on different parts of the Old Testament, three of which comprize the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses:—1. The Targum of Onkelos; 2. That falsely ascribed to Jonathan, and usually cited as the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan; and 3. The Jerusalem Tar-

* See p. 226, 227, *supra*. Our account of the Chaldee paraphrases is drawn up, from a careful consideration of what has been written on them, by Carpzov, in his *Critica Sacra*, part ii. cap. i. pp. 430—481.; Bishop Walton, *Prol. c. 12. sect. ii.* pp. 568—592.; Leusden, in *Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus*. Diss. v. vi. and vii. pp. 36—58.; Dr. Prideaux, *Connection*, part ii. book viii. sub anno 37 B. C. vol. iii. pp. 531—555. (edit. 1718.): Kortholt, *De variis Scripturæ Editionibus*, c. iii. pp. 34—51.; Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacra*, cap. viii. sect. ii. (*Op. tom. ii.* pp. 750—771.), and in his *Treatise De Theologia Judaicâ*, &c. Exercit. ii. (*Ibid. tom. ii.* pp. 862—889.); Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, tract. iii. pp. 288—308.; Rambach, *Inst. Herm. Sacræ*, pp. 606—611.: Pictet, *Theologie Chretienne*, tom. i. pp. 145. *et seq.*; and Jahn, *Introductio ad Libros Veteris Fœderis*, pp. 69—75.

gum; 4. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, (i. e. the son of Uzziel) on the Prophets; 5. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa, 6. An anonymous Targum on the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 7, 8, 9, three Targums on the book of Esther; and 10. A Targum or paraphrase on the two books of Chronicles. These Targums, taken together, form a continued paraphrase on the Old Testament, with the exception of the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (antiently reputed to be part of Ezra); which being for the most part written in Chaldee, it has been conjectured that no paraphrases were written on them, as being unnecessary; though Dr. Prideaux is of opinion that Targums were composed on these books also, which have perished in the lapse of ages.

The language, in which these paraphrases are composed, varies in purity according to the time when they were respectively written. Thus, the Targums of Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan are much purer than the others, approximating very nearly to the Aramæan dialect in which some parts of Daniel and Ezra are written, except indeed that the orthography does not always correspond; while the language of the later Targums, whence the rabbinical dialect derives its source, is far more impure, and is intermixed with barbarous and foreign words. Originally, all the Chaldee paraphrases were written without vowel-points, like all other oriental manuscripts: but at length some persons ventured to add points to them, though very erroneously, and this irregular punctuation was retained in the Venice and other early editions of the Hebrew bible. Some further imperfect attempts towards regular pointing were made both in the Complutensian and in the Antwerp Polyglotts, until at length the elder Buxtorf, in his edition of the Hebrew bible published at Basil, undertook the thankless task * of improving the punctuation of the Targums, according to such rules as he had formed from the pointing which he had found in the Chaldee parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra; and his method of punctuation is followed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

1. *The Targum of Onkelos.*—It is not known with certainty, at what time Onkelos flourished, nor of what nation he was:

* Père Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. liv. ii. c. viii. has censured Buxtorf's mode of pointing the Chaldee paraphrases with great severity; observing, that he would have done much better if he had more diligently examined manuscripts that were more correctly pointed.

Professor Eichhorn conjectures that he was a native of Babylon, first, because he is mentioned in the Babylonish Talmud; secondly, because his dialect is not the Chaldee spoken in Palestine, but much purer, and more closely resembling the style of Daniel and Ezra; and lastly, because he has not interwoven any of those fabulous narratives to which the Jews of Palestine were so much attached, and from which they could with difficulty refrain. The generally received opinion is, that he was a proselyte to Judaism, and a disciple of the celebrated Rabbi Hillel, who flourished about fifty years before the Christian æra; and consequently that Onkelos was contemporary with our Saviour: Bauer and Jahn, however, place him in the second century. The Targum of Onkelos comprises the Pentateuch or five books of Moses, and is justly preferred to all the others both by Jews and Christians, on account of the purity of its style, and its general freedom from idle legends. It is rather a version than a paraphrase, and renders the Hebrew text word for word, with so much accuracy and exactness, that, being set to the same musical notes with the original Hebrew, it could be read in the same tone as the latter in the public assemblies of the Jews. And this we find was the practice of the Jews up to the time of Rabbi Elias Levita; who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and expressly states that the Jews read the law in their synagogues, first in Hebrew and then in the Targum of Onkelos.

2. The second Targum, which is a more liberal paraphrase of the Pentateuch than the preceding, is usually called the *Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan*, being ascribed by many to Jonathan Ben Uzziel who wrote the much esteemed Paraphrase on the Prophets. But the difference in the style and diction of this Targum, which is very impure, as well as in the method of paraphrasing adopted in it, clearly proves that it could not have been written by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who indeed sometimes indulges in allegories and has introduced a few barbarisms; but this Targum on the law abounds with the most idle Jewish legends that can well be conceived; which, together with the barbarous and foreign words it contains, render it of very little utility. From its mentioning the six parts of the *Talmud* (on Exod. xxvi. 9.) which compilation was not written till two centuries after the birth of Christ;—*Constantinople* (on Numb. xxiv. 19.) which city was always called Byzantium until it received its name from Constantine the Great, in the beginning of the fourth century;—the *Lombards* (on Numb. xxiv. 24.) whose first irruption into Italy did not take place until the year 570; and the *Turks*, (on Gen. x. 2.), who did

not become conspicuous till the middle of the sixth century,—learned men are unanimously of opinion that this Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan could not have been written before the seventh, or even the eighth century.

3. The *Jerusalem Targum*, which also paraphrases the five books of Moses, derives its name from the dialect in which it is composed. It is by no means a connected paraphrase, sometimes omitting whole verses, or even chapters; at other times explaining only a single word of a verse, of which it sometimes gives a two-fold interpretation; and at others, Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation whatever. In many respects it corresponds with the paraphrase of the Pseudo-Jonathan, whose legendary tales are here frequently repeated, abridged, or expanded. From the impurity of its style, and the number of Greek, Latin, and Persian words which it contains, Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Wolfius, and many other eminent philologists, are of opinion that it is a compilation by several authors, and consists of extracts and collections. From these internal evidences, the commencement of the seventh century has been assigned as its probable date; but it is more likely not to have been written before the eighth or perhaps the ninth century.

4. The *Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel*.—According to the talmudical traditions, the author of this paraphrase was chief of the eighty distinguished scholars of Rabbi Hillel the elder, and a fellow disciple of Simeon the Just, who bore the infant Messiah in his arms: consequently he would be nearly contemporary with Onkelos. Wolfius*, however, is of opinion that he flourished a short time before the birth of Christ, and compiled the work, which bears his name, from more antient Targums that had been preserved to his time by oral tradition. From the silence of Origen and Jerome concerning this Targum, of which they could not but have availed themselves if it had really existed in their time, and also from its being cited in the Talmud, both Bauer and Jahn date it much later than is generally admitted: the former indeed is of opinion that its true date cannot be ascertained; and the latter, from the inequalities of style and method observable in it, considers it as a compilation from the interpretations of several learned men, made about the close of the third or fourth century. This paraphrase treats on the Prophets, that is (according to the Jewish classification of the sacred writings), on the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 & 2 Sam.

* Bibliotheca Hebraica, tom. ii. p. 1160.

1 & 2 Kings, who are termed the *former* prophets; and on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, who are designated as the *latter* prophets. Though the style of this Targum is not so pure and elegant as that of Onkelos, yet it is not disfigured by those legendary tales and numerous foreign and barbarous words which abound in the later Targums. Both the language and method of interpretation, however, are irregular: in the exposition of the former prophets, the text is more closely rendered, than in that on the latter, which is less accurate, as well as more paraphrastical, and interspersed with some traditions and fabulous legends. In order to attach the greater authority to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Jews, not satisfied with making him contemporary with the prophets Malachi, Zechariah, and Haggai, have related that while Jonathan was composing his paraphrase, there was an earthquake for forty leagues around him; and that if any bird happened to pass over him, or a fly alighted on his paper while writing, they were immediately consumed by fire from heaven, without any injury being sustained either by his person or his paper.

5. The *Targum on the Cetubim, Hagiographa**, or Holy Writings, is ascribed by some Jewish writers to *Raf Jose*, or Rabbi Joseph, surnamed the one-eyed or blind, who is said to have been at the head of the Academy at Sora, in the third century; though others affirm that its author is unknown. The style is barbarous, impure, and very unequal, interspersed with numerous digressions and legendary narratives; on which account the younger Buxtorf, and after him Bauer and Jahn, are of opinion that the whole is a compilation of later times: and this sentiment appears to be the most correct. Dr. Prideaux characterizes its language as the most corrupt Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect.

6. The *Targum on the Megilloth*, or five books of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ruth and Esther, is evidently a compilation by several persons: the barbarism of its style, numerous digressions, and idle legends which are inserted, all concur to prove it to be of late date, and certainly not earlier than the sixth century. The paraphrase on the book of Ruth and the Lamentations of Jeremiah is the best executed portion: Ecclesiastes is more freely para-

* This division of the Jewish writings comprises the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and Esther,

phrased; but the text of the Song of Solomon is absolutely lost amidst the diffuse *circumscription* of its author, and his dull glosses and fabulous additions.

7, 8, 9. *The three Targums on the book of Esther*.—This book has always been held in the highest estimation by the Jews; which circumstance induced them to translate it repeatedly into the Chaldee dialect. Three paraphrases on it have been printed: one in the Antwerp Polyglott, which is much shorter and contains fewer digressions than the others; another, in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, which is more diffuse, and comprises more numerous Jewish fables and traditions; and a third, of which a Latin version was published by Francis Taylor; and which, according to Carpzov, is more stupid and diffuse than either of the preceding. They are all three of very late date.

10. *A Targum on the books of Chronicles*, which for a long time was unknown both to Jews and Christians, was discovered in the library at Erfurt, belonging to the ministers of the Augsburgh confession, by Matthias Frederick Beck; who published it in 1680, 3, 4, in two quarto volumes. Another edition was published at Amsterdam by the learned David Wilkins (1715, 4to.) from a manuscript in the university library at Cambridge. It is more complete than Beck's edition, and supplies many of its deficiencies. This Targum, however, is of very little value: like all the other Chaldee paraphrases, it blends legendary tales with the narrative, and introduces numerous Greek words, such as *οχλος, σοφισται, αρχων, &c.*

Of all the Chaldee paraphrases above noticed, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel are most highly valued by the Jews, who implicitly receive their expositions of doubtful passages. Schickhard, Mayer, Helvicus, Leusden, Hottinger, and Dr. Prideaux, have conjectured that some Chaldee Targum was in use in the synagogue where our Lord read Isa. lxi. 1, 2. (Luke iv. 17, 18.); and that he quoted Psal. xxii. 1. when on the cross (Matt. xxvii. 46.) not out of the Hebrew text, but out of a Chaldee paraphrase. But there does not appear to be sufficient ground for this hypothesis: for, as the Chaldee or East Aramæan dialect was spoken at Jerusalem, it is at least as probable that Jesus Christ interpreted the Hebrew into the vernacular dialect in the first instance; as that he should have read from a Targum; and, when on the cross, it was perfectly natural that he should speak in the same language, rather than in the biblical Hebrew; which, we have already seen, was cultivated and studied by the priests and Levites as a learned language. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the Blind, in which the words cited by our Lord are to be found, is so long *posterior* to the time

of his crucifixion, that it cannot be received as evidence. So numerous indeed are the variations, and so arbitrary are the alterations occurring in the manuscripts of the Chaldee paraphrases, that Dr. Kennicott has clearly proved them to have been designedly altered in compliment to the previously corrupted copies of the Hebrew text; or, in other words, "that alterations have been made wilfully in the Chaldee paraphrase to render that paraphrase, in some places, more conformable to the words of the Hebrew text, where those Hebrew words are supposed to be right but had themselves been corrupted*." But notwithstanding all their deficiencies and interpolations, the Targums, especially those of Onkelos and Jonathan, are of considerable importance in the interpretation of the scriptures, not only as they supply the meanings of words or phrases occurring but once in the Old Testament; but also because they reflect considerable light on the Jewish rites, ceremonies, laws, customs, usages, &c. mentioned or alluded to in both Testaments. But it is in establishing the genuine meaning of particular prophecies relative to the Messiah, in opposition to the false explications of the Jews and Anti-trinitarians, that these Targums are pre-eminently useful. Bishop Walton, Dr. Prideaux, Pfeiffer, Carpzov, and Rambach, have illustrated this remark by numerous examples. Bishop Patrick, and Drs. Gill and Clarke, in their respective commentaries on the Bible, have inserted many valuable elucidations from the Chaldee paraphrasts. Leusden recommends that no one should attempt to read their writings, nor indeed to learn the Chaldee dialect, who is not previously well-grounded in Hebrew: he advises the Chaldee text of Daniel and Ezra to be first read either with his own Chaldee Manual or with Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon; after which the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan may be perused, with the help of Buxtorf's Chaldee and Syriac Lexicon, and of De Lara's work, "*De convenientia vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibusdam aliis linguis Europæis*," (4to. Amsterdam, 1648.)

III. Among the Greek versions of the Old Testament, the ALEXANDRIAN or SEPTUAGINT, as it is generally termed, is the most antient and valuable; and was held in so much esteem both by the Jews as well as by the first Christians, as to be constantly read in the synagogues and churches. Hence it is uniformly cited by the early fathers, whether Greek or Latin, and from this version all the translations into other languages

* Dr. Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 167—193.

which were antiently approved by the christian church were executed, (with the exception of the Syriac), as the Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, Illyrian, and Old Italic or the Latin version in use before the time of Jerome: and to this day the Septuagint is exclusively read in the Greek and most other Oriental churches *. This version has derived its name either from the Jewish account of seventy-two persons having been employed to make it, or from its having received the approbation of the Sanhedrim or great council of the Jews, which consisted of seventy, or, more correctly, of seventy-two persons. Much uncertainty, however, has prevailed concerning the *real* history of this antient version: and while some have strenuously advocated its miraculous and divine origin, other eminent philologists have laboured to prove that it must have been executed by several persons and at different times.

According to one account, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, caused this translation to be made for the use of the library which he had founded at Alexandria, at the request and with the advice of the celebrated Demetrius Phalereus, his principal librarian. For this purpose, it is reported, that he sent Aristeas and Andreas, two distinguished officers of his court to Jerusalem, on an embassy to Eleazar then high priest of the Jews, to request of the latter a copy of the Hebrew scriptures, and that there might also be sent to him seventy-two persons (six chosen out of each of the twelve tribes), who were equally well skilled in the Hebrew and Greek languages. These learned men were accordingly shut up in the island of Pharos; where, having agreed in the translation of each period after a mutual conference, Demetrius wrote down their version as they dictated it to him; and thus, in the space of seventy-two days, the whole was accomplished. This relation is derived from a letter ascribed to Aristeas himself, the authenticity of which has been greatly disputed. If, as there is every reason

* Walton, Prol. c. ix. (pp. 333—469.); from which, and from the following authorities, our account of the Septuagint is derived, viz. Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 243—273. who has chiefly followed Hody's book, hereafter noticed, in the history of the Septuagint version; Dr. Prideaux' *Connection*, part ii. book i. sub anno 277. (vol. ii. pp. 27—49.); Masch's Preface to part ii. of his edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in which the history of the Septuagint version is minutely examined; Morus, in *Ernesti*, vol. ii. pp. 50—81., 101—119; Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 481—551.; Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 216—220., 256—304.; Harle, *Brevior Notitia Litteraturæ Græcæ*, pp. 638—643.; and Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, tom. i. p. 140. See also Origenis *Hexapla*, a Montfaucon, tom. i. Prælim. Diss. pp. 17—35. A full account of the manuscripts and editions of the Greek Scriptures is given in the preface to vol. i. of the edition of the Septuagint commenced by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, of which an account is given in a subsequent page.

to believe is the case, this piece is a forgery, it was made at a very early period: for it was in existence in the time of Josephus, who has made use of it in his Jewish antiquities. The veracity of Aristeas's narrative was not questioned until the seventeenth or eighteenth century; at which time, indeed, biblical criticism was, comparatively, in its infancy. Vives*, Scaliger†, Van Dale‡, Dr. Prideaux, and above all Dr. Hody§, were the principal writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who attacked the genuineness of the pretended narrative of Aristeas; and though it was ably vindicated by Bishop Walton**, Isaac Vossius††, Whiston‡‡, Brett§§, and other modern writers, the majority of the learned of our own time are fully agreed in considering it as fictitious.

Philo the Jew, who also notices the Septuagint version, was ignorant of most of the circumstances related by Aristeas; but he relates others which appear not less extraordinary. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Palestine for some learned Jews, whose number he does not specify: and these going over to the island of Pharos, there executed so many distinct versions, all of which so *exactly and uniformly* agreed in sense, phrases, and words, as proved them to have been not common interpreters; but men prophetically inspired and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them by the Spirit of God throughout the entire translation. He adds that an annual festival was celebrated by the Alexandrian Jews in the isle of Pharos, where the version was made, until his time, to preserve the memory of it, and to thank God for so great a benefit. |||

Justin Martyr, who flourished in the middle of the second century about one hundred years after Philo, relates (a) a similar story, with the addition of the seventy interpreters being shut up each in his own separate cell (which had been erected for that purpose by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus); and that here they composed so many distinct versions, word for word, in the

* In a note on Augustine de Civitate Dei, lib. viii. c. 42.

† In a note on Eusebius's Chronicle, no. MDCCXXXIV.

‡ Dissertatio super Aristeâ, de LXX interpretibus, &c. Amst. 1705. 4to.

§ De Bibliorum Græcorum Textibus Versionibus Græcis et Latinâ Vulgatâ, libri iv. cui præmittitur Aristeæ Historia, folio, Oxon. 1705.

** Prol. c. ix. § 3—10. pp. 338—359.

†† De LXX Interpretibus, Hag. Com. 1661., 4to.

‡‡ In the Appendix to his work on "The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies," London, 1724, 8vo.

§§ Dissertation on the Septuagint, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. p. 20. *et seq.*

||| De Vita Mosis, lib. ii.

(a) Cohort. ad Gentes.

very same expressions, to the great admiration of the king; who, not doubting that this version was divinely inspired, loaded the interpreters with honours, and dismissed them to their own country, with magnificent presents. The good father adds, that the ruins of these cells were visible in his time. But this narrative of Justin's is directly at variance with several circumstances recorded by Aristeas; such, for instance, as the previous conference or deliberation of the translators, and above all the very important point of the version being dictated to Demetrius Phalereus. Epiphanius, a writer of the fourth century, attempts to harmonize all these accounts by shutting up the translators two and two, in thirty-six cells, where they might consider or deliberate, and by stationing a copyist in each cell, to whom the translators dictated their labours: the result of all which was, the production of thirty-six inspired versions, agreeing most uniformly together.

It is not a little remarkable that the Samaritans have traditions in favour of their version of the Pentateuch, equally extravagant with those preserved by the Jews. In the Samaritan Chronicle of Abul Phatach, which was compiled in the fourteenth century from antient and modern authors both Hebrew and Arabic, there is a story to the following effect:—That Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the tenth year of his reign, directed his attention to the difference subsisting between the Samaritans and Jews, concerning the law; the former receiving only the Pentateuch, and rejecting every other work ascribed to the prophets by the Jews. In order to determine this difference, he commanded the two nations to send deputies to Alexandria. The Jews entrusted this mission to *Osar*, the Samaritans to *Aaron*, to whom several other associates were added. Separate apartments in a particular quarter of Alexandria, were assigned to each of these strangers; who were prohibited from having any personal intercourse, and each of them had a Greek scribe to write his version. Thus were the law and other Scriptures translated by the Samaritans; whose version being most carefully examined, the king was convinced that their text was more complete than that of the Jews. Such is the narrative of Abul Phatach, divested however of numerous marvellous circumstances, with which it has been decorated by the Samaritans; who are not surpassed even by the Jews in their partiality for idle legends.

A fact, buried under such a mass of fables as the translation of the Septuagint has been by the historians, who have pretended to record it, necessarily loses all its historical character, which indeed we are fully justified in disregarding altogether;

although there is no doubt but that some truth is concealed under this load of fables, yet it is by no means an easy task to discern the truth from what is false: the following however is the result of our researches concerning this celebrated version.

It is probable that the seventy interpreters, as they are called, executed their version of the Pentateuch during the joint reigns of Ptolemy Lagus, and his son Philadelphus. The Pseudo-Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, and many other writers, whom it were tedious to enumerate, relate that this version was made during the reign of Ptolemy II. or Philadelphus: Joseph Ben Gorion, however, among the Rabbins, Theodoret, and many other Christian writers, refer its date to the time of Ptolemy Lagus. Now these two traditions can be reconciled only by supposing the version to have been performed during the two years when Ptolemy Philadelphus shared the throne with his father; which date coincides with the third and fourth years of the hundred and twenty-third olympiad, that is about the years 286 and 285, before the vulgar Christian æra. Further, this version was made neither by the command of Ptolemy, nor at the request nor under the superintendence of Demetrius Phalereus; but was voluntarily undertaken by the Jews for the use of their countrymen. It is well known, that, at the period above noticed, there was a great multitude of Jews settled in Egypt, particularly at Alexandria: these, being most strictly observant of the religious institutions and usages of their forefathers, had their Sanhedrim, or grand council composed of seventy or seventy-two members, and very numerous synagogues, in which the law was read to them, on every sabbath; and as the bulk of the common people were no longer acquainted with biblical Hebrew, (the Greek language alone being used in their ordinary intercourse), it became necessary to translate the Pentateuch into Greek for their use. This is a far more probable account of the origin of the Alexandrian version than the traditions above stated. If this translation had been made by public authority, it would unquestionably have been performed under the direction of the Sanhedrim; who would have examined and perhaps corrected it, if it had been the work of a single individual, previously to giving it the stamp of their approbation, and introducing it into the synagogues. In either case the translation would, probably, be denominated the Septuagint, because the Sanhedrim was composed of seventy or seventy-two members. It is even possible that the Sanhedrim, in order to ascertain the fidelity of the work, might have sent to Palestine for some learned men, of whose assistance and advice they would have availed them-

selves in examining the version. This fact, if it could be proved, (for it is offered as a mere conjecture), would account for the story of the king of Egypt's sending an embassy to Jerusalem: there is, however, one circumstance which proves that, in executing this translation, the synagogues were originally in contemplation, viz. that all the antient writers unanimously concur in saying that the Pentateuch was the first translated. The five books of Moses, indeed, were the only books read in the synagogues until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria: who having forbidden that practice in Palestine, the Jews evaded his commands by substituting for the Pentateuch the reading of the prophetic books. When, afterwards, the Jews were delivered from the tyranny of the kings of Syria, they read the law and the prophets alternately in the synagogues: and the same custom was adopted by the Hellenistic or Græcising Jews.

But, whatever was the real number of the authors of the version, their introduction of coptic words (such as *οιφι*, *αχι*, *ρεμφαν*, &c.) as well as their rendering of ideas purely Hebrew altogether in the Egyptian manner, clearly prove that they were natives of Egypt. Thus, they express the creation of the world, not by the proper Greek word *κτισις*, but *τενεσις*, a term employed by the philosophers of Alexandria to express the origin of the universe. The Hebrew word *Thummim*, (Exod. xxviii. 30.) which signifies perfections, they render *αληθεια*, *truth**. The difference of style also indicates the version to have been the work not of one but of several translators, and to have been executed at different times. The best qualified and most able among them was the translator of the Pentateuch, who was evidently master of both of Greek and Hebrew: he has religiously followed the Hebrew text, and has in various instances introduced the most suitable and best chosen expressions. From the very close resemblance subsisting between the text of the Greek version and the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Louis De Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hassencamp, and Bauer, are of opinion that the author of the Alexandrian version made it from the Samaritan Pentateuch. And in proportion as these two correspond, the Greek differs

* The reason of this appears from Diodorus Siculus, who informs us that the president of the Egyptian courts of justice wore round his neck a golden chain, at which was suspended an image set round with precious stones, which was called *TRUTH*, *ὁ προσηγορευον Αληθειαν*, lib. i. c. 75. tom. i. p. 225. (edit. Bipont.) Bauer, (Crit. Sacr. pp. 244, 245.) and Morus, (Acroases in Ernesti, tom. ii. pp. 67—81.) have given several examples, proving from internal evidence that the authors of the Septuagint version were Egyptians.

from the Hebrew. This opinion is further supported by the declarations of Origen and Jerome, that the translator found the venerable name of Jehovah not in the letters in common use, but in very antient characters; and also by the fact that those consonants in the Septuagint are frequently confounded together, the shapes of which are similar in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew alphabet. This hypothesis, however ingenious and plausible, is by no means determinate: and what militates most against it is, the inveterate enmity subsisting between the Jews and Samaritans, added to the constant and unvarying testimony of antiquity that the Greek version of the Pentateuch was executed by Jews. There is no other way by which to reconcile these conflicting opinions, than by supposing either that the MS. used by the Egyptian Jews approximated towards the letters and text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or that the translators of the Septuagint made use of manuscripts written in antient characters.

Next to the Pentateuch, for ability and fidelity of execution, ranks the translation of the book of Proverbs, the author of which was well skilled in the two languages: Michaelis is of opinion that, of all the books of the Septuagint, the style of the Proverbs is the best, the translator having clothed the most ingenious thoughts in as neat and elegant language as was ever used by a Pythagorean sage, to express his philosophic maxims*. The translator of the book of Job being acquainted with the Greek poets, his style is more elegant and studied: but he was not sufficiently master of the Hebrew language and literature, and consequently his version is very often erroneous. Many of the historical passages are interpolated; and in the poetical parts there are several passages wanting: Jerome, in his preface to the book of Job, specifies as many as seventy or eighty verses. These omissions were supplied by Origen from Theodotion's translation. The book of Joshua could not have been translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy Lagus: for, in chapter viii. verse 18. the translator has introduced the word *γαισος*, a word of Gallic origin, denoting a short dart or javelin peculiar to the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece in the third year of the 125th olympiad, or B. C. 278; and it was not till some time after that event that the Egyptian Kings took Gallic mercenaries into their pay and service.

During the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, the book of Esther, together with the Psalms and Prophets, was trans-

* Michaelis, *Introd. to New Test.* vol. i. p. 113.

lated. The subscription annexed to the version of Esther expressly states it to have been finished on the fourth year of that sovereign's reign, or about the year 177 before the Christian æra: the Psalms and Prophets, in all probability, were translated still later, because, as we have already seen*, the Jews did not begin to read them in their synagogues till about the year 170 before Christ. The Psalms and Prophets were translated by men every way unequal to the task: Jeremiah is the best executed among the prophets; and next to this book Amos and Ezekiel are placed: the important prophecies of Isaiah were translated, according to bishop Lowth, upwards of one hundred years after the Pentateuch, and by a person by no means adequate to the undertaking; there being hardly any book of the Old Testament so ill-rendered in the Septuagint as this of Isaiah; and so very erroneous was the version of Daniel, that it was totally rejected by the antient church, and Theodotion's translation was substituted for it. Some fragments of the Septuagint version of Daniel, which for a long time was supposed to have been lost, were discovered and published nearly fifty years since, from which it appears that its author had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language.†

No date has been assigned for the translation of the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, which appear to have been executed by one and the same author; who, though he does not make use of so many Hebraisms as the translators of the other books, is yet not without his peculiarities.

Before we conclude the history of the Septuagint version, it may not be irrelevant briefly to notice a question which has greatly exercised the ingenuity of biblical philologists, viz. from what manuscripts did the seventy interpreters execute their translation. Professor Tychsen ‡ has started an hypothesis that they did not translate the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek, but that it had been transcribed in Hebræo-Greek characters, and that from this transcript their version was made: this hypothesis has been examined by several German critics, and by none with more acumen than by Dathe, in the preface to

* See p. 267. *supra*.

† The title of this publication is, *Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex Tetraplis Origenis nunc primum editus e singulari codice Chisiano annorum supra 1500*, folio, Romæ, 1772. For an account of this publication, and its several reprints, see Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by Masch and Boerner, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 320—322.

‡ Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus. Rostock, 1772, 8vo. pp. 48—64, 81—124.

his Latin version of the minor prophets*: but as the arguments are not of a nature to admit of abridgement, this notice may perhaps suffice. The late eminently learned Bishop Horsley doubts whether the manuscripts from which the Septuagint version was made, would (if now extant) be entitled to the same degree of credit as our modern Hebrew text, notwithstanding their comparatively high antiquity. "There is," he observes, "certainly much reason to believe, that after the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps from a somewhat earlier period, the Hebrew text was in a much worse state of corruption in the copies which were in private hands, than it has ever been since the revision of the sacred books by Ezra. These inaccurate copies would be multiplied during the whole period of the captivity, and widely scattered in Assyria, Persia, and Egypt; in short, through all the regions of the dispersion. The text, as revised by Ezra, was certainly of much higher credit than any of these copies, notwithstanding their greater antiquity. His edition succeeded, as it were, to the privileges of an autograph, (the autographs of the inspired writers themselves being totally lost), and was henceforth to be considered as the only source of authentic text: insomuch that the comparative merit of any text now extant will depend upon the probable degree of its approximation to, or distance from, the Esdrine edition. Nay, if the translation of the LXX. was made from some of those old manuscripts which the dispersed Jews had carried into Egypt, or from any other of those unauthenticated copies, (which is the prevailing tradition among the Jews and is very probable, at least it cannot be confuted); it will be likely that the faultiest manuscript now extant differs less from the genuine Esdrine text, than those more antient, which the version of the LXX. represents. But, much as this consideration lowers the credit of the LXX. separately, for any various reading it adds great weight to the consent of the LXX. with later versions, and greater still to the consent of the old versions with manuscripts of the Hebrew, which still survive. And, as it is certainly possible that a true reading may be preserved in one solitary manuscript, it will follow, that a true reading may be preserved in one version: for the manuscript which contained the true reading at the time when the version was made, may have perished since; so that no evidence of the reading shall now remain, but the version."†

* Published at Halle, in 1790, in 8vo.

† Bishop Horsley's Translation of Hosea, Pref. p. xxxvi., xxxvii. 2d edit.

The Septuagint version, though originally made for the use of the Egyptian Jews, gradually acquired the highest authority among the Jews of Palestine, who were acquainted with the Greek language, and subsequently also among Christians: it appears indeed, that the legend above confuted of the translators having been divinely inspired, was invented in order that the LXX. might be held in the greater estimation. Philo the Jew, a native of Egypt, has evidently followed it in his allegorical expositions of the Mosaic Law: and, though Dr. Hody was of opinion that Josephus, who was a native of Palestine, corroborated his work on Jewish Antiquities from the Hebrew text, yet Salmasius, Bochart, Bauer, and others, have shewn that he has adhered to the Septuagint throughout that work. How extensively this version was in use among the Jews, appears from the solemn sanction given to it by the inspired writers of the New Testament, who have in very many passages quoted the Greek version of the Old Testament*. Their example was followed by the earlier fathers and doctors of the church, who, with the exception of Origen and Jerome, were unacquainted with Hebrew: “notwithstanding their zeal for the word of God, they did not exert themselves to learn the original language of the sacred writings, but acquiesced in the Greek representation of them; judging it, no doubt, to be fully sufficient for all the purposes of their pious labours. The Greek scriptures were the only scriptures known to or valued by the Greeks. This was the text, commented by Chrysostom and Theodoret; it was this which furnished topics to Athanasius, Nazianzen, and Basil. From this fountain the stream was derived to the Latin church, first by the Italic or Vulgate translation of the scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint, and not from the Hebrew; and secondly, by the study of the Greek fathers. It was by this borrowed light, that the Latin fathers illuminated the western hemisphere: and, when the age of Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, successively passed away, this was the light put into the hands of the next dynasty of theologians, the schoolmen, who carried on the work of theological disquisition by the aid of this luminary and none other. So that, either in Greek or in Latin, it was still the Septuagint scriptures that were read, explained, and quoted as authority, for a period of fifteen hundred years.”†

* On the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, see chap. vi. sect. i. § 2. *infra*.

† Reeves's Collation of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Psalms, pp. 18, 21.

The Septuagint version retained its authority, even with the rulers of the Jewish synagogue, until the commencement of the first century after Christ: when the Jews, being unable to resist the arguments from prophecy which were urged against them by the Christians, in order to deprive them of the benefit of that authority, began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew text. Further to discredit the character of the Septuagint, the Jews instituted a solemn fast, on the 8th day of the month Thebet—(December), to execrate the memory of its having been made. Not satisfied with this measure, we are assured by Justin Martyr who lived in the former part of the second century that they proceeded to expunge several passages out of the Septuagint; and abandoning this, adopted the version of Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus; this is the translation mentioned in the Talmud, and not the Septuagint, with which it has been confounded. *

The great use, however, which had been made by the Jews previously to their rejection of the Septuagint, and the constant use of it by the Christians, would naturally cause a multiplication of copies; in which, besides the alterations designedly made by the Jews, numerous errors became introduced, in the course of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of transcribers, and from glosses or marginal notes, which had been added for the explanation of difficult words, being suffered to creep into the text. In order to remedy this growing evil, Origen, in the early part of the third century, undertook the laborious task of collating the Greek text then in use with the original Hebrew and with the other translations then in existence, and from the whole to produce a new *recension* or revision. Twenty-eight years were devoted to the preparation of this arduous work, in the course of which he collected manuscripts from every possible quarter, aided (it is said) by the pecuniary liberality of Ambrose, an opulent man, whom he had converted from the Valentinian heresy, and with the assistance of seven copyists and as many persons skilled in calligraphy or the art of beautiful writing. Origen commenced his labour at Cæsarea, A. D. 231; and, it appears, finished his Polyglott at Tyre, but in what year is not precisely known.

This noble critical work is designated by various names among antient writers; as *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*. The Tetrapla, contained the four Greek versions

* Prideaux, Connection, vol. ii. p. 50. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. p. 806, 807.

of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, disposed in four columns*: to these he added two columns more, containing the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek letters; these six columns, according to Epiphanius, formed the Hexapla. Having subsequently discovered two other Greek versions of *some parts* of the Scriptures, usually called the fifth and sixth, he added them to the preceding, inserting them in their respective places, and thus composed the Octapla; and a separate translation of the Psalms, usually called the seventh version, being afterwards added, the entire work has by some been termed the Enneapla. This appellation, however, was never generally adopted. But, as the two editions made by Origen generally bore the name of the Tetrapla and Hexapla, Dr. Grabe (editor of a splendid edition of the Septuagint, noticed in a subsequent page) thinks that they were thus called, not from the number of the columns, but of the versions, which were six, the seventh containing the Psalms only†. Bauer, after Montfaucon, is of opinion, that Origen edited only the Tetrapla and Hexapla; and this appears to be the real fact. The following specimens from Montfaucon will convey an idea of the construction of these two laborious works.†

TETRAPLA.

Gen. i. 1.

ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	ΟΙ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
Εν κεφαλαιῳ ἐκτίσεν ὁ Θεὸς συν τὸν ὕδαν καὶ συν τὴν γῆν.	Εν ἀρχῇ ἐκτίσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ὕδαν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Εν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ὕδαν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Εν ἀρχῇ ἐκτίσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ὕδαν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

In this specimen the version of Aquila holds the first place; the second is occupied by that of Symmachus; the third by the Septuagint, and the fourth by Theodotion's translation.

* The late Rev. Dr. Holmes, who commenced the splendid edition of the Septuagint noticed in a following page, was of opinion that the first column of the Tetrapla contained the *Koinē*, or Septuagint text commonly in use, collated with Hebrew manuscripts by Origen, and that the other three columns were occupied by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

† Dr. Holmes thinks that the text of the Septuagint in the Hexapla was not the *Koinē* as then in use, but as corrected in the Tetrapla, and perhaps improved by further collations.

‡ Origenis Hexapla, Præl. Diss. tom. i. p. 16.

HEXAPLA.

Hos. ii. 1.

Τὸ ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ἙΛΛΗ- ΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
כִּי נָעַר, וְשָׂרָא וְאֵהָבָהּ וּמִצְדִּים קִרְאָתִי לְבָנִי	χι νερ Ισραηλ σεαδης εμεμμεσραιμ καραδι λεβανι.	ὅτι παις Ισραηλ, και ηγαπησα αυτον, και απο Αιγυπτου εκαλεσα τον υιον μου.	ὅτι παις Ισραηλ, και ηγαπημενος, εξ Αι- γυπτου κεκληται υιος μου.	ὅτι νηπιος Ισραηλ, και εγω ηγαπησα αυτον, και εξ Αιγυπτου κε- κληται υιος μου.	ὅτι νηπιος Ισραηλ, και ηγαπησα αυτον, και εκαλεσα υιον μου εξ Αιγυπτου.

In the preceding specimen the first column contains the Hebrew in its proper characters; in the second column it is given in Greek characters, and is further valuable as exhibiting the mode of pronouncing Hebrew in the latter part of the second and the former part of the third century. The versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, follow in the same order as in the specimen of the Tetrapla. When the fifth and sixth versions were added, the page consisted of eight columns, the fifth being denoted by E, and the sixth by ς; and when the seventh version was added, (which was designated by Z), it comprized nine columns.

The original Hebrew being considered as the basis of the whole work, the proximity of each translation to the text, in point of closeness and fidelity, determined its rank in the order of the columns: thus Aquila's version, being the most faithful, is placed next to the sacred text; that of Symmachus occupies the fourth column; the Septuagint, the fifth; and Theodotion's, the sixth. The other three anonymous translations, not containing the entire books of the Old Testament, were placed in the three last columns of the Enneapla, according to the order of time in which they were discovered by Origen. Where the same words occurred in all the other Greek versions, without being particularly specified, Origen designated them by Λ or $\Lambda\Omega$, $\Lambda\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\iota$, the rest;— $\omicron$, Γ , or the three, denoted Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion;— $\omicron$, Δ , or the four, signified Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and Π , $\Pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, all the interpreters.

The object of Origen being to correct the differences found in the then existing copies of the Old Testament, he carefully noted the alterations made by him; and, for the information of those who might consult his work, he made use of the following marks.

1. Where any passages appeared in the Septuagint, that were not found in the Hebrew, he designated them by an *obelus* $\div$ with two bold points $\cdot$ annexed. This mark was also used to denote words not extant in the Hebrew, but added by the Septuagint translators, either for the sake of elegance, or for the purpose of illustrating the sense.

2. To passages, wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, and supplied by himself from the other Greek version, he prefixed an asterisk $\times$ with two bold points also annexed $\cdot$, in order that his additions might be immediately perceived. These supplementary passages, we are informed by Jerome, were for the most part taken from Theodotion's translation; not unfrequently from that of Aquila; sometimes, though not rarely, from the version of Symmachus; and sometimes from two or three together. But, in every case, the initial letter of each translator's name was placed immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence such supplementary passage was taken. And in lieu of the very erroneous Septuagint version of Daniel, Theodotion's translation of that book was inserted entire.

3. Further, not only the passages wanting in the Septuagint were supplied by Origen with the asterisks, as above noticed; but also where that version does not appear accurately to express the Hebrew original, having noted the former

reading with an obelus ÷—, he added the correct rendering from one of the other translators, with an asterisk subjoined. Concerning the shape and uses of the *lemniscus* and *hypolemniscus*, two other marks used by Origen, there is so great a difference of opinion among learned men, that it is difficult to determine what they were. *

In the Pentateuch, Origen compared the Samaritan text with the Hebrew as received by the Jews, and noted their differences. To each of the translations inserted in his Hexapla was prefixed an account of the author; each had its separate prolegomena; and the ample margins were filled with notes. A few fragments of these prolegomena and marginal annotations have been preserved; but nothing remains of his history of the Greek versions. †

Since Origen's time, biblical critics have distinguished two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint—the *Koinē* or common text, with all its errors and imperfections, as it existed previously to his collation; and the Hexaplar text, or that corrected by Origen himself. For nearly fifty years was this great man's stupendous work buried in a corner of the city of Tyre, probably on account of the very great expense of transcribing forty or fifty volumes, which far exceeded the means of private individuals: and here, perhaps, it might have perished in oblivion, if Eusebius and Pamphilus had not discovered it, and deposited it in the library of Pamphilus the martyr at Cæsarea, where Jerome saw it about the middle of the fourth century. As we have no account whatever of Origen's autograph, after this time, it is most probable that it perished in the year 653, on the capture of that city by the Arabs: and a few imperfect fragments, collected from MSS. of the Septuagint and the Catenæ of the Greek fathers, are all that now remain of a work; which, in the present improved state of sacred literature, would most eminently have assisted in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament.

* Montfaucon, Prælim. ad Hexapla, tom. i. pp. 36—42.

† The best edition, unhappily very rare, of the remains of Origen's Hexapla, is that of Montfaucon, in two volumes folio, Paris, 1713. The first volume contains a very valuable preliminary disquisition on the Hebrew text and different antient Greek versions, of which we have liberally availed ourselves in the preceding and following pages, together with a minute account of Origen's biblical labours, and some inedited fragments of Origen, &c. To these succeed the remains of the Hexapla, from Genesis to the Book of Psalms inclusive. The second volume comprizes the rest of the Hexapla to the end of the twelve minor prophets, together with Greek and Hebrew Lexicons to the Hexapla. These fragments of Origen's great work were reprinted in two vols. 8vo. (Lipsiæ 1769), by C. F. Bahrdrf; whose edition has been most severely criticised by Fischer in his *Prolusiones de Versionibus Græcis Librorum V. T. Litterarum Hebr. Magistris*, p. 34, note. (Lipsiæ, 1772, 8vo); it is now but little valued.

As the Septuagint version had been read in the church from the commencement of Christianity, so it continued to be used in most of the *Greek* churches: and the text, as corrected by Origen, was transcribed for their use, together with his critical marks. Hence, in the progress of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of copyists, numerous errors were introduced into this version, which rendered a new revisal necessary: and, as *all* the Greek churches did not receive Origen's biblical labours with equal deference, three principal recensions were undertaken nearly at the same time, of which we are now to offer a brief notice.

The first was the edition, undertaken by Eusebius and Pamphilus about the year 300, from the Hexaplar text, with the whole of Origen's critical marks: it was not only adopted by the churches of Palestine, but was also deposited in almost every library. By frequent transcriptions, however, Origen's marks or notes became, in the course of a few years, so much changed as to be of little use, and were finally omitted: this omission only augmented the evil, since even in the time of Jerome it was no longer possible to know what belonged to the translators, or what were Origen's own corrections; and now it may almost be considered as a hopeless task to distinguish between them. Contemporary with the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus was the recension of the *Κοινή*, or vulgate text of the Septuagint, conducted by Lucian, a presbyter of the church at Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 311. He took the Hebrew text for the basis of his edition, which was received in all the eastern churches from Constantinople to Antioch. While Lucian was prosecuting his biblical labours, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a similar work, which was generally received in the churches of Egypt. He is supposed to have introduced fewer alterations than Lucian; and his edition is cited by Jerome as the *Exemplar Alexandrinum*. Syncellus* mentions another revisal of the Septuagint text by Basil bishop of Cæsarea: but this, we have every reason to believe, has long since perished. All the manuscripts of the Septuagint now extant, as well as the printed editions, are derived from the three recensions above mentioned; although biblical critics are by no means agreed what particular recension each MS. has followed.

The importance of the Septuagint version for the right understanding of the sacred text has been variously estimated by dif-

* Chronographia ab Adamo usque ad Dioclesianum, p. 203.

ferent learned men: while some have elevated it to an equality with the original Hebrew, others have rated it far below its real value. The great authority which it formerly enjoyed*, certainly gives it a claim to a high degree of consideration. It was executed long before the Jews were prejudiced against Jesus Christ as the Messiah; and it was the means of preparing the world at large for his appearance, by making known the types and prophecies concerning him. With all its faults and imperfections, therefore, this version is of more use in correcting the Hebrew text than any other that is extant; because its authors had better opportunities of knowing the propriety and extent of the Hebrew language, than we can possibly have at this distance of time. The Septuagint, likewise, being written in the same dialect as the New Testament, (the formation of whose style was influenced by it), it becomes a very important source of interpretation: for not only does it frequently serve to determine the genuine reading, but also to ascertain the meaning of particular idiomatic expressions and passages in the New Testament, the true import of which could not be known but from their use in the Septuagint. Grotius, Keuchenius, Biel, and Schleusner are the critics who have most successfully applied this version to the interpretation of the New Testament.

Much of the assistance, however, that is to be derived from the Septuagint, depends on the correctness of the editions we consult, and the excellence of the manuscripts from which these were printed: it will therefore not be irrelevant to notice the principal impressions of this valuable translation of the Old Testament.

All the printed editions of the Septuagint follow the four cardinal editions of Alcala, Aldus, Pope Sixtus V., and Dr. Grabe.

I. *The text of Alcala*, or the Complutensian Text, as it is sometimes called, was first printed in the splendid Polyglott Bible published at Alcala (*Complutum*), between the years 1514 and 1517, at the expense of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes. This text was composed after several manuscripts which the editors neglected to describe: they have frequently been charged with having altered the Greek text, to make it harmonize with the Hebrew, or rather with the vulgate version†. The text of this edition was adopted, 1. In the *Poly-*

* See pp. 271, 272, *supra*.

† For a full account of the Complutensian Polyglott see vol. ii. Appendix, No. V.

glott, printed at Antwerp, 1569—1572, in 8 vols. folio; 2. In the *Biblia Hebræo-Græco-Latina*, printed by Commelin at Heidelberg in 1586, in three volumes folio, and reprinted at the same place in 1599 and 1616; 3. In the *Opus Quadripartitum*, or Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, edited by David Wolter at Hamburg in 1596, folio; 4. In Elias Hutter's *partial Polyglott*, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Latin, German, and French, printed at Nurembergh in 1599, folio; and, 5. In the *Paris Polyglott*, folio, 1629—1645, in ten volumes folio.

II. The *Aldine text* appeared in 1518, two years after the death of Aldus Manutius: the edition was executed under the care of his father-in-law, Andreas Asulanus, at Venice, 1518, folio. The text was compiled from numerous antient MSS. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that in many instances it follows the readings of Aquila's version, instead of those of the Septuagint. The Aldine text, however, is much purer than that in the Complutensian Polyglott, to which it is actually prior in point of time: for though the Polyglott bears date 1514—1517, it was not published until the year 1522. The Aldine text was reprinted in the editions of the Greek Bible printed at Strasburgh, 1526, 8vo.; Basle, 1545, folio, and 1550, folio; and at Frankfort, 1597, folio.

III. The *Roman or Vatican text* was published in 1587, in folio, by order of Pope Sixtus V. The celebrated *Codex Vaticanus* * was the basis of this edition; but the editors, Cardinal Antonio Carafa, Antonio Agelli, Peter Morin, Fulvio Ursino, Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal Sirlet and others, have not exclusively adhered to that MS., having changed both the orthography and readings whenever these appeared to them to be faulty. Such is the opinion of Drs. Hody and Grabe, Eichorn, Morus, and other eminent critics; though the late Dr. Holmes has contended that the text of the Roman edition was printed from one single MS. which was exclusively followed throughout. The text of this edition was reprinted, 1. In Bishop Walton's Polyglott, London, 1657, in 6 vols. folio. 2. In the London edition, 1653, 4to or 8vo. 3. In the Cambridge edition, in 1665, 8vo, with a learned preface by Bishop Pearson, pointing out the various uses of the Septuagint. 4. In the Amsterdam edition, superintended by Leusden, which does not contain the Apocrypha, and abounds with typographical errors. 5. In the Leipsic edition, 1697, 8vo, with an elaborate preface

* For an account of the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. see vol. ii. Appendix, No. IV.

by Frickius. 6. In that published by Lambert Bos at Franeker, 1709, 4to, which contains various readings: the text of Bos has been adopted in the Oxford edition of the Septuagint printed in 1805, (including the Apocrypha), in 4 vols. 8vo. 7. In that of David Mill, Amsterdam, 1725, in 2 vols. 8vo. 8. In Reineccius's edition, Halle, 1730, (reprinted in 1737), 8vo, which is enriched with various lections from the Alexandrian Codex, as well as the Complutensian and Aldine editions; and, 9. At Oxford, in 1817, in six vols. 8vo, with various readings from the Alexandrian MS.; to which is prefixed a valuable introduction extracted from J. B. Carpzov's *Critica Sacra*.

IV. The Alexandrian text was printed at Oxford, from the Alexandrian MS. now deposited in the British Museum, in 4 vols. folio, and 8 vols. 8vo.; the first and fourth were edited by Dr. Grabe: in 1707 and 1709; the second in 1719, by Dr. Francis Lee; and the third in 1720, under the care of an unknown editor. Each volume is furnished with prolegomena. Where the Alexandrian MS. was perfect, Grabe and his continuators profess to have followed it; but, where it was defective and incorrect, the passages supplied, and corrected readings, are inserted in the context, the erroneous lections being inserted in the margin. Grabe's text was accurately and beautifully reprinted by Breitinger in 4 volumes, 4to, at Zurich (Tiguri) 1730—1733, with the various readings of the Vatican MS. at the foot of each page. Michaelis pronounces it to be the best edition of the Septuagint. This text was also adopted by Reineccius in his *Biblia Quadrilingua*, printed at Leipsic 1713—1750, in three volumes folio.

A fifth cardinal or principal edition of the Septuagint (for such it may justly be deemed when completed) is that commenced by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, Dean of Winchester; who, in the year 1788, circulated in the University of Oxford proposals for collating all the manuscripts of the Septuagint version known to be extant. These being liberally supported by public and private patrons, Dr. H. published annual accounts of his collations, which amounted to sixteen in number up to the time of his decease. In 1795 he published, in folio, two Latin epistles to the Bishop of Durham, containing specimens of his proposed work; and in 1798 appeared the first part of vol. i. containing the Book of Genesis: part ii. comprizing Exodus and Leviticus, was published in 1801; and the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, which complete the first volume, in 1804. The title is, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum, cum variis lectionibus, edidit Robertus Holmes, D.D. Decanus Wintoniensis*:

E Typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCXCVIII. A general preface, in four chapters, discusses the history of the *Koinē*, or common text of the Septuagint version, and its various corrections; describes the MS. consulted for this edition, (eleven of which were written in uncial letters, and upwards of one hundred in small letters), and gives an account of the printed editions of the LXX. of the Fathers, and of the several antient versions whence various readings in the Pentateuch have been extracted. Each of the five books of Moses is furnished with a short preface and an appendix; and at the end of the volume are eleven pages of *addenda et emendanda*. Dr. Holmes also published the Book of Daniel according to the text of Theodotion and the Septuagint, in the same manner as the Pentateuch. The text is printed on a strong and beautiful type, after the Sixtine or Roman edition of 1587: and the deviations from it, which are observable in the Complutensian and Aldine editions, and in that of Dr. Grabe, are constantly noted. The various lections are exhibited at the foot of the page. On the death of the learned editor, Dr. Holmes, in 1805, after a considerable but unavoidable delay, the publication of this important work was resumed by the Rev. J. Parsons, A. M. under whose editorial care seven parts of volume ii. have appeared; containing the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four Books of Kings, (i. e. 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings), and the First Book of Chronicles. The continuation is executed in the same splendid and accurate manner as the Pentateuch*.

IV. The importance of the Septuagint, in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament†, will justify the length of the preceding account of that celebrated version: it now remains that we briefly notice the other antient Greek translations, which have already been incidentally mentioned; viz. those of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the three anonymous versions, usually cited

* "The *plan* of this edition is good: it is that which had been already applied by Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach to the Greek Testaments. Nor is the *execution* of the plan to be less commended: it displays uncommon industry, and apparently great accuracy." Bishop of Landaff's Course of Lectures on Divinity, part ii. p. 126.

† "The Book," says the profound critic Michaelis, "most necessary to be read and understood by every man who studies the New Testament, is, without doubt, the *Septuagint*; which alone has been of more service than all the passages from the profane authors collected together. It should be read in the public schools by those who are destined for the church; should form the subject of a course of lectures at the university, and be the constant companion of an expositor of the New Testament." Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. p. 177.

as the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, from which Origen compiled his Tetrapla and Hexapla.

1. *The version of Aquila*.—The author of this translation was a native of Sinope in Pontus, who flourished in the second century of the Christian Æra: he was of Jewish descent; and having renounced Christianity, he undertook his version to oblige the Jews, who then began to be disgusted with the Septuagint as being too paraphrastic. It is certain that he lived during the reign of the Emperor Adrian, and that his translation was executed before the year 160; as it is cited both by Justin Martyr, who wrote about that time, and by Irenæus between the years 170 and 176. The version of Aquila is extremely literal, and is made without any regard to the genius of the Greek language: it is however of considerable importance in the criticism of the Old Testament, as it serves to shew the readings contained in the Hebrew MSS. of his time. Professor Dathe has collated several passages from this translation, and has applied them to the illustration of the prophet Hosea *. The fragments of Aquila and of the other Greek versions were collected and published, first by Flaminio Nobili in his notes to the Roman edition of the Septuagint, and after him by Drusius, in his *Veterum Interpretum Græcorum Fragmenta* (Arnheim, 1622, 4to). This work of Drusius is also to be found in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott, and by Montfaucon in his edition of Origen's Hexapla above noticed †. According to Jerome, Aquila published two editions of his version, the second of which was the most literal: it was allowed to be read publicly in the Jews' synagogues, by the hundred and twenty-fifth Novel of the Emperor Justinian.

2. *Theodotion* was a native of Ephesus, and is termed by Jerome and Eusebius an Ebionite or semi-Christian. He was nearly contemporary with Aquila, and his translation is cited by Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, which was composed about the year 160. The version of Theodotion holds a middle rank between the servile closeness of Aquila and the freedom of Symmachus: it is a kind of revision of the Septuagint made after the original Hebrew, and supplies some deficiencies in the Septuagint; but where he translates

* *Dissertatio Philologico-Critica in Aquilæ Reliquias Interpretationis Hoseæ*, (Lipsiæ, 1757, 4to.); which is reprinted in p. 1. *et seq.* of Rosenmüller's Collection of his "*Opuscula ad Crisin et Interpretationem Veteris Testamenti*," Lipsiæ, 1796, 8vo.

† This work of Drusius's is also to be found in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

without help, he evidently shews himself to have been but indifferently skilled in Hebrew. Theodotion's translation of the Book of Daniel was introduced into the Christian churches, as being deemed more accurate than that of the Septuagint, of which a few fragments only remain.

3. *Symmachus*, we are informed by Eusebius and Jerome, was a semi-Christian or Ebionite: for the account given of him by Epiphanius (that he was first a Samaritan, then a Jew, next a Christian, and last of all an Ebionite) is generally disregarded as unworthy of credit. Concerning the precise time when he flourished, learned men are of different opinions. Epiphanius places him under the reign of Commodus II. an imaginary emperor: Jerome, however, expressly states that his translation appeared after *that* of Theodotion; and as Symmachus was evidently unknown to Irenæus, who cites the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, it is probable that the date assigned by Jerome is the true one. Montfaucon accordingly places Symmachus a short time after Theodotion, that is, about the year 200. The version of Symmachus, who appears to have published a second edition of it revised, is by no means so literal as that of Aquila; he was certainly much better acquainted with the laws of interpretation than the latter, and has endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to render the Hebrew idioms with Greek precision. Bauer* and Morus† have given specimens of the utility of this version for illustrating both the Old and New Testaments.

4, 5, 6.—The three anonymous translations, usually called the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* versions, derive their names from the order in which Origen disposed them in his columns. The author of the *sixth* version was evidently a Christian: for he renders Habakkuk iii. 13. (*Thou wentest forth for the deliverance of thy people, even for the deliverance of thine anointed ones* ‡) in the following manner: Εξῆλθες του σωσαι τον λαον σου δια Ιησου του Χριστου σου. i. e. *Thou wentest forth to save thy people through Jesus thy Christ*. The dates of these three versions are evidently subsequent to those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus: from the fragments collected by Montfaucon, it appears that they all contained the Psalms and minor prophets; the *fifth*

* Critica Sacra, pp. 277, 278.

† Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. ii. pp. 127, 128.

‡ Archbishop Newcome's version. The authorized English translation runs thus:—*"Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed."*

and *sixth* further comprized the Pentateuch and Song of Solomon; and from some fragments of the *fifth* and *seventh* versions found by Bruns in a Syriac Hexaplar manuscript at Paris, it appears that they also contained the two Books of Kings. Bauer is of opinion that the author of the seventh version was a Jew.

Besides the fragments of the preceding antient versions, taken from Origen's Hexapla, there are found in the margins of the manuscripts of the Septuagint some *additional* marks or notes, containing various renderings in Greek of some passages in the Old Testament: these are cited as the Hebrew, Syrian, Samaritan, and Hellenist versions, and as the version of some anonymous author. The probable meaning of these references it may not be improper briefly to notice.

1. The *Hebrew* (ὁ Εβραϊος) is supposed by some to denote the translation of Aquila, who closely and literally followed the Hebrew text: but this idea is refuted by Montfaucon and Bauer, who remark that, after the reference to the Hebrew, a reading follows, most widely differing from Aquila's rendering. Bauer more probably conjectures that the reference ὁ Εβραϊος denotes the Hebrew text from which the Septuagint version differs.

2. Under the name of the *Syrian* (ὁ Συρος) are intended the fragments of the Greek version, made by Sophronius, patriarch of Constantinople, from the very popular Latin translation of Jerome, who is supposed to have acquired the appellation of the Syrian, from his long residence on the confines of Syria. He is thus expressly styled by Theodore of Mopsuestum in a passage cited by Photius in his Bibliotheca. *

3. The *Samaritan* (το Σαμαρειτικόν) is supposed to refer to the fragments of a Greek version of the Hebræo-Samaritan text, which is attributed to the antient Greek scholiast so often cited by Flaminio Nobili, and in the Greek Scholia appended to the Roman edition of the Septuagint. Considerable doubts, however, exist concerning the identity of this supposed Greek version of the Samaritan text; which, if it ever existed, Bishop Walton thinks, must be long posterior in date to the Septuagint. †

4. It is not known to which version or author the citation ὁ Ἑλληνικος, or the Hellenistic, refers:—The mark ὁ Ἄλλος, or ὁ Ἀνεπιγραφος, denotes some unknown anonymous author.

* Page 205, edit. Hoeschelii.

† Prol. c. xi. § 22. pp. 553, 554.

Before we conclude the present account of the antient Greek versions of the Old Testament, it remains that we briefly notice the translation preserved in Saint Mark's Library at Venice, containing the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations of Jeremiah, and Prophecy of Daniel. The existence of this version, which was for a long time buried among other literary treasures deposited in the above mentioned library, was first announced by Zannetti and Bongiovanni in their catalogue of its manuscripts. The Pentateuch was published in three parts, by M. Ammon, at Erlang, 1790, 1791, 8vo: and the remaining books by M. Villoison at Strasburgh, 1784, 8vo. The original manuscript, Morelli is of opinion, was executed in the 14th century; and, the numerous errors discoverable in it, prove that it cannot be the autograph of the translator. By whom this version was made, is a question yet undetermined. Morelli thinks its author was a Jew; Ammon supposes him to have been a Christian monk, and perhaps a native of Syria; and Bauer, after Zeigler, conjectures him to have been a Christian grammarian of Constantinople, who had been taught Hebrew by a Western Jew. Whoever the translator was, his style evidently shews him to have been deeply skilled in the different dialects of the Greek language, and to have been conversant with the Greek poets. Equally uncertain is the date when this version was composed: Eichorn, Bauer, and several other eminent biblical writers, place it between the sixth and tenth centuries: the late Dr. Holmes supposed the author of it to have been some Hellenistic Jew, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. "Nothing can be more completely happy, or more judicious, than the idea adopted by this author of rendering the Hebrew text in the pure Attic dialect, and the Chaldee in its corresponding Doric *." Dr. Holmes has inserted extracts from this version in his edition of the Septuagint already described. †

* British Critic, O. S. vol. viii. p. 259.

† The preceding account of antient Greek versions is drawn from Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 552—574; Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 273—288; Morus, *Acroases Hermeneuticæ*, tom. ii. pp. 120—147; Bishop Walton, *Prolegom.* c. ix. § 19. pp. 385—387; Jahn, *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis*, pp. 66—70; and Masch's edition of Lelong's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, part ii. vol. ii. sect. i. pp. 220—229. Montfaucon, *Præl. Diss. ad Origenis Hexapla*, tom. i. pp. 46—73. In the fourth volume of the *Commentationes Theologicæ*, (pp. 195—263), edited by MM. Veltusen, Kuinöel, and Ruperti, there is a specimen of a *Clavis Reliquiarum Versionum Græcarum V. T.* by John Frederick Fischer: it contains only the letter A. Such a work, if completed, would prove highly valuable to biblical students. Cappel, in his *Critica Sacra*, has given a copious account, with very numerous examples of the

V. Syria being visited at a very early period by the preachers of the Christian faith, several translations of the sacred volume were made into the language of that country. The most celebrated of these is the *Peschito* or *Literal* (*Versio Simplex*), as it is usually called, on account of its very close adherence to the Hebrew text, from which it was immediately made. The most extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning its antiquity; some referring it to the time of Solomon and Hiram, while others ascribe it to Asa the priest of the Samaritans, and a third class to the apostle Thaddeus. This last tradition is received by the Syrian churches; but a more recent date is ascribed to it by modern biblical philologists. Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Leusden, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Kennicott, fix its date to the first century; Bauer and some other German critics, to the second or third century; Jahn fixes it, at the latest, to the second century; De Rossi pronounces it to be very antient, but does not specify any precise date. The most probable opinion is that of Michaelis, who ascribes it to the close of the first, or to the earlier part of the second century, at which time the Syrian churches flourished most, and the Christians at Edessa had a temple for divine worship erected after the model of that at Jerusalem: and it is not to be supposed that they would be without a version of the Old Testament, the reading of which had been introduced by the apostles. This version was evidently made from the original Hebrew, to which it most closely and literally adheres, with the exception of a few passages which appear to bear some affinity to the Septuagint: Jahn accounts for this by supposing, either that this version was consulted by the Syriac translator or translators, or that the Syrians *afterwards* corrected their translation by the Septuagint. Leusden conjectures, that the translator did not make use of the most correct Hebrew manuscripts, and has given some examples which appear to support his opinion. Dathe however speaks most positively in favour of its antiquity and fidelity, and refers to the Syriac version as a certain standard by which we may judge of the state of the Hebrew text in the second century: and both Kennicott and De Rossi have derived many valuable readings from this version. To its general fidelity almost every critic of note bears unqualified approbation,

various lections that may be obtained by collating the Septuagint with the Hebrew, (lib. 4. pp. 491—766.) and by collating the Hebrew text with the Chaldee paraphrases and the antient Greek versions, (lib. v. cc. 1—6. pp. 767—844.) tom. ii. ed. Scharfenberg.

although it is not every where equal. Jahn observes, that a different method of interpretation is adopted in the Pentateuch from that which is to be found in the Book of Chronicles; and that there are some Chaldee words in the first chapter of Genesis, and also in the Book of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon; whence he infers that this version was the work not of one, but of several authors. *

An important accession to biblical literature was made, a few years since, by the late learned and excellent Dr. Buchanan, to whose assiduous labours the British church in India is most deeply indebted; and who, in his progress among the Syrian churches and Jews of India, discovered and obtained numerous antient manuscripts of the Scriptures, which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge. One of these, which was discovered in a remote Syrian church near the mountains, is particularly valuable: it contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed with beautiful accuracy in the Estrangelo (or old Syriac) character, on strong vellum, in large folio, and having three columns in a page. The words of every book are numbered: and the volume is illuminated, but not after the European manner, the initial letters having no ornament. Though somewhat injured by time or neglect, the ink being in certain places obliterated, still the letters can in general be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. The Syrian church assigns a high date to this manuscript, which, in the opinion of Mr. Yeates, who has published a collation of the Pentateuch †, was written about the seventh century. In looking over this manuscript, Dr. Buchanan found the very first emendation of the Hebrew text proposed by Dr. Kennicott ‡, which doubtless is the true reading.

* Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 623—626; Leusden, *Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus*, pp. 67—71; Bishop Lowth's *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. xci; Dr. Kennicott, *Diss.* ii. p. 355; Bauer, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 308—320; Jahn, *Introd. ad Vet. Fœd.* pp. 75, 76; De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones ad Vet. Test.* tom. i. Prol. p. xxxii; Dathe, *Opuscula ad Crisin et Interpretationem Vet. Test.* p. 171.; Kortholt, *de Versionibus Scripturæ*, pp. 40—45; Walton, *Proleg.* c. 13. pp. 593, *et seq.*

† In the *Christian Observer*, vol. xii. pp. 171—174, there is an account of Mr. Yeates's Collation; and in vol. ix. of the same Journal, pp. 273—275, 348—350, there is given a very interesting description of the Syriac manuscript above noticed. A short account of it also occurs in Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches" respecting the Syrians, pp. 229—231. (edit. 1811.)

‡ Gen. iv. 8. "And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go down into the plain." It may be satisfactory to the reader to know that this disputed addition is to be found in the Samaritan, Syriac, Septuagint, and Vulgate versions, printed in Bishop Walton's *Polyglott*.

The first edition of this version of the Syriac Scriptures appeared in the Paris Polyglott; but, being taken from an imperfect MS. its deficiencies were badly supplied by Gabriel Sionita, who translated the passages wanting from the Latin Vulgate. This text was reprinted in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, corrected by four MSS. There have been numerous editions of particular parts of the Syriac Old Testament, which are minutely described by Masch. *

The other Syriac versions being made from the Septuagint, it may suffice to offer a brief notice of those which are the most celebrated and valuable: they are two in number.

1. The Syriac translation of Origen's Hexaplar edition of the LXX. was executed in the former part of the seventh century; the author of this version is unknown. De Rossi, who published the first specimen of it, does not decide whether it is to be attributed to Mar-Abba, James of Edessa, Paul Bishop of Tela, or to Thomas of Heraclea. Assemani ascribes it to Thomas, though other learned men affirm that he did no more than collate the Books of Scripture. This version, however, corresponds exactly with the text of the Septuagint, especially in those passages in which the latter differs from the Hebrew. A MS. of this version is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, comprizing the Books of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Hosea, Amos, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah: it also contains the obelus and other marks of Origen's Hexapla; and a subscription at the end states it to have been literally translated from the Greek copy, corrected by Eusebius himself, with the assistance of Pamphilus, from the books of Origen, which were deposited in the library at Cæsarea. The conformity of this MS. with the account given by Masius in the preface to his learned Annotations on the Book of Joshua, afford strong grounds for believing that this is the second part of the MS. described by him as then being in his possession, and which, there is reason to fear, is irrecoverably lost. From this version M. Norberg edited the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in 1787, (4to, Londini Gothorum;) and M. Bugati the Book of Daniel, at Milan, 1788, 4to. †

* Part ii. vol. i. sect. iv. pp. 64—71.

† Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 58—60. Jahn, *Introd. ad Vet. Fæd.* pp. 76—78. *Monthly Review*, O. S. vol. lix. pp. 452—454. Some other Syriac versions of less note are described by Masch *ut supra*, pp. 60—62.

VI. There are several ARABIC VERSIONS extant, made immediately from the Hebrew, either by Jews, Samaritans, or Christians, of which the following are the principal.

1. Rabbi Saadia Gaon, a celebrated Jewish teacher at Babylon, in the tenth century translated, or rather paraphrased, the Old Testament into Arabic: of this version, the Pentateuch was printed at Constantinople, in folio, in the year 1546, in Hebrew characters; and in the Paris and London Polyglotts, in Arabic letters. The prophecy of Isaiah was published by Paulus in 8vo, at Jena, in 1790, 1791. The remaining books of this translation have not hitherto been discovered.

2. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch, published by Erpenius at Leyden in 1622, 4to, appears to have been executed in the thirteenth century by some African Jew, who has very closely adhered to the Hebrew.

3. The Arabic version of the Book of Joshua, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, is, in the opinion of Bauer, made directly from the Hebrew. Its author and date are not known.

4. The Pentateuch, Psalms, and Prophecy of Daniel, were translated by Saadia Ben Levi Asnekot, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century: they are extant only in MS. in the British Museum*, and are of very little value.

Besides these versions, the Arab Christians have a translation of the Book of Job (printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts), and two versions of the Psalms still in MS. which were respectively made from the Peschito or Old Syriac version. All the Arabic books of the Old Testament, (with the exception of the Pentateuch and Job), which are printed in those Polyglotts, were executed from Hesychius's recension of the Septuagint. The Psalms, inserted in Justiniani's Polyglott Psalter, and in Gabriel Sionita's Arabic Psalter, were made from Lucian's recension of that version: and the Arabic Psalter, printed at Aleppo in 1706, 4to, follows the † Melchitic recension of the LXX ‡.

* Cat. Harl. MSS. vol. iii. num. 5505.

† The *Melchites* were those Christians in Syria, Egypt, and the Levant, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, that is, Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the emperor Marcian, in favour of the council of Chalcedon. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 188. note (m).

‡ Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. pp. 640—644. Bauer, Crit. Sacr. pp. 321—324. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 78—80. Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 103—110. In pp. 110—128 he has given an account of Arabic editions of the Old Testament, and detached parts of it. On Arabic editions, Schnurrer's Bibliotheca Arabica, pp. 339—397, may also be advantageously consulted.

Besides the preceding Oriental versions, there are several others; which, though not of equal importance in the criticism and interpretation of the Sacred Writings, may still be occasionally consulted with advantage. Among these we may enumerate the Persic, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Slavonic translations.

1. *The Persic version.*—Although we have no authentic account of the conversion of the whole Persian nation to Christianity, yet we are informed by Chrysostom and Theodoret, that the Scriptures were very antiently translated into the Persian language. It does not appear, however, that any fragments of this antient version are extant. The translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the fourth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott, was executed by a Jew, and for the benefit of the Jews, in the eleventh or twelfth century. The Hebrew text is, for the most part, faithfully rendered. Bishop Walton mentions two Persic versions of the Psalms—one by a Portuguese monk at Ispahan in the year 1618, and another by some Jesuits from the vulgate Latin version *. These are yet in MS.

2. *Egyptian versions.*—From the proximity of Egypt to Judea, it appears that the knowledge of the Gospel was very early communicated to the inhabitants of that country, whose language was divided into two dialects—the Sahidic or dialect of Upper Egypt, and the Coptic or dialect of Lower Egypt. In the former of these dialects the ninth chapter of Daniel was published by Münter at Rome in 1786; and Jeremiah, ch. ix. 17. to ch. xiii. by Mingarelli, in *Reliquiæ Ægyptiorum Codicum in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ*, at Bologna, in 1785.

The Coptic language is a compound of the old Egyptian and Greek; into which the Old Testament was translated from the Septuagint, perhaps in the second or third century, and certainly before the seventh century. Of this version, the Pentateuch was published by Wilkins in 1731; and a Psalter, by the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide*, at Rome, in 1744 and 1749†. And in the course of the year 1816 M. Engelbreth published at Copenhagen, in quarto, some fragments of a Basmurico-Coptic version of the Old and New Testament (preserved in the Borgian Museum at Velitri), collated with other Egyptian versions. The editor has given a Latin version, and illustrated the work with critical and philological notes. ‡

* Walton, Prol. xvi. § 6—8. pp. 692—695. Kortholt, c. xix. pp. 301—303. Jahn, p. 80. For an account of editions consult Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 158—164.

† Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 182—190. Jahn, p. 81.

‡ The following is the title of the work above noticed, of which the author has not been able to procure a sight:—*Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi*

3. The *Ethiopic or Abyssinian version*, which is still extant, was made from the Alexandrian version: although its author and date are unknown; yet, from the marks of unquestionable antiquity which it bears, there is every reason to believe that it was executed in the second century. Some peculiar readings occur in this translation: but, where it seems to be exact, it derives considerable authority from its antiquity. Only a few books and fragments of this version have been printed: as the Psalter and Song of Solomon, at Rome, 1513; at Cologne in 1518; and in Bishop Walton's Polyglott; Jonah, and the four first chapters of Genesis, at Frankfort on the Maine, in 1706; Zephaniah, at Leyden, 1660, and Malachi, at Leyden, 1661. The manuscript copy of the Ethiopic version brought to England from Abyssinia is deposited in the British Museum: no part of it has hitherto been printed. *

4. The *Armenian version* was also made from the Alexandrian Septuagint: its author was Miesrob, who invented letters fully expressive of the Armenian tongue, towards the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century. It is said to have been subsequently altered according to the Peschito or old Syriac version, and according to the Latin vulgate, by Uschan, an Armenian bishop, who was specially sent to Amsterdam to superintend the edition there printed in 1666. The edition printed at Constantinople in 1705, 4to, was collated by Brendencamp, for the late Rev. Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint. The Armenian version of the scriptures has been attributed to Chrysostom, but, it does not appear, on satisfactory authority. †

5. The *Slavonic or old Russian version* is derived from the Septuagint: it was executed in the ninth century by Cyril of Thessalonica, the inventor of Slavonic letters, in conjunction with Methodius, by both of whom the Gospel was preached to the Bulgarians. The Pentateuch was first printed at Prague in 1519; and the entire Bible, in 1570: the edi-

Testamenti, quæ in Museo Borgiano Velitris asservantur, cum reliquis versionibus Ægyptiis contulit, Latinè vertit, necnon criticis et philologicis adnotationibus illustravit W. F. Engelbreth, 4to. Hafniæ, 1816. The *only* perfect copy of the Coptic Bible now in Europe, is said to be in the possession of Monsieur Marcel. See M. Quatremère's *Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature d'Égypte*, p. 118.

* Jahn, p. 81. Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 140—143. In pp. 145—157 is a bibliographical notice of all the Ethiopic editions of the Scriptures, whether entire or in parts, that have been published. Walton, Prol. xv. § 10—12. pp. 679—685. Kortholt, pp. 298—301. In Mr. Bruce's *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 416—420. (8vo. edit.) there is an interesting account of the Ethiopic Biblical books.

† Jahn, p. 82. Masch, pp. 169—173: in pp. 173—181 the Armenian editions are described; Kortholt, pp. 304, 305. On the present state of the Armenian church in India, see Dr. Buchanan's "*Christian Researches*," pp. 341—346.

tion of the Slavonic scriptures, executed at Ostrog in 1581, is the exemplar whence all the modern Russian editions are printed*. It is said to have undergone several revisions, particularly in the time of the patriarch Nikon; and the New Testament is rendered with more perspicuity than the Old.

VIII. At the commencement of the Christian æra, the Latin was gradually supplanting the Greek as a *general* language, and it soon might be called the language of the Western church. From the testimony of Augustine, it appears that the Latin church possessed a very great number of versions of the Scriptures, made at the first introduction of Christianity, and whose authors were unknown; and that, in the primitive times, as soon as any one found a Greek copy, and thought himself sufficiently versed in both languages, he attempted a translation of it†. In the course of time this diversity of translation produced much confusion, parts of separate versions being put together to form an entire composition, and marginal notes being inserted into the text: but one of these Latin translations appears to have acquired a more extensive circulation than the others, and for several ages was preferably used, under the name of the *Itala* or old Italic, on account of its clearness and fidelity‡. This version, which in the time of Jerome was received as canonical, is by him termed sometimes the *vulgate* and sometimes the *old*, in opposition to the new translation undertaken by him. He mentions no other version. The old Italic was translated from the Greek in the Old Testament as well as in the New, there being comparatively few members of the Western church who were skilled in Hebrew.

From the above cited expressions of Augustine, it has been inferred that the old Italic version was made in the *first* century of the Christian æra; but the New Testament could not have been translated into Latin before the canon had been formed, which was certainly not made in the first century: and the great number of Hebraisms and Syriasms observable in it, particularly in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, have induced some eminent critics to conjecture that the authors of this translation were Jews converted to Christianity§. There

* A copy of this singularly rare book is in the library of Earl Spencer: it is described by Mr. Dibdin, who has given a fac-simile of it, in his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. i. pp. 90—93.

† Augustine, de Doct. Christ. l. ii. c. 11.

‡ Ibid. c. 15. This passage of Augustine is suspected to be incorrect, and Bishop Marsh, after many other critics, thinks that we ought to read *illa* for *Itala*. Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 623. See also Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. v. pp. 115, 116.

§ "The learned and ingenious Eichorn, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, supposes that the first Latin version of the Bible was made in Africa; where, Latin

is, however, every reason to believe, that it was executed in the early part of the second century: "at least it was quoted by Tertullian, before the close of that century. But, before the end of the fourth century, the alterations, either designed or accidental, which were made by transcribers of the Latin Bible, were become as numerous as the alterations in the Greek Bible, before it was corrected by Origen *." To remedy this growing evil, Jerome, at the request and under the patronage of Pope Damasus, towards the close of the fourth century, undertook to revise this translation, and make it more conformable to the original Greek. He executed the revision of the Old Testament according to the Hexaplar text of Origen, which he went to Cæsarea to consult, and the New Testament after the original Greek; and completed his task A. D. 384. Of this revision, the Book of Job and the Psalms (which alone have been preserved to our times), together with the Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, are all that were ever published; Jerome's MSS. comprising the remaining books of Scripture, being lost or destroyed through the wilful negligence or fraud of some individual whom he has not named.†

But, before Jerome had finished his revisal, he had commenced a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Latin, in order that the Western Christians, who used this last language only, might know the real meaning of the Hebrew text, and thus be the better qualified to engage in controversial discussions with the Jews. This version, which surpasses all former ones, was executed at different times, Jerome having translated particular books in the order requested by his friends. We learn from Augustine that it was introduced into the churches by degrees, for fear of offending weak persons: at length it acquired so great an authority from the approbation it received from Pope Gregory I., that ever since the seventh century it has been exclusively adopted‡ by

alone being understood, a translation was more necessary; where the Latin version was held in the highest veneration; and where, the language being spoken with less purity, barbarisms might have been more easily introduced than in a provincial town in Italy." Bishop Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 628.

* Bishop Marsh's *Divinity Lectures*, part i. p. 66.

† Jerome, Ep. 64. ad Augustin.

‡ With the exception of the Psalms; which being daily chaunted to music in the church service, made it difficult to introduce alterations. The old Italic Psalter, as corrected by Jerome, has therefore been used ever since the time of Gregory I. The apocryphal books of Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the two books of Maccabees, are also retained from the old Latin version.

the Roman Catholic church, under the name of the Vulgate version: and a decree of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, pronounced it to be *authentic*, and commanded that the Vulgate alone should be used whenever the Bible is publicly read, and in all sermons, expositions, and disputations.

The universal adoption of Jerome's new version throughout the Western church rendered a multiplication of copies necessary; and with these new errors were introduced in the course of time by the intermixture of the two versions (the old Italic, and Jerome's or the Vulgate) with each other. Of this confusion, Cassiodorus was the principal cause, who ordered them to be written in parallel columns, that the old version might be corrected by the Vulgate: and though Alcuin in the eighth century, by the command of Charlemagne, provided more accurate copies, the text again fell into such confusion, and was so disfigured by innumerable mistakes of copyists—(notwithstanding the efforts made to correct it by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury in the eleventh century, and by Cardinal Nicholas, and some other divines, about the middle of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries)—that the manuscripts of the middle ages materially differ from the first printed editions.

Robert Stephens was the first who attempted to remedy this confusion, by publishing his critical editions of the Vulgate in 1528, 1532, 1534, 1540, and particularly in 1545 and 1546. These, particularly the last, having incurred the censures of the doctors of the Sorbonne, John Hentenius, a divine of Louvain, was employed to prepare a new edition of the Vulgate: this he accomplished in 1547 in folio, having availed himself of Stephens's previous labours with great advantage. A third corrected edition was published by Lucas Brugensis, with the assistance of several other divines of Louvain, in 1573, in three volumes 8vo, which was also reprinted in 1586 in 4to and 8vo, with the critical notes of Lucas Brugensis. The labours of the Louvain divines not being in every respect approved by Sixtus V., he commanded a new revision of the text to be made with the utmost care: to this work he devoted much time and attention, and corrected the proofs himself of the edition which was published at Rome in 1590, in folio. The text thus revised, Sixtus pronounced to be the authentic Vulgate, which had been the object of inquiry in the Council of Trent; and ordained that it should be adopted throughout the Romish church. But, notwithstanding the labours of the Pope, this edition was discovered to be so exceedingly incorrect, that his successor Clement VIII. caused

it to be suppressed, and published another authentic Vulgate in 1592, in folio : this however differs, more than any other edition, from that of Sixtus V., and mostly resembles that of Louvain. These fatal variances between editions, alike promulgated by pontiffs claiming infallibility, have not passed unnoticed by Protestant divines, who have taken advantage of them in a manner that sensibly affects the church of Rome ; especially Kortholt, who has at great length refuted the pretensions of Bellarmine in favour of the Vulgate in a masterly manner *, and our learned countryman Thomas James, in his *Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V.* (London, 1600), who has pointed out very numerous additions, omissions, contradictions, and other differences between the Sixtine and Clementine editions. †

The Vulgate is regarded by Papists and Protestants in very different points of view : by the former it has been extolled beyond measure, while by most of the latter it has been depreciated as much below its intrinsic merit. Father Simon was the first who pointed out the real value of this version in his *Histoire Critique du texte et des versions du Nouveau Testament*, and has proved that the more antient the Greek manuscripts and other versions are, the more closely do they agree with the Vulgate : and in consequence of the arguments adduced by Simon, the Vulgate has been more justly appreciated by biblical critics of later times.

Although the Latin Vulgate is neither inspired nor infallible, as Morinus, Suarez, and other advocates of the Romish church have attempted to maintain, yet it is allowed to be in general a faithful translation, and not unfrequently exhibits the sense of Scripture with greater accuracy than the more modern versions, many of which have been derived from it ; Luther, in particular, having derived great assistance from it in his German translation of the Bible. The Latin Vulgate therefore is by no means to be neglected by the biblical critic : and since the Ante-Hieronymian Latin translations are unquestionably of great antiquity, both lead us to a discovery of the readings in very antient Greek manuscripts, which existed prior to the date of any now extant. Even in its present state, notwithstanding the variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions, the Latin Vulgate preserves many true readings, where the modern Hebrew copies are corrupted. ‡

* Kortholt, de variis Scripturæ Editionibus, pp. 110—251.

† Of these variations Mr. Hamilton has given a specimen in his "Introduction to the Reading of the Hebrew Scriptures," pp. 163—166.

‡ Cappel has given numerous examples in his *Critica Sacra*, lib. ii. cc. vii—ix. tom. ii. pp. 845—898. (edit. Scharfenberg.)

The old Latin version of the Four Gospels was published at Rome, by Blanchini, in two volumes folio, under the title of *Evangeliarium quadruplex Latinæ Versionis antiquæ seu veteris Italicæ*: and the remains of the different antient versions were collected and published by Sabatier at Rheims, in three volumes folio, 1749. The printed editions of the Vulgate are so numerous, that any account of them would occupy too large a portion of the present work *: the Paris edition of Didot in 1785, in two volumes quarto, may however be noticed for its singular beauty and accuracy. †

* A particular description of all the editions is given by Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 1—352; and of the principal editions by Brunet, in his *Manuel du Libraire*, tom. i. art. Biblia.

† The preceding account of the Latin versions has been compiled from Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 107—129. Semler, *Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem*, pp. 308—314. Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*, pp. 671—706. Leusden, *Philologus Hebræo-mixtus*, pp. 1—10. Bishop Walton, *Prol. c. xi.* pp. 470—507; and Visser, *Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti*, vol. ii. part iii. pp. 73—96.

§ 2. ANTIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- I. ORIENTAL VERSIONS — 1. *Peschito or antient Syriac Version* — 2. *The Philoxenian Syriac Version* — 3. *The Syriac Translation of Jerusalem* — 4. *Egyptian Versions* — 5. *Arabic Versions* — 6. *Ethiopic Version* — 7. *Armenian Version* — 8. *Persian Versions* — II. WESTERN TRANSLATIONS — 1. *The Gothic Version* — 2. *The Slavonic Version* — 3. *The Anglo-Saxon Version*.

THE antient versions of the New Testament may be divided into three classes—the Oriental, the Latin, and the Western: and as the Latin versions have been noticed in the preceding paragraphs, we shall at present confine our attention to the Oriental and Western translations.

I. The principal ORIENTAL VERSIONS are the Syriac, Egyptian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Persian.

1. The *Peschito or antient Syriac version*.—This translation comprises only the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Saint Paul (including the Epistle to the Hebrews), the first Epistle of Saint John, Saint Peter's first Epistle, and the Epistle of Saint James. The celebrated passage in 1 John v. 7., and the history of the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 2—11), are both wanting. All the Christian sects in Syria and the East make use of this version exclusively, which they hold in the highest estimation. Michaelis pronounces it

to be the very best translation of the Greek Testament which he ever read, for the general ease, elegance, and fidelity with which it has been executed. It is confessedly of the highest antiquity, and there is every reason to believe that it was made, if not in the first century, at least in the beginning of the second century *. This version was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, who had been sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in 1552, to Pope Julius III., to acknowledge the papal supremacy in the name of the Syrian church, and was at the same time commissioned to procure the Syriac New Testament. This was accomplished at Vienna in 1555, under the editorial care of Moses and Albert Widmanstad, with the assistance of William Postell, and at the expense of the emperor Ferdinand I. This *editio princeps* is in quarto. The Syriac New Testament has since been printed several times †: but the best edition is that of Leusden and Schaaf, (with an excellent Syriac Lexicon) in two volumes 4to, Leyden, 1708, 1709, which was reprinted in 1717. A beautiful and correct edition of the antient Syriac version of the New Testament was executed at the press of Mr. Watts, (London, 1816, 4to.) for the use of the Syrian Christians in India, by whom it has been received with the utmost gratitude. This edition was corrected for the press, as far as the Acts of the Apostles, by the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan; and was completed by Mr. Lee, one of the most accomplished Oriental scholars in this country. The expense of the edition was defrayed by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

There is also extant a Syriac version of the second Epistle of Saint Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, which are wanting in the Peschito: these are by some writers ascribed to Mar Aba, primate of the East, between the years 535 and 552. The translation of these books is made from the original Greek; but the author, whoever he was, possessed but an indifferent knowledge of the two languages.

The *Philoxenian version* derives its name from Philoxenus, or Xenayas, bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug in Syria, A. D.

* Such is the opinion of Michaelis, in unison with those of the most eminent philologists, (see p. 286. *supra*.) Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. part i. pp. 29—38. Bishop Marsh, however, in his notes, has controverted the arguments of Michaelis, (*ibid.* part ii. pp. 551—554), which have been rendered highly probable by the Rev. Dr. Lawrence, (Dissertation upon the Logos, pp. 67—74), who has examined the Bishop of Landaff's objections.

† Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 4—18, has given an account of the principal editions of the Syriac New Testament, to which his translator has furnished some valuable additions, (part ii. pp. 536—546.) See also Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 71—102.

488 — 518, who employed his rural bishop (*Chorepiscopus*) Polycarp to translate the Greek New Testament into Syriac. This version was finished in the year 508, and was afterwards revised by Thomas of Harkel or Heraclea, A. D. 616. Michaelis is of opinion that there was a third edition and a fourth is attributed to Dionysius Barsalibæus, who was bishop of Amida, from 1166 to 1177. It appears, however, that there were only two editions—the original one by Polycarp, and that revised by Thomas of Harkel; the single copy of the Four Gospels, with the alterations of Barsalibæus, in the twelfth century, being hardly entitled to the name of a new edition. This version was not known in Europe until the middle of the eighteenth century; when the Rev. Dr. Gloucester Ridley published a Dissertation on the Syriac versions of the New Testament*, three manuscripts of which he had received thirty years before from Amida in Mesopotamia. Though age and growing infirmities, the great expense of printing, and the want of a patron, prevented Dr. Ridley from availing himself of these manuscripts; yet having, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, succeeded in acquiring a knowledge of the Syriac language, he employed himself at intervals in making a transcript of the Four Gospels. These, being put into the hands of the late Professor White, were published by him, with a literal Latin translation, in 1778, in two volumes 4to, at the expense of the delegates of the Clarendon press, at Oxford. In 1799 Professor White published from the same press the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, also in 4to, with a Latin translation: a second volume was to have comprised Saint Paul's Epistles, which has not yet appeared.

The Philoxenian version, though made immediately from the Greek, is greatly inferior to the Peschito, both in the accuracy with which it is executed, and also in its style. It is, however, not devoid of value, “and is of real importance to a critic, whose object is to select a variety of readings, with the view of restoring the genuine text of the Greek original: for he may be fully assured that every phrase and expression is a precise copy of the Greek text as it stood in the manu-

* De Syriacarum Novi Fœderis Versionum Indole atque Usu Dissertatio; Philoxenianam cum simplici e duobus pervetustis Codicibus, ab Amida transmissis, conferente: 1761, 4to. This very scarce tract is reprinted at the end of Semler's edition of Wetstein's *Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem Novi Testamenti*, (8vo, Halæ, 1766), pp. 247—339. from a copy then in the library of the celebrated Michaelis; to whose elaborate account of the Syriac versions, editions, and critical tracts concerning them, we are indebted for the present notice of the Syriac translations. See his *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 1—75; and the Bishop of Landaff's *Notes*, *ibid.* part ii. pp. 533—585.

script from which the version was made. But, as it is not prior to the sixth century, and the Peschito was written either at the end of the first, or at the beginning of the second century, it is of less importance to know the readings of the Greek manuscript that was used in the former, than those of the original employed in the latter." *

3. The *Syriac translation of Jerusalem* was discovered in the Vatican Library at Rome by M. Adler, in a MS. of the eleventh century. It is not an entire translation of the New Testament, but only a *lectionarium*, or collection of detached portions, appointed to be read in the services of the church. It is written in the Syriac or Chaldee dialect of Jerusalem, whence Adler denominates it the Jerusalem Syriac version, though Father Georgi has proposed to call it the Syriaco-Assyrian translation: no part of it has yet been published.

4. *Egyptian versions*.—There are two translations of the New Testament extant in the Egyptian language—one in the *Coptic* or antient dialect of Lower Egypt, the other in the *Sahidic* or dialect of Upper Egypt. The Coptic version was published at Oxford in 1716, in 4to, by Daniel Wilkins, a learned Prussian, who has endeavoured to prove that it must have been executed prior to the third century; but his opinion has been controverted by many learned men, and particularly by Louis Picques, who refers it to the fifth century. The celebrated passage (1 John v. 7.) is wanting in the version, as well as in the Syriac, Peschito, and Philoxenian translations. A fragment of a Greek-Coptic version of the New Testament, comprising part of Saint John's Gospel, was published by Father Georgi at Rome, in 1789.†

The Sahidic version, in all probability, was executed in the second century: the late Dr. Woide prepared for the press nearly all the fragments of it known to be extant, but did not live to publish them. The work was completed and published by the Rev. Dr. Ford, from the Oxford press, in folio, 1799.

From the difference of their readings, and from the circumstance that additions in the one are omitted in the other, Bishop Marsh infers that the Coptic and Sahidic are independent versions, both made from the original Greek. Both, therefore, may be quoted as separate evidence for a reading in the Greek Testament.‡

* Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 68.

† There is an interesting account of this work in the *Analytical Review*, vol. xvi. pp. 418—421.

‡ Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 76—81, 586—597.

5. *Arabic versions.*—There are many Arabic translations of the New Testament besides those which have appeared in print: for, since the Arabic language supplanted the Syriac and Egyptian, the inhabitants of the countries where these had been spoken, have been obliged to annex Arabic translations to the antient versions, which are no longer understood. These Arabic translations are supposed to have been made at different times between the seventh and the eleventh centuries: in general, they were not all executed from the original text, but from the versions which they were intended to accompany. Thus, some which are placed together with the Greek text, have been made from the Greek, while others have been made from the Syriac, the Coptic, and even from the Latin Vulgate. The chief Arabic translations which have been printed, are the following.

i. The Four Gospels, printed at Rome, 1590–91, folio: there are some copies with a new title-page, and dated 1619. An interlineary Latin translation (taken from the Vulgate, but slightly altered to make it correspond to the Arabic) was published at the same time. This Arabic version appears to have been made from the Greek text: this edition of the Four Gospels was reprinted with some corrections in the Paris Polyglott, and again with very numerous corrections from MSS. by Bishop Walton in the London Polyglott.

ii. Erpenius published an Arabic translation at Leyden, in 1616, in 4to, from a MS. said to be written A. D. 1342, in the monastery of St. John, in the desert of Thebaïs: he has copied his MS. with singular accuracy, even where there appeared to be grammatical errors. This is the most elegant, faithful, and genuine edition of the Arabic version, but is unfortunately very difficult to be procured: it corresponds exactly with the Roman edition.

iii. The Arabic and Latin Bible, printed at Rome by the Congregation *De Propagandâ Fide* in 1671, in three volumes folio, under the care of Sergius Risius, bishop of Damascus, is altered from the Vulgate, and consequently is of no use, either in the criticism or interpretation of the Scriptures.

iv. The same remark is applicable to the Arabic New Testament published at London by the SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, A. D. 1727, in 4to, for the use of the Christians in Asia. Its basis is the text of the Paris and London Polyglotts: but the editor, Solomon Negri, has altered it in those passages which vary from the reading of our present Greek text.*

* Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 81–95, 597–610. Mill's Prolegomena, § 1295, 1296.

6. Of the author of the *Ethiopic version* we have no historical account: he is supposed to have been Frumentius, who about the year 330 first preached Christianity in Ethiopia. This version is in the Gheez, or dialect appropriated to religion in Abyssinia, and was first published at Rome, A. D. 1548-49: it is divided into four separate parts: 1. The Gospels, the translation of which is much superior to that of the Epistles, where the translator appears to have been unequal to the task. 2. The Acts of the Apostles. 3. The fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul. 4. The seven Catholic Epistles. The Apocalypse is added as an appendix. The MS. of the Acts being very imperfect, its chasms were supplied from the Vulgate. The Roman edition was reprinted in the London Polyglott: and a Latin translation of the Ethiopic version was published by Professor Bode at Brunswick, in 1752—1755, in 2 vols. 4to. There is also a translation of the New Testament in the *Amharic*, or common dialect of Ethiopia.*

7. The *Armenian version* of the New Testament is unanimously ascribed to Miesrob, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, and to the patriarch Isaac, at the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century. It was twice translated from the Syriac, and then from the Greek; and that the copies now extant were made from the latter language, is evident from their containing those books of the New Testament which were never admitted into the Peschito or antient literal Syriac version. The only two detached editions of the Armenian New Testament, that have been printed, are those of Amsterdam, 1668, in 8vo, and 1698 in 12mo. This version, in the opinion of Semler, is of great importance, as faithfully representing the Greek MSS. whence it was made: but Michaelis observes, that it would be an inestimable treasure, had it descended to us unaltered by time and superstition. It has in several instances been made conformable to the Vulgate by Haitho or Hethom, sovereign of the Lesser Armenia from A. D. 1224 to 1270, who was attached to the church of Rome, and skilled in the Latin language.†

8. There are extant two *Persian versions* of the four Gospels, the most antient and valuable of which was first printed in the London Polyglott by Bishop Walton, from a MS. in the possession of Dr. Pococke, dated A. D. 1314: it was made from the Syriac, having sometimes retained Syriac words, and subjoined a Persian translation. The other Persian transla-

* Michaelis, pp. 95—98, 610—614.

† Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 69. Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 98—105, 614—617.

tion was edited by Wheloc, and after his decease by Pierson, at London, in 1652—57, after a collation of three MSS. It is supposed to have been made from the Greek.*

II. The principal antient WESTERN TRANSLATIONS of the New Testament, which claim our notice, are the Gothic, the Slavonic, and the Anglo-Saxon versions.

1. The *Gothic version* of the New Testament was made from the original Greek by Ulphilas, a celebrated bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who assisted at the council of Constantinople in 359, and was sent on an embassy to the emperor Valens about the year 378. He is said to have embraced Arianism, and to have propagated Arian tenets among his countrymen. Besides translating the *entire* Bible into the Gothic language, Ulphilas is said to have conferred on the Mæso-Goths the invention of the Gothic characters. The character, however, in which this version of the New Testament is written, is in fact the Latin character of that age; and the degree of perfection, which the Gothic language had obtained during the time of Ulphilas, is a proof that it had then been written for some time.

The translation of Ulphilas (who had been educated among the Greeks) was executed from the Greek: but, from its coincidence in many instances with the Latin, there is reason to suspect that it has been interpolated, though at a remote period, from the Vulgate. Its unquestionable antiquity, however, and its general fidelity, have concurred to give this version a high place in the estimation of biblical critics: but, unfortunately, it has not come down to us entire. The only parts extant in print are a considerable portion of the Four Gospels, and some fragments of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

The Four Gospels are contained in the celebrated *Codex Argenteus*, so called from its silver letters: it is of a quarto size, and the vellum leaves are stained with a violet colour; and on this ground the letters, which are all *uncial* or capitals, were afterwards painted in silver, except the initial characters and a few other passages, which are in gold. From the deep impression of the strokes, Michaelis has conjectured that the letters were either imprinted with a warm iron, or cut with a graver, and afterwards coloured; but Mr. Coxe, after a very minute examination, was convinced that each letter was painted, and not formed in the manner supposed by Michaelis. Most of the silver letters have become green by time, but the golden letters are still in good preservation. Of this precious relic of

* Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 105, 106, 617--619. Semler, p. 69. Walton, Prol. c. xvi. § 9. pp. 695, 696.

antiquity, which is at present deposited in the university library at Upsal, four editions have been printed, viz. 1. At Dordrecht or Dort, 1665, in two vols. 4to, in Gothic characters, with the Anglo-Saxon version; this is very correct, and was published by Francis Junius:—2. At Stockholm, 1671, 4to, edited by George Stiernhelm in Latin characters, and accompanied with the Icelandic, Swedish, and Vulgate translations:—3. The edition prepared by the learned Eric Benzell, Archbishop of Upsal, (who made a new copy from the original manuscript), and published after his decease by Mr. Lye, at Oxford, in 1760, in small folio, is executed in Gothic letters: the errors of the preceding editions are corrected, and many of the various lections, with which the Gothic version furnishes the Greek Testament, are remarked in the notes. But the last and best edition is, 4. That published at Weissenfels, in 1805, by M. Zahn, in one volume quarto: it unites every thing that can be desired, either for the purposes of criticism or interpretation. The text is given from a very beautiful and exact copy, which the celebrated scholar Ihre had procured to be made under his own inspection, and with the design of printing it. The editor has placed Ihre's Latin translation by the side of the text; and has also added an interlineary Latin version, critical notes placed at the foot of each page, and an historical introduction, together with a complete glossary.

The fragments of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans were discovered by M. Knittel, in 1756, in a *Codex Rescriptus** belonging to the library of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel: they were published by him in 1762, and reprinted in 1763, in 4to, at Upsal, with notes by Ihre. The Brunswick manuscript contains the version of Ulphilas in one column, and a Latin translation in the other: it is on vellum, and is supposed to be of the sixth century. In the eighth or ninth century, the "Origenes Isidori Hispalensis" were written over the translation of Ulphilas; but the ink had become so exceedingly pale as not to admit of deciphering the original manuscript, without great difficulty.†

While this sheet was preparing for press, it was announced in a respectable literary Journal that the Abate Angelo Mai,

* A *Codex Rescriptus*, or *Palimpsestus*, (as it is sometimes called), is a manuscript on parchment or vellum, from which the original writing has been partially or totally erased, and on which a new work has been written in its stead. An account of several manuscripts of this kind is given in an "Introduction to the Study of Bibliography," by the author of the present work, vol. i. pp. 112—118.

† Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 130—153, 631—635. Semler, pp. 70—72. Viser, Hermeneut. Nov. Test., vol. ii. part iii. pp. 56—58. Schoell, Histoire Abrégée de la Littérature Grecque, tom. ii. p. 131. Coxe's Travels in Russia, &c. vol. iv. pp. 173—180, edit. 1802.

to whose recent discoveries among the *Codices Rescripti* in the Ambrosian library at Milan the lovers of classical literature are already so deeply indebted, has added to the number, the Mæso-Gothic translation of the thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul made by Ulphilas, the loss of which has hitherto been a subject of regret. It fills two voluminous manuscripts, and is covered by Latin writing of a later date. These manuscripts appear to have been written between the fifth and sixth century. What is wanting in one manuscript is contained in the other: and eight of the Epistles are entire in both, so as to afford the advantage of collation. The characters are stated to be large and handsome; the titles of the Epistles are at the head of the manuscripts; and there are also marginal references in the same language. Of this very important discovery Signor Mai has announced his design of publishing an extensive specimen in a preliminary dissertation: and a complete fount of Mæso-Gothic types has been cast, at the expense of a public-spirited individual, of different sizes, both for the text and notes. Besides the two manuscripts just noticed, the Abate Mai has collected twenty more pages in the Mæso-Gothic language, extracted from several other *Codices Rescripti* in the same library; in these pages are found those parts of Ulphilas's version of the Gospels, which are wanting in the mutilated editions of the *Codex Argenteus*, together with great part of the homilies or commentaries on them, and, what is still more interesting, some fragments of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah;—a discovery this, of the greatest importance, as not the smallest portion of the Gothic version of the Old Testament was hitherto known to exist. *

2. The *Slavonic* or old Russian translation was executed from the original Greek in the ninth century by the two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, the translators of the Old Testament †. It was first printed in the edition of the *entire* Slavonic Bible at Prague in 1570, and at Ostrog in 1581, and has since been several times reprinted at Moscow, Kiow, and elsewhere. In all the editions prior to the year 1653, the memorable verse, 1 John v. 7. is omitted. In the editions of 1653 and 1663 it is inserted in the margin, but is incorporated in the text in all subsequent impressions. This version is pronounced by M. Dobrowsky, who is profoundly skilled in Slavonic literature, to be a very literal translation from the

* New Monthly Magazine for December 1817, vol. viii. p. 429. In order to accompany this considerable part of the labours of the Gothic prelate, it is added that Signor Mai is preparing a new Mæso-Gothic Lexicon; which, independently of its value to the biblical critic, will prove a most valuable acquisition to the philologists of all those nations whose languages are of German origin.

† See pp. 291, 292. *supra*.

Greek, the Greek construction being very frequently retained, even where it is contrary to the genius of the Slavonian language; and in general it resembles the most antient manuscripts, with which it agrees, even where their united evidence is against the common printed reading. The Slavonian version, he adds, has not been altered from the Vulgate, as some have supposed, though the fact is in itself almost incredible: and it possesses few or no *lectiones singulares*, or readings peculiar to itself. From an edition of this version printed at Moscow in 1614, Alter selected the readings on the Four Gospels, and from a manuscript in the imperial library, the readings on the Acts and Epistles which are printed in his edition of the Greek New Testament (Vienna, 1787, 2 vols. 8vo). M. Dobrowsky states that these various lections are given with great accuracy, but that those which Matthäi has selected from the Revelation are erroneous and useless. Griesbach has given a catalogue of the Slavonic manuscripts collated for his edition of the New Testament, communicated to him by Dobrowsky, at the end of which is a brief classed account of the editions of the Slavonic New Testament.*

3. *Anglo-Saxon versions*.—Although Christianity was planted in Britain in the first century, it does not appear that the Britons had any translation of the Scriptures in their language earlier than the eighth century. About the year 706 Adhelm, the first Bishop of Sherborn, translated the Psalter into Saxon: and, at his earnest persuasion, Egbert or Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, soon after executed a Saxon version of the Four Gospels†. Not many years after this, the learned and venerable Bede (who died A. D. 735) translated the entire Bible into that language. There were other Saxon versions, either of the whole or of detached portions of the Scriptures, of a later date. A translation of the book of Psalms was undertaken by the illustrious King Alfred, who died A. D. 900, when it was about half finished: and Elfric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in 995, translated the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judith, part of the book of Kings, Esther, and Maccabees. The entire Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible has never been printed: King Alfred's

* Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 153—158, 636, 637. Griesbach, Prolegomena, vol. i. pp. cxxvii—cxxxii. Becker, Monogrammatica Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti, pp. 108, 109.

† The manuscript of this translation is now deposited in the Cottonian Library, (Nero, D. iv.): Mr. Astle has given a specimen of it in plate xiv. of his "Origin and Progress of Writing," and has described it in pp. 100, 101.

translation of the Psalms, with the interlineary Latin text, was edited by John Spelman, 4to, London, 1640; and there is another Saxon interlineary translation of the Psalter, deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. Of the Four Gospels there have been three editions printed: 1. By Matthew Parker, 4to, London, 1571; 2. By William Lisle, 4to, London, 1638; 3. By Thomas Marshall, 4to, Dordrecht, 1665, with the Mæso-Gothic version, and reprinted at Amsterdam in 1684. The Anglo-Saxon version being evidently translated from the Old Latin, Michaelis is of opinion that it may be of use in determining the readings of that version; and Semler has remarked that it contains many readings which vary both from the Greek and Latin texts, of which he has given some examples. Dr. Mill selected various lections from this version; which, from the difference of style and inequalities observable in its execution, he ascribes to several authors: it is supposed to have been executed in the eighth century.*

* Johnson's Hist. Account of English Translations of the Bible, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 61—63. Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 158, 637. Kortholt, pp. 351—353. Semler, Apparatus ad Lib. Novi Test. Interp. pp. 72, 73.

§ 3. ON THE USE AND APPLICATION OF ANTIENT VERSIONS.

*Observations on the respective merits of the several antient versions:—
Rules for consulting them to the best advantage.*

ALTHOUGH some hints have been incidentally offered, in the preceding sections, relative to the use of particular translations of the Bible; yet, as the antient versions are equally useful in sacred criticism in order to ascertain the genuine reading of passages, as well as in assisting us to determine the true meaning of the Scriptures, it may not be improper to subjoin a few general observations on the most beneficial mode of applying them to these important objects.

As no version can be absolutely free from error, we ought not to rely implicitly on any one translation: but, if it be practicable, the aid of the cognate dialects should be united with reference to a version, in order that, by a comparison of both these helps, we may arrive at the knowledge of the genuine readings and meanings. From inattention to this obvious caution, many eminent men have at different times ascribed

to particular versions a degree of authority to which they were by no means entitled. Thus, by many of the fathers, the Alexandrian interpreters were accounted to be divinely inspired, and consequently free from the possibility of mistake: a similar opinion was held by various eminent modern critics, particularly by Isaac Vossius, who asserted the Septuagint to be preferable to the Hebrew text, and to be absolutely free from error! The church of Rome has fallen into a like mistake with respect to the Vulgate or Latin version, which the council of Trent declared to be the *only* authentic translation.

Further, *versions of versions*, that is, those translations which were not made *immediately* from the Hebrew Old Testament, or from the Greek New Testament, are of no authority in determining either the genuine text or meaning of the original, but only of that version from which they were taken. This remark applies particularly to the Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Spanish, French, and German translations, whether of the Old or New Testament; which, being made before the sixteenth century, were executed immediately from the Latin: and subsequently, even in those examples where they are unanimous in a reading, their united voices are of no more authority than that of the Latin version alone*. In all cases, therefore, which require the aid of a version, either for the purpose of criticism or of interpretation, recourse must be had to those translations, which, being more antient or better executed, are preferable to every other. And in this view the following will be found most deserving of attention, not only as uniting the two qualifications of antiquity and excellence, but also as being more generally accessible to students, being for the most part comprized in the Polyglott Bibles, which are to be found in almost every public library.

I. The *Alexandrian version* is confessedly the most antient, and, with all its errors and imperfections, contains very much that is highly valuable, and on this account it has been used by nearly all the more antient interpreters. With the Septuagint should be consulted the fragments of the translations executed by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, as well as the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions; the diligent use of all these is, perhaps, the best possible preparation to the critical interpretation of the New Testament.

II. The *Syriac Peschito*, whose fidelity as a version, independently of the excellence of its style, has received the high-

* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

est commendations from Michaelis, is particularly serviceable for the interpretation of the New Testament.

III. The *Latin Vulgate*, with the exception of the Psalms, deservedly claims the third place.

IV. The *Targums* or Chaldee Paraphrases, though unequally executed, contain many things that are exceedingly useful, and necessary to be known, especially the paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uzziel: they not only contribute essentially to the understanding of many different passages in the Old Testament, but also throw much light on the interpretation of the New Testament. Extracts from them are to be found in all the larger commentaries, and also in the works of Dr. Lightfoot.

V. The other versions made immediately from the Hebrew and Greek originals follow next in order, particularly the Arabic translations of the Old Testament: but no dependence can be placed, as an authority in support of a reading, on the Latin translations of the Oriental versions, which are printed in the Polyglott Bibles.

It will not however be *necessary* to consult antient versions, except in passages that are really difficult, or unless a particular examination of them be instituted for some special object of inquiry. In this case not one or two versions merely should be consulted, but every version that is accessible should be referred to; and all such places should be compared together as are *parallel*, that is, those passages in which the same word or the same form of speaking respectively occurs; and, where any thing worthy of preservation offers itself, it will materially facilitate future studies to note it either in an interleaved Bible, or, which perhaps is preferable, in an interleaved Lexicon. This practice will not only enable the biblical student to discover and correctly to appreciate the genius of a version, and the ability, or the reverse, with which it may be executed; but it will also supply many important helps for the interpretation of Scripture. As, however, some of the antient versions have been altered or interpolated in many places, great care must be taken to distinguish the modern amendments from the genuine text of the original antient translator. The various excellent concordances that are extant, and which are noticed in a subsequent section, will afford great assistance in finding out such parallel words or phrases*.

* See section iv. *infra*, towards the close.

In order to ascertain how far the antient versions represent correctly the meaning of Hebrew or Greek words, the following rules will be found useful.

1. *That meaning is to be taken and received as the true one, which all the versions give to a word, and which is also confirmed by the kindred dialects:* because, the number of testimonies worthy of credit being as great as possible, there can be no room left for doubt.

2. *All those significations, formerly given to Hebrew words, are to be considered as correctly given, which the Septuagint or other Greek translators express by the same or similar Greek words, although no trace of such meaning appear in any Oriental language.*

For, as no doubt can be entertained of the diligence and scrupulous learning of those translators, who can presume to measure the vast copiousness of the Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental languages, by the few books which in our time are extant in those languages? since no one is so ignorant as to suppose that all the riches of the Greek and Latin languages are comprized in the very numerous remains of classical literature with which our age happily abounds.—With regard to the New Testament, “in cases where the sense is not affected by different readings, or the translator might have taken them for synonymous, the evidence of Greek manuscripts is to be preferred to that of an antient version. The same preference is due to the manuscripts wherein the translator has omitted words that appeared of little importance, or a passage in the Greek original is attended with a difficulty which the translator was unable to solve, and therefore either omitted or altered according to the arbitrary dictates of his own judgment.” *

3. *Where the versions differ in fixing the sense of a word, the more antient ones, being executed with the greater care and skill, are in the first place to be consulted, and preferred to all others.*

For, the nearer a translator approaches to the time when the original language was vernacular, we may readily infer that he has expressed with so much the greater fidelity the true signification of words, both primary and proper, as well as those which are derivative and translated. There are, however, some cases in which antient versions are of more authority than the original itself. Most of the translations of the

* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

New Testament, noticed in the preceding pages *, surpass in antiquity the oldest Greek manuscripts now extant: “and they lead to a discovery of the readings in the very antient manuscript that was used by the translator. By their means, rather than from the aid of our Greek manuscripts, none of which is prior to the sixth century, we arrive at the certain knowledge, that the antient writings have been transmitted from the earliest to the present age without material alteration; and that our present text, if we except the passages that are rendered doubtful by an opposition in the readings, *is the same which proceeded from the hands of the apostles*. Whenever the reading can be precisely determined, which the translator found in his Greek manuscript, the version is of equal authority with a manuscript of that period: but as it is sometimes difficult to acquire this absolute certainty, great caution is necessary in collecting readings from the antient versions.” †

4. *A meaning given to a word by only one version, provided this be a good one, is by no means to be rejected; especially if it agree with the author's design and the order of his discourse.*

For it is possible that the force and meaning of a word should be unknown to all other translators, and no trace of it be discoverable in the kindred dialects, and yet that it should be preserved and transmitted to posterity by *one* version. This remark applies chiefly to things which a translator has the best opportunity of understanding from local and other circumstances. Thus, the Alexandrian interpreters are the most ample testimony for every thing related in the Old Testament concerning Egypt, while others, who were natives of Palestine, and perhaps deeply skilled in Jewish literature, are the best guides we can follow in whatever belongs to that country ‡.

5. Lastly, “*Those versions*” of the New Testament, “*in which the Greek is rendered word for word, and the idioms of the original, though harsh and often unmeaning in another language, are still retained in a translation, are of more value in point of criticism than those which express the sense of the original in a manner more suitable to the language of the translator.*”

* See pp. 296—306, *supra*.

† Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 2.

‡ Jahn, *Introduct. ad Vet. Fæd.* pp. 116—122. Pictet, *Theologie Chretienne*, tom. i. pp. 151, 152. Bauer, *Herm. Sac.* pp. 147—162, 301—309. J. B. Carpzov, *Prim. Lin. Herm.* pp. 62—65. Ernesti, *Inst. Interp. N. Test.* p. 57. Morus in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 130, 131. Gerard's *Institutes*, pp. 107—111. Bishop Lowth's *Isaiah*, vol. i. pp. lxxxvii—xc. 8vo edit. Pfeiffer, *Herm. Sac.* c. 14. (Op. tom. ii. pp. 663, 664.)

The value of the latter, as far as regards their critical application, decreases in proportion as the translator attends to purity and elegance, and of course deviates from his original: but their worth is greater in all other respects, as they are not only read with more pleasure, but understood in general with greater ease. By means of the former we discover the words of the original, and even their arrangement:—but the latter are of no use in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, if the various readings of the passage in question make no alteration in the sense. No translation is more literal than the New Syriac, and none therefore leads to a more accurate discovery of the text in the antient manuscript from which the version was taken; but, setting this advantage aside, the Old Syriac is of much greater value than the New*.

* Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

SECTION IV.

ON THE ANALOGY OF SCRIPTURE, OR PARALLEL PASSAGES.

I. *Nature of parallel passages*; — II. *Verbal parallelisms*; — III. *Real parallelisms*; — IV. *Parallelisms of members, or poetical parallelisms*; — V. *Rules for investigating parallel passages*; — *Helps for the investigation of parallel passages.*

THE importance of parallelisms or parallel passages to the elucidation of the Scriptures having already been frequently adverted to, it now becomes necessary to institute a particular inquiry into their nature, and to offer some general hints for beneficially consulting this very important subsidiary mean in the study of the Bible. “When in any ordinary composition a passage occurs of doubtful meaning with respect to the sentiment or doctrine it conveys, the obvious course of proceeding is, to examine what the author himself has in other parts of his work delivered upon the same subject; to weigh well the force of any particular expressions he is accustomed to use; and to inquire what there might be in the occasion or circumstances under which he wrote, tending to throw further light upon the immediate object he had in view. This is only to render common justice to the writer; it is necessary both for the discovery of his real meaning, and to secure him against any wanton charge of error or inconsistency. Now, if this may justly

be required in any ordinary work of uninspired composition, how much more indispensable must it be when we sit in judgment upon the sacred volume; in which (if we acknowledge its divine original) it is impossible even to imagine a failure either in judgment or in integrity!" *

"God has been pleased, in sundry portions and in divers manners, to speak unto us in his word; but in all the books of Scripture we may trace an admirable unity of design, an intimate connexion of parts, and a complete harmony of doctrines. In some instances the same truths are conveyed nearly in the same modes of expression; in other instances the same sentiments are clothed with beautiful varieties of language. While we are interested in discovering some of the indications of mental diversity among the sacred writers, we clearly perceive that the whole volume of revelation is distinguished by a certain characteristic style and phraseology altogether its own, and which for simplicity, dignity, energy, and fulness, must be allowed to have no parallel. Now, if there be in the various parts of Scripture such important coincidences of sentiment, of language, and of idiom, it is evident that we proceed on just and rational principles, in comparing together passages that have some degree of resemblance, and in applying those, the meaning of which is clear, to the illustration of such as are involved in some degree of obscurity." †

The passages which thus have some degree of resemblance are termed *parallel passages*; and the comparison of them is a most important help for interpreting such parts of Scripture as may appear to us obscure or uncertain: for, on almost every subject, there will be found a multitude of phrases, that, when diligently collated, will afford mutual illustration and support to each other; the truth which is more obscurely intimated in one place being expressed with greater precision in others. Thus a part of the attributes or circumstances, relating to both persons and things, is stated in one text or passage, and part in another; so that it is only by searching out several passages, and connecting them together, that we can obtain a just apprehension of them. More particularly, the types of the Old Testament must be compared with their antitypes in the New, (as Numb. xxi. 9. with John iii. 14.); predictions must be compared with the history of their accomplishment,

* Prof. Vanmildert's Lectures, p. 190.

† Rev. H. F. Burder's Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the Sense of Scripture, pp. 17, 18.

(as Isa. liii. the former part of v. 12. with Mark xv. 27, 28. and Luke xxii. 37, and the latter part of Isa. liii. 12. with Luke xxiii. 34); and the portion of Scripture, in which any point is specifically treated, ought to be chiefly attended to in the comparison, as Genesis, ch. i. on the creation, Romans, ch. iii—v. on the doctrine of justification, &c. &c. *

The *foundation* of the parallelisms occurring in the sacred writings is the perpetual harmony of Scripture itself; which, though composed by various writers, yet proceeding from one and the same infallible source, cannot but agree in words as well as in things. Parallelisms are either *near*, or *remote*: in the former case the parallel passages are sought from the same writer; in the latter, from different writers. They are further termed *adequate*, when they affect the whole subject proposed in the text; and *inadequate*, when they affect it only in part: but the most usual division of the analogy of Scripture, or parallelisms, is into *verbal*, or parallelisms of words and *real*, or parallelisms of things.

* On the importance and benefit of consulting parallel passages, Bishop Horsley has several fine observations in his comment on Psal. xcvi. The whole passage is too long to extract, but the following sentences are so appropriate to the subject of this section, that the author deems any apology for their insertion unnecessary. "*It should,*" says his lordship, "*be a rule with every one, who would read the Holy Scriptures with advantage and improvement, to compare every text, which may seem either important for the doctrine it may contain, or remarkable for the turn of the expression, with the parallel passages in other parts of Holy Writ; that is, with the passages in which the subject-matter is the same, the sense equivalent, or the turn of the expression similar. These parallel passages are easily found by the marginal references in Bibles of the larger form.*"....."*It is incredible to any one, who has not in some degree made the experiment, what a proficiency may be made in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation, by studying the Scriptures in this manner, without any other commentary or exposition than what the different parts of the sacred volume mutually furnish for each other. I will not scruple to assert, that the most ILLITERATE CHRISTIAN, if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will not only attain all that practical knowledge which is necessary to his salvation; but, by God's blessing, he will become learned in every thing relating to his religion in such degree, that he will not be liable to be misled, either by the refined arguments or by the false assertions of those who endeavour to ingraft their own opinions upon the Oracles of God. He may safely be ignorant of all philosophy, except what is to be learned from the sacred books; which indeed contain the highest philosophy adapted to the lowest apprehensions. He may safely remain ignorant of all history, except so much of the history of the first ages of the Jewish and of the Christian church as is to be gathered from the canonical books of the Old and New Testament. Let him study these in the manner I recommend, and let him never cease to pray for the ILLUMINATION OF THAT SPIRIT by which these books were dictated; and the whole compass of abstruse philosophy, and recondite history, shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this LEARNED CHRISTIAN's faith. The Bible, thus studied, will indeed prove to be what we Protestants esteem it—a certain and sufficient rule of faith and practice, a helmet of salvation, which alone may quench the fiery darts of the wicked.*"—Sermons on the Resurrection, &c. pp. 221—228.

II. A *Verbal Parallelism* or *Analogy* is that, in which, on comparing two or more places together, the same words and phrases, the same mode of argument, the same method of construction, and the same rhetorical figures, are respectively to be found. Of this description are the following instances.

1. *Parallel words and phrases.* Thus, when the Prophet Jeremiah, speaking of the human heart, says, that it is "deceitful above all things, and *desperately* wicked," (Jer. xvii. 9.), in order to understand the full import of the original word there rendered *desperately*, we must compare Jer. xv. 13. and Micah i. 91. where the same word occurs, and is rendered *desperate* or *incurable*. From which two passages it is obvious that the prophet's meaning was, that the deceitfulness and wickedness of the heart of man are so great, that they cannot be healed or removed by any human art. Compare also Isa. xl. 11. and Ezek. xxxiv. 23. with John x. 11, 14, 15. Heb. xiii. 20. and 1 Pet. ii. 25. and v. 4.

2. *Parallel modes of arguing.*—Thus the apostles, Paul, James, and Peter, respectively support their exhortations to patience by the *example of Jesus Christ*. Compare Heb. xii. 2, 3. James v. 10, 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 21. On the contrary, dissuaves from sin are most strongly set forth in the Old and New Testaments, by urging that sinful courses were the *way of the heathen nations*. Compare Levit. xviii. 24. Jer. x. 2. and Matt. vi. 32.

3. *Of Parallel constructions and figures* we have examples in Rom. viii. 3. 2 Cor. v. 21. and Heb. x. 6. in which passages respectively, the Greek word *αμαρτια*, there translated sin, means *sacrifices or offerings for sin*, agreeably to the idiom of the Hebrew language, in which the same word elliptically signifies both *sin* and *sin-offering*, which the Septuagint version invariably renders by *αμαρτια* in upwards of one hundred places. Dr. Whitby, on 2 Cor. v. 21., has pointed out a few instances; but Dr. A. Clarke (on the same text) has enumerated all the passages, which are in fact so many additional examples of verbal parallelisms. To this class some biblical critics refer those passages in which the same sentence is expressed not precisely in the same words, but in *similar* words, more full as well as more perspicuous, and concerning the force and meaning of which there can be no doubt. Such are the parallelisms of the sacred poets; which, from the light they throw on the poetical books of the Scriptures, demand a distinct consideration.

Verbal parallelisms are of great importance for ascertaining the meaning of words that rarely occur in the Bible, as well as of those which express peculiar doctrines or terms of religion,

as *faith, repentance, new creature, &c.* likewise in explaining doubtful passages, and also the Hebraisms appearing in the New Testament.

III. A *Real Parallelism* or *Analogy* is, where the same thing or subject is treated of, either designedly or incidentally, in the same words, or in others which are more clear, copious, and full, and concerning whose force and meaning there can be no doubt. In comparing two passages, however, we must ascertain whether the same thing is really expressed more fully as well as more clearly, and also without any ambiguity whatever, otherwise little or no assistance can be obtained for illustrating obscure places. Real parallelisms are twofold—historical, and didactic or doctrinal.

An *historical parallelism of things* is, where the same thing or event is related: it is of great and constant use in order to understand aright the Four Gospels, in which the same things are for the most part related more fully by one Evangelist than by the others, according to the design with which the Gospels were respectively written. Thus, the account of our Saviour's stilling the tempest in the sea of Gennesareth is more copiously related by Saint Mark, (iv. 36—41.) and Saint Luke, (viii. 22—25.) than it is by Saint Matthew (viii. 24—26.) By comparing the several narratives of the Evangelists together, harmonies are constructed from their separate histories. In like manner, the historical books of the Old Testament are mutually illustrated by comparing together the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. For instance, many passages in the book of Genesis are parallel to 1 Chron. i.—ix.; many parts of the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, are parallel to the book of Deuteronomy; the books of Samuel and Kings, to the two books of Chronicles; and lastly, 2 Kings, xviii. 13—37. and 2 Chron. xxxii. are parallel with Isa. xxxvi. Dr. Lightfoot has compiled a very valuable harmony of the Old Testament, in which the historical and prophetical passages are intervoven in the order of time.*

A *didactic or doctrinal parallelism of things* is, where the same thing is *taught*: this species of parallel is of the greatest importance for comprehending the doctrines inculcated in the Bible, which we should otherwise be liable to mistake or grossly pervert. We have examples of it in all those Psalms which occur twice in the Book of Psalms, as in Psal. xiv. compared with liii.; xl. 13—17. with lxx.; lvii. 7—11. with

* See Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 1—147.

cviii. 1—5.; lx. 5—12. with cviii. 6—13.; and cxv. 4—8. with cxxxv. 15—18. Sometimes also a hymn of David's, which occurs in the Book of Psalms, is to be found in some one of the historical books, as Psalm xcvi. compared with 1 Chron. xvi. 23—33; Psal. cv. 1—15. with 1 Chron. xvi. 8—22. and Psal. cvi. 47, 48. with 1 Chron. xv. 35, 36.

In like manner, in the New Testament, the same thing is taught nearly in the same words, as in the Epistle of Jude compared with 2 Pet. ch. ii. Frequently also the same doctrine is explained more fully in one place, which had been more concisely stated in another: such, for instance, are the superseding of the Mosaic dispensation by that of the Gospel, and all those passages which are parallel as to the thing or subject discussed, though differing in words; so that, by comparing them, the scope of the doctrine inculcated will readily be collected. On the other hand, where the same subject or doctrine is delivered with more brevity, all the various passages must be diligently collated, and the doctrine elicited from them. Of this description are the numerous predictions, &c. relative to the future happiness of mankind, connected with the removal of the Jewish economy, and the conversion of the Gentiles to the Christian Religion.

But the use of this parallelism will more fully appear from one or two instances. Let us then compare Gal. vi. 15. with Gal. v. 6. 1 Cor. vii. 19. 2 Cor. v. 17. and Rom. ii. 28, 29. In the former passage we read, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, or rather [there is] a new creation.* In Gal. v. 6. the apostle had briefly delivered the same doctrine in the following terms: *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love.*—1 Cor. vii. 19. *Circumcision is nothing, nor uncircumcision, but the keeping of the commandments of God.* 2 Cor. v. 17. *Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, or, more correctly, [there is] a new creation: old things are passed away; behold! all things are become new.* Rom. ii. 28, 29. *He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, i. e. he is not a genuine member of the church of God who has only an outward profession: neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew, a true member of the church of God, which is one outwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.* From these passages it is evident that what Saint Paul, in Gal. vi. 15. terms *a new creature* or *creation*, he in Gal. v. 6. denominates *faith that worketh by love*; and in 1 Cor. vii. 19. *keeping the com-*

mandments of God. From this collation of passages, then, we perceive that what the apostle intends by a *new creature* or *new creation*, is the entire conversion of the heart from sin to God: and as creation is the proper work of an All-wise and Almighty Being, so this total change of heart, soul, and life, which takes place under the ministration of the gospel, is effected by the power and grace of God, and is evidenced by that faith and obedience which are indispensably necessary to all Christians in order to salvation.*

Again: in 2 Cor. 1. 21. God is said to have *anointed us*: the parallel passage, where this expression is so explained as to give an idea of the thing intended, is 1 John ii. 20. where true Christians are said to *have an unction from the Holy One, and to know all things*; and in v. 27. *the same anointing* is said to *teach all things*. Now, if the effect of this unction be that we should know all things, the anointing will be whatever brings knowledge to us, and therefore *teaching*. From this comparison of passages, therefore, we learn that by unction and anointing is intended the Holy Spirit, whose office is to teach all things, and to guide us into all truth, (John xiv. 26. and xvi. 13.); and whose gifts and graces are diffused throughout the church of Christ, and imparted to every *living* member of it. For his assistances are equally necessary to all, to the learned as well as the unlearned, to teachers as well as to hearers: he it is that enlightens our minds, purifies our hearts, and inclines our wills, not only beginning but carrying on and perfecting a new and spiritual life in our souls. The expression in v. 20. *and ye know all things*, is not to be understood in the largest sense, but must be limited to those things which are necessary to salvation. These every true Christian not only knows speculatively—that is, he not only has a notion of them in his mind—but he has also a practical and experimental knowledge and taste of them, which is productive of holy obedience. This inestimable gift was purchased by the sufferings and death of Christ, who is here styled the *Holy One*. The words in v. 27. *and ye need not that any man should teach you*, cannot be intended to set aside all outward teaching; but their meaning is, either that ye need not the teaching of any of those antichrists and false teachers mentioned in various parts of this epistle, or that ye need not that any one should teach you how to judge of those deceivers and their doctrines.

* Mori Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. p. 95. See also Macknight and Scott on the texts above cited.

IV. Besides verbal and real parallelisms, there is a third species partaking of the nature of both, and which is of equal importance for understanding the Scriptures: This has been termed a *parallelism of members*: it consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism, between the members of each period; so that in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure.

A single example will illustrate this definition:—In Luke i. 52, 53. we read, *He (God) hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.* In this passage the same *thing* is expressed, viz. that God changes the conditions of men: and this same *thing* is also expressed in corresponding members that represent it in various points of view. Thus the Almighty changes adversity into prosperity, and prosperity into adversity. The *words answer to each other*, the mighty—those of low degree; put down—exalted; the hungry (or poor)—the rich; filled with good things—sent empty away. Lastly, the *things or subjects stated answer to each other* by a contrast sufficiently obvious: the former, (the powerful and rich) are depressed; the latter (the humble and poor) are exalted.

This parallelism of members or sentences, however, does not occur very frequently in the New Testament, but is chiefly to be found in the poetical books of the Old Testament, and the attentive consideration of it will very essentially contribute to the right interpretation of them, as well as of the prophetic books. As this species of parallelism has been discussed with equal ability and learning by Bishop Lowth in his “*Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*,” and in the preliminary dissertation prefixed to his version of Isaiah’s prophecy, we shall chiefly follow him in the ensuing remarks.

The correspondence of one verse or line with another he terms, generally, a parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent to it, or contrasted with it, in sense—or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction—these he calls parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms.

The poetical parallelism has much variety and many gradations, being sometimes more accurate and manifest, sometimes more vague and obscure: it may however, on the whole, be said to consist of three species—parallels synonymous,

parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic. Of each of these we shall adduce a few examples.

1. The first species is the *synonymous parallelism*, also termed by the Bishop *parallel lines synonymous*, when the same sentiment is repeated in different but equivalent terms; when a proposition is delivered, and is immediately repeated in the whole or in part, the expression being varied, but the sense remaining entirely or nearly the same. This species is the most frequent of all, and is often conducted with the utmost accuracy and neatness: it prevails chiefly in the shorter poems, in many of the Psalms, in Balaam's prophecies, and frequently in those of Isaiah, most of which are distinct poems, of no great length. As the instances of the synonymous parallel are very numerous, and do not present any difficulty in the choice of them, we shall therefore select such as are most remarkable in other respects. The first example shall be the hundred and fourteenth Psalm.

1. When Israel went out of Egypt;
The House of Jacob from a strange people; *
2. Judah was his sacred heritage;
Israel his dominion.
3. The sea saw, and fled;
Jordan turned back:
4. The mountains leaped like rams;
The hills like the sons of the flock.
5. What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest;
Jordan, that thou turnedst back;
6. Mountains, that ye leaped like rams;
And hills, like the sons of the flock?
7. At the presence of the Lord, tremble thou earth;
At the presence of the God of Jacob!
8. Who turned the rock into a lake of waters;
The flint into a water spring.

The following passages will supply additional examples:

Jehovah, in thy strength shall the king rejoice,
How greatly shall he exult in thy salvation!
Thou hast given him the desire of his heart,
And the request of his lips thou hast not withholden.

Psal. xxi. 1, 2.†

Blessed is the man that feareth Jehovah;
That greatly delighteth in his commandments.

Psal. cxii. 1.

Honour Jehovah with the riches;
And with the first-fruits of all thine increase.

Prov. iii. 9. and see also Prov. i. 24—32.

* "Rather," says the late Bishop Horsley, "a tyrannical people." Book of Psalms, vol. ii. p. 259.

† Bishop Horsley's Version.

The prophetic muse is no less elegant and correct: Thus Isaiah says:

Seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found;
Call ye upon him while he is near:
Let the wicked forsake his way;
And the unrighteous man his thoughts:
And let him return to Jehovah, and he will compassionate him;
And unto our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

Isaiah lv. 6, 7.

See also Isaiah xlvi. 3. li. 7, 8. liii. 1—5. liv. 4. lv. 3. and lx. 1—3. But, excellent as that evangelical prophet truly is, he is not unrivalled in this kind of composition: the other prophets contain abundant examples; we shall however only adduce two instances. The first is from Hosea, and is exquisitely pathetic:

How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim?
Abandon thee, O Israel?
How shall I make thee as Admah,
Place thee in the condition of Zeboim?
My heart is turned upon me;
My bowels yearn all together.
I will not execute the fury of mine anger:
I will not return to make destruction of Ephraim.
For God I am, and not man;
The Holy One in the midst of thee, although I am no frequenter of cities.

Hosea, xi. 8, 9.*

The other passage is from Joel, and is highly animated:

Like mighty men shall they rush on;
Like warriors shall they mount upon the wall;
And, every one in his way, shall they march;
And they shall not turn aside from their paths.

Joel, ii. 7.

There is great variety in the form of the synonymous parallelism, which is sometimes produced by the repetition of the former member, either in the whole or in part:

Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth, JEHOVAH,
Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth, display thy glory.
How long shall the impious, O JEHOVAH,
How long shall the impious triumph?

Psal. xciv. 1, 3.†

See also Psalm cxxix. 1, 2. Judges, xv. 16. Isaiah xv. 1. and Nahum i. 2.

There is frequently something wanting in the latter member, which must be repeated from the former to complete the sentence:

* Bishop Horsley's Version.

† Ibid.

The King sent and released him;
The ruler of the people, and set him free.

Psal. cv. 20.

The mighty dead tremble from beneath;
The waters, and they that dwell therein.

Job xxvi. 5.

Additional examples may be seen in 2 Sam. xxii. 41. and Isaiah xlix. 7. Frequently, however, the whole of the latter division answers only to some part of the former, as in Psalm xvii. 1. and Isa. lx. 1.

Further, there are triplet parallelisms, when three lines correspond together, and form a kind of stanza. In these the second line is generally synonymous with the first, while the third either begins or terminates the period, and frequently refers to both the preceding.

The floods, O JEHOVAH, raised,
The floods raised their voice :
The floods lifted up their waves
With the sound of many waters.
Mighty are the breakers of the sea !
Mighty on high is JEHOVAH !

Psal. xciii. 3, 4.

See also Psalm cxii. 10. Job iii. 4, 6, 9. Isa. lx. 20. Hosea, vi. 1, 2. and Joel iii. 13. In stanzas of five lines, the nature of which is nearly similar, the line that is not parallel is generally placed between the two distichs :

Like as the lion growleth,
Even the young lion over his prey ;
Though the whole company of shepherds be called against him ;
At their voice he will not be terrified,
Nor at their tumult will he be humbled.

Isa. xxxi. 4.

Similar instances occur in Job viii. 5, 6. Isa. xlv. 26. and xlv. 7. Hosea xiv. 9. Joel iii. 16. and Zech. ix. 5.

Those stanzas which consist of four lines, generally form two regular distichs : but there is sometimes a peculiar artifice to be perceived in the distribution of the sentences :

From the heavens JEHOVAH looketh down,
He seeth all the children of men ;
From the seat of his rest he contemplateth
All the inhabitants of the earth.

Psal. xxxii. 13, 14.

See also Deut. xxxii. 42. In these two passages, the latter members are to be alternately referred to the former. Sometimes also the sense and construction have an alternate correspondence, as in Isa. liv. 5. and ii. 7.

The second sort of parallelisms is the *antithetic*, in which a thing is illustrated by its contrary being opposed to it. This is not confined to any particular form : for sentiments are

opposed to sentiments, words to words, singulars to singulars, plurals to plurals, &c. This species is of less frequent occurrence in the prophetic poems of the Old Testament, especially those which are elevated in the style, and more connected in the parts; but it is admirably adapted to adages, aphorisms, proverbs, and detached sentences. Much, indeed, of the elegance, acuteness, and force, of a great number of the Proverbs of Solomon, arises from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment, as in the following examples:

A wise son rejoiceth his father:
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.

Prov. x. i.

Here every word has its opposite, the terms *father* and *mother* being relatively opposite.

The memory of the just is a blessing:
But the name of the wicked shall rot.

Prov. x. 7.

In this instance there are only two antithetic terms, for *memory* and *name* are synonymous. See also Prov. xi. 24. xvi. 33. and xxix. 26.

But, though the antithetic parallel be of comparatively rare occurrence in the superior kinds of Hebrew poetry, it is not inconsistent with them. Thus, we have a beautiful instance of it in the thanksgiving ode of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 4—7. and in some of the Psalms, as in Psal. xx. 7, 8. xxx. 5. and xxxvii. 10, 11. Isaiah, also, by means of it, without departing from his usual dignity, greatly increases the beauty of his composition.

For the mountains shall be removed;
And the hills shall be overthrown;
But my kindness from thee shall not be removed;
And the covenant of my peace shall not be overthrown.

Isa. liv. 10.

See likewise Isa. liv. 7, 8. ix. 10. and lxv. 13, 14.

The third species of parallel is termed *synthetic* or *constructive*: where the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction; in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence, and equality, between the different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative. This species of parallel includes all such as do not come within the two former classes. The nineteenth Psalm will furnish a beautiful illustration of it.

The law of JEHOVAH is perfect, restoring the soul;
 The testimony of JEHOVAH is sure, making wise the simple:
 The precepts of JEHOVAH are right, rejoicing the heart:
 The commandment of JEHOVAH is clear, enlightening the eyes:
 The fear of JEHOVAH is pure, enduring for ever;
 The judgments of JEHOVAH are truth, they are just altogether;
 More desirable than gold, or than much fine gold,
 And sweeter than honey, or the dropping of honey-combs.

Psal. xix. 8—11.

Additional instances of the synthetic parallelism occur in cxlviii. 7—13. Job xii. 13—16. Isa. xiv. 4—9. and lviii. 5—8.

Triplets are often formed of this kind of parallelism, as in Psal. lxxvi. 18, 19. Psal. cxxxv. 6, 7. Isa. l. 5, 6. and Hosea, xiv. 6, 7. Frequently one line or member contains two sentiments, as in Psal. xlvi. 6, 10. and Isa. xliii. 2. There is a peculiar figure which is frequently made use of in this species of parallelism, and which appears altogether poetical: that is, when a definite number is put for an indefinite, principally, it should seem, for the sake of the parallelism: for it sometimes happens, that the circumstances afterwards enumerated do not accurately accord with the number specified.

In six troubles shall he deliver thee;
 Yea, in the seventh, evil shall not overpower thee.

Job, v. 19.*

See additional instances in Job xii. 13—16. Psal. lxii. 12. Isa. lviii. 5—8. Amos i. 3. etc.† The book of Job, being a poem on an extensive plan, and in a high tragic style, though very exact in the division of the lines and in the parallelism, and affording many fine examples of the synonymous kind, yet consists chiefly of the antithetic or constructive parallelism, and will be found to exhibit the most perfect examples of it.

The degrees of the correspondence of the lines, in this last sort of parallels, must from its nature be various; the parallelism being sometimes more, sometimes less exact, and sometimes hardly at all apparent. It requires indeed particular attention, together with much habitude in the analysis of the construction, to be able in all cases to see and distinguish the nice rests and pauses, which ought to be made, in order to give the period or sentence its due time and proportion. The following hints and cautions may perhaps enable the student profitably to avail himself of the different kinds of paral-

* Mr. Mason Good's version.

† Bishop Lowth's version of Isaiah, vol. i. pp. xv—xxx, xxxiv. Prælect. de Poesi Hebr., prælect. 19. pp. 237—258. 2da edit.; or the late Dr. Gregory's excellent translation of them, vol. ii. pp. 35—52.

lelisms above mentioned, and advantageously apply them to the interpretation of the Scriptures.

1. *Ascertain the primary meaning of the passage under consideration.*

In the passage from St. Luke above cited, the primary or fundamental meaning was, that God changes the conditions of men*. In 1 Cor. iv. 5. we read, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.* Now here is a parallelism of members, but the fundamental meaning is, that *God judges the counsels of men*; he therefore judges without respect of persons, and with unerring impartiality. The apostle's design was to show that it is impossible for men to perceive and judge the counsels of one another. Thus, again, words are also construed with words, and things with things, in order that an enumeration may be made of the species, kinds, or parts of the whole; as in the divine ode of the Virgin Mary already alluded to, in which the *specific* displays of divine power are enumerated. *God hath put down the proud, but exalted them of low degree, &c.* The diligent reader will observe, that this place describes the power of God, in whose hands is the distribution of prosperity and adversity; and that all these parts or species are, in an exposition, to be joined together with the proposition exhibiting the genus or *kind*, viz. that prosperity and adversity are in the hands of the Almighty.

2. *Although the sacred Scriptures, PRIMARILY coming from God, are perfectly consistent, and harmonize throughout; yet, as they were SECONDARILY written by different authors, on various topics, and in different styles, those books are in the first instance to be compared, which were composed by the same author in the same language, and on a parallel subject.*

(1.) Thus, by comparing Psal. xxxviii. 10. with 1 Sam. xiv. 26, 27. (in which Jonathan, having taken some honey for his refreshment, is said to have had *his eyes enlightened*), we shall readily apprehend the force of the psalmist's complaint, that "the light of his eyes was gone from him;" for the eyes of a person in good health are so strong, as to sparkle with the rays of light that fall upon them; whereas, when the constitution is worn by long sickness, or broken by grief, the eyes lose their vigour and brilliancy, and in cases of incipient blindness, the light gradually fails the eyes. In like manner, if we compare 1 Thess. v. 23. with Jude verse 19. we shall find that the *spirit*, mentioned in the former passage, does not denote any *third* constituent

* See p. 318, *supra*.

part of man, distinct from the soul and body, but that it means the spiritual strength bestowed, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, in our regeneration and sanctification; for the apostle Jude, speaking of false teachers, describes them as *sensual*, NOT HAVING THE SPIRIT, that is, as persons abandoned to follow their own evil ways, unrenewed and unsanctified by the Holy Spirit.

(2.) But the propriety of this canon will particularly appear, if we compare the parallel passages of the same author, in preference to every other sacred writer. For instance, in Rom. iii. 24., Saint Paul, when treating of our justification in the sight of God, says, that we are justified freely by his grace: now that this is to be understood of the free favour of God towards us, and not of any quality wrought in us, is evident from Eph. ii. 4, 5. 2 Tim. 19. and Tit. iii. 5, 7. in which passages our salvation by Jesus Christ is expressly ascribed to the “great love wherewith God loved us,” “to his own purpose and grace,” and “to his mercy” and “grace.”

3. Besides the kindred dialects, much assistance will be derived, in studying the parallelisms of Scripture, from a diligent comparison of the Greek Septuagint version with the New Testament; as the latter was very frequently cited by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and was constantly used in the synagogues during the apostolic age, as well as by the Gentile converts to Judaism.

As the importance of cognate languages* in illustrating the Scriptures generally, and the value of the Septuagint version†, for explaining the New Testament in particular, have already been noticed, it will not be necessary to adduce many examples. We shall offer one or two from the Septuagint, as being more readily accessible to biblical students.

Thus, the force of our Saviour's expression in Luke xii. 42. (giving a portion of meat, σιτομετριον, in due season) will best appear if we compare it with the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 2. where we are told that Joseph (when Pharaoh had constituted him intendant-general of Egypt) supplied his father and his brothers, and all his father's household, with a certain portion of corn for each person; εσιτομετρει σιτον, the very expression used by Saint Luke. It was usual for the stewards of great families, in antient times, to measure out to each slave his allotted portion of corn every month. Again, in Luke xv. 13. the younger son is said to have taken his journey into a far country, απεδεμησεν εις χωραν μακραν; an expres-

* See pp. 250—253, *supra*.

† See pp. 281, 282, *supra*.

sion, Grotius remarks, which is singularly appropriate: for in the Septuagint version of Psal. lxxiii. 27. those who have wilfully cast off the fear of God are said *μακρυνεν απο του Θεου εαυτους*, to withdraw themselves afar from God.

4. *Whenever the mind is struck with any resemblance, in the first place consider whether it is a true resemblance, and whether the passages are sufficiently similar; that is, not only whether the same word, but also the same thing, answers together, in order to form a safe judgment concerning it.*

It often happens that *one* word has several distinct meanings, one of which obtains in one place, and one in another place. When, therefore, words of such various meanings present themselves, all those passages where they occur are not to be immediately considered as parallel, unless they have a similar power. Thus, if any one were to compare Jonah iv. 10. (where mention is made of the gourd which came up in a night, and perished in a night, and which in the original Hebrew is termed *the son of a night*), with 1 Thess. v. 5. where Christians are called, not children of the night, but *children of the day*, it would be a spurious parallel.

5. *Where two parallel passages present themselves, the clearer and more copious place must be selected to illustrate one that is more briefly and obscurely expressed.*

The force and meaning of a word can never be ascertained from a single passage; but if there be a second passage on the same subject, we have a criterion by which to ascertain the writer's meaning. Or, if we consider the subject discussed by him, we shall find that he has in one part touched very slightly on topics which are elsewhere more fully explained, and in which he has omitted nothing that could more copiously illustrate the former place. In availing ourselves, therefore, of a parallel passage to elucidate any part of the inspired writings, it is evident that the clearer places, and those which treat more fully on a subject, are to be considered as fundamental passages, by which others are to be illustrated. Thus, in Hosea xii. 4. there is an allusion to the patriarch Jacob's wrestling with an angel of God: now this place would be extremely obscure, if the whole history of that transaction were not more amply related in Gen. xxxii. 25—31.

6. *Other things being equal, a nearer parallel is preferable to one that is more remote.*

If a writer elsewhere repeat the same forms of speech, and also discuss in another part a subject which he has but slightly touched in one place, it is better to explain that place from the same writer, than from parallel passages collected from others.

But where a writer supplies nothing by which to illustrate himself, recourse must in that case be had to such as were contemporary with him, or nearly so, and from their compositions similar passages are to be collected. Thus Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Amos, having been nearly contemporary with each other, and having uttered predictions relative to nearly the same events, mutually elucidate each other, as the prophecy of Ezekiel illustrates that of Jeremiah, and *vice versâ*. This rule will apply generally, unless the more remote writer define obscure places better, or continue and adorn the subject discussed.

7. *No assistance is to be derived from similar passages, the sense of which is uncertain.*

For if such passages be cited to explain another that is obscure, they will be of no use whatever, however similar they may be, but equally obscure. It is to little purpose, therefore, to accumulate similar passages where the same name of a tree, plant, herb, &c. is mentioned, and especially where there is no note or mark attached to it: for several of the birds, beasts, fishes, trees, plants, precious stones, and musical instruments, mentioned in the Scriptures, are either unknown to us, or cannot now be precisely distinguished*.

8. *It will be of great use to collect and reduce into alphabetical order all those similar passages in which the same forms of speech occur, and the same things are proposed in a different order of narration: but care must be taken to avoid the accumulation of numerous passages that are parallel to each other in forms of speech, or in things which are of themselves clear and certain: for such accumulations of parallel places savour more of a specious display of learning than real utility†.*

The best and most certain help by which to find out parallel passages is, unquestionably, the diligent and attentive perusal of the Scriptures, repeated after short intervals of time, and accompanied by the committal of the most difficult

* See some instances of this observation in Mr. Pilkington's "Remarks on several Passages of Scripture," pp. 83—90.

† Morus, in Ernesti Inst. Interpret. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 97—110. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 163—174. J. B. Carpzov. Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacr. pp. 45—47. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. xi. pp. 658, 659. Franckii Prælect. Hermeneut. pp. 95, et seq. 153, et seq. Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 362—384, 651, 652; also his Exercit. Herm. pp. 209—219. J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 278—305. Jahnii Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 81—94; and Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 399—406. See also Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 148—157.

passages to writing, together with such other passages as are either similar in words or in things, and which tend to throw any light on obscure places. But, in instituting such parallelisms, care must be taken not to multiply references unnecessarily, for mere show rather than for their practical utility, and also that they do not violate the analogy of faith. For instance, Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. are not in every respect parallel to each other; because in the former passage Saint Paul is treating of justification *in the sight of God*—a doctrine which numerous passages of Scripture most clearly testify to be by faith alone; whereas Saint James is speaking of justification *in the sight of men*, who form their judgment of a man by his works. The method here indicated is the only *effectual* way by which to ascertain parallel words and phrases, as well as parallelisms of things: it will indeed require a considerable portion of time and study, which *every one* may not perhaps be able to give; but individuals thus circumstanced may advantageously facilitate their researches by having recourse to editions of the Bible with parallel references, and to concordances.

1. *Of editions of the Scriptures with parallel references*, there are two classes, viz. editions in the original languages, and versions.

The best *Hebrew Bible*, perhaps, with parallel passages, is that edited by John Henry Michaelis, at Halle, in 1720, 4to. The *Greek New Testament*, edited by Gerard von Mæstricht at Amsterdam in 1711, and again in 1735, has a most copious and valuable selection of parallel references.

Of the authorized *English Bible*, the Oxford editions (after that of Dr. Blayney in 1769), and that of Bishop Wilson, are among the best and most copious* of the larger editions.

* The following short table will convey an accurate idea of the progressive increase of references to parallel texts in various editions of the Bible:

In the 1st edition of 1611	There were in the Old Testament	6,588	In the Apocrypha	885	In the New Testament	1,527	Total	9,000
J. Hayes's, 1677 - -		14,629		1,409		9,857		25,895
Dr. Scattergood's, 1678		20,357		1,417		11,371		33,145
Bishops Tenison and Lloyd's, 1699 }		24,352		1,419		13,717		39,488
Dr. Blayney's, 1769 -		43,318		1,772		19,893		64,983
Bishop Wilson's, 1785 -		45,190		1,772		19,993		66,955

Hewlett's Commentary, vol. i. p. *45, 4to edit. in which Mr. H. has adopted the parallel texts in Bishop Wilson's Bible, as being the most copious, and upon the whole well selected.

Canne's 8vo, edition, 1682, Bill and Barker's, 8vo, London, 1690, and Watson's, Edinburgh, 8vo, 1722, are the most valuable of the *pocket* editions, and are all scarce and dear. The Rev. Thomas Scott's Commentary on the Bible, in 6 vols. 4to, has a very copious selection of parallel references on the plan of Canne's Bible. The Rev. Dr. Clarke's Commentary also has a similar selection of parallel texts. But the most elegant and useful of all the *pocket* editions of the English Bible, with parallel references, is that recently published by Mr. Bagster, and containing a *new* selection of upwards of sixty thousand references to passages that are *really* parallel.

A very valuable edition of *The New Testament, with references under the text in words at length, so that the parallel texts may be seen at one view*, was published many years since, by the Rev. Francis Fox, in 2 vols. 8vo. The second edition, dated 1742, is now before us. The editor has given, for the most part, all the references in the then last and fullest edition of the Bible, together with a great number collected by himself; and has further added the chronology of Archbishop Usher, the marginal renderings, and several good notes on really difficult passages. The whole work is executed with great judgment and ability; and, it is to be regretted that it cannot be procured for less than *two guineas*! A valuable index is subjoined. It would be no small service to the student of sacred literature if this work were reprinted, with corrections, and, what is yet more desirable, if an edition of the entire Bible were executed upon the same plan.

For the particular study of the Epistles, the Rev. Peter Roberts's *Harmony of the Epistles* will be found singularly valuable, on account of its bringing together in a perspicuous form all the passages which are *really* parallel.

2. *Concordances*: of these also there are two classes—concordances to the original Scriptures, and concordances to versions.

CONCORDANCES TO THE HEBREW BIBLE.

Joannis Buxtorfii Concordantiæ Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ, Basileæ, 1632, folio.

This is a work of great labour: it was abridged by Christian Ravius under the title of *Fons Zionis, sive Concordantiarum Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum Jo. Buxtorfii Epitome*, Berolini, 1677, 8vo. Buxtorf's Concordance was translated and greatly improved by Dr. John Taylor of Norwich, who published *The Hebrew Concordance adapted to the English Bible*, disposed

after the manner of Buxtorf, 2 vols. folio, London, 1754. This is indeed a most elaborate and valuable work: its price is from eleven to twelve guineas, according to its condition. As Buxtorf, however, omitted to treat of the Hebrew particles, his defect was supplied by Noldius in the following work:

Christiani Noldii Concordantiæ particularum Ebræo-Chaldaicarum, &c. Jenæ, 1734, 4to, with the Annotations of John Gottfrid Tympius.

This valuable work serves both as a lexicon and as a concordance; and is so complete as to leave scarcely any thing on the subject unfinished.

Mariæ de Calasio, Concordantiæ Bibliorum Hebraicorum et Latinorum, à Romaine, London, 4 vols. folio, 1747 and following years, is greatly inferior to Dr. Taylor's Concordance, for which however it may be substituted where the latter cannot be procured. It is a splendid and very useful book.

CONCORDANCES TO THE GREEK TESTAMENT, AND ALSO TO THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.

Erasmi Schmidii Concordantiæ Græcæ Novi Testamenti, folio, Lipsiæ, 1717.

The best Greek Concordance to the New Testament ever published.

A Concordance to the Greek Testament, with the English version to each word; the principal Hebrew roots corresponding to the Greek words of the Septuagint; with short critical notes, and an Index. By John Williams, LL.D. 4to, London, 1767.

“The lovers of sacred literature will find this work very useful in many respects: it is compiled with great pains and accuracy.”—(Monthly Rev. O. S. vol. xxxvi. p. 400.)

Abrahami Trommii Concordantiæ Græcæ Versionis vulgo dictæ LXX. Interpretum, cujus voces, secundum ordinem elementorum sermonis Græci digestæ, recensentur.—Leguntur hic præterea voces Græcæ pro Hebraicis, redditæ ab antiquis omnibus veteris Testamenti interpretibus, quorum nonnisi fragmenta extant, Aquila, Symmacho, Theodotione, et aliis. Amstel. et Traj. ad Rhen. 1718, 2 vols., folio. “An elaborate and invaluable work.”—(Dr. Clarke.)

CONCORDANCES TO THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

These are numerous; but the best are, Cruden's *Complete Concordance*, of which there are editions printed in quarto, both at London and Edinburgh; and *Butterworth's Concordance*, 8vo, 2d edit. Coventry, 1785. A new edition of this

valuable work has lately been published, with some corrections, by Dr. A. Clarke. To these may be added,

1. *A Concordance of Parallels collected from Bibles and Commentaries, which have been published in Hebrew, Latin, French, Spanish, and other Languages, with the Authorities of each.* By the Rev. C. Crutwell, 4to, London, 1790.

This is a very elaborate work, and will amply repay the labour of consulting; though the parallelisms are not always to be traced, and are sometimes very fanciful. But for this the industrious author is not to be censured, as he every where cites his authorities, which are very numerous.

2. *The Scripture Harmony: or Concordance of Parallel Passages, being a Commentary on the Bible from its own Resources: consisting of an extensive Collection of References from all the most esteemed Commentators, &c. &c.* 4to. royal, 8vo. and 18mo, London.

The contents of this useful compilation are comprised in three particulars: viz. 1. The Chronology, in which Dr. Blayney is followed, his being deemed the best fitted for general utility. 2. The various readings, in the giving of which great care has been bestowed. These various readings are stated to be “printed on a plan which to the unlearned reader will be more clear than the usual method, and which the narrow limits of the margin of a Bible could not admit: in this the very words of the text are printed at length, and the various readings are presented in a different type; so that while both are at one view before the reader for his choice, as the connexion and analogy of faith may direct, the usefulness of the work is increased, because it becomes thereby adapted to every edition of the Bible:” and, 3. The Scripture References, a laborious compilation of half a million of Scripture references, chiefly from the Latin Vulgate, Dr. Blayney, Canne, Brown, Scott, and other valuable writers, who have devoted their services to this useful mode of illustrating the Scriptures. It is proper to remark, that in this compilation of references the publisher professes only to have collected a mass of texts from various authors of the highest character for success in this useful and pious labour, and then to have arranged their varied contributions into regular order: the verse of the chapter under illustration is first marked; then follow the parallel passages in the book itself in which the chapter stands; afterwards the references are placed regularly in the order of the books of Scripture. The remark on Mr. Crutwell’s Concordance of Parallels may be extended to the present work.

3. Bishop Gastrell's "*Christian Institutes, or the Sincere Word of God collected out of the Old and New Testaments, digested under proper heads, and delivered in the very words of Scripture.*" This valuable little work, which may perhaps be considered as a concordance of parallel pages at full length, was first published in 1707, and has since been repeatedly printed in 12mo. It may be very advantageously substituted for any of the subsequent larger and more expensive works.

4. *A Common Place Book to the Holy Bible, or the Scriptures' Sufficiency practically demonstrated: wherein the substance of Scripture respecting doctrine, worship, and manners, is reduced to its proper heads.* By John Locke, Esq. A new edition, revised and improved by the Rev. William Dodd, LL.D. 4to, London, 1805.

Though this work is ascribed to the celebrated philosopher Mr. Locke, we have not been able to ascertain whether it was really compiled by him. An edition of it was published by the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, from which the present impression was made. It certainly is a very useful book.

5. Mr. Warden's "*System of Revealed Religion, digested under proper heads, and composed in the express words of Scripture,*" (4to, 1769), is exceedingly valuable as a common place book or harmony of passages of Scripture. It was recommended by Dr. Robertson the historian, and other eminent divines of the Scottish church. In this work the author has collected all that the Scriptures contain relating to any one article of faith or practice under each respective head, in the very words of the sacred writers, with the occasional insertion of a brief note at the foot of a page, and a remark or two at the end of some few chapters. The texts are so arranged as to add to their perspicuity, and at the same time to illustrate the subject; and the chapters are so constructed and disposed, that each may form a regular and continued discourse. The work is executed with singular ability and fidelity, but is unfortunately extremely rare and dear. It would be a great acquisition to biblical students if this work were reprinted.

6. Mr. Talbot's "*Analysis of the Holy Bible, containing the whole of the Old and New Testaments,*" (4to, Leeds, 1800), has been justly characterized as "a book of good arrangement and convenient reference, and calculated to augment, by very easy application, our stores of sacred knowledge*." It is di-

* See British Critic, (O. S.) vol. xviii. pp. iii. 88, 89.

vided into thirty books, which are subdivided into 285 chapters, and 4,144 sections. Like the work last noticed, this "Analysis" is of great rarity and high price.

7. *Common Place Book ; or Companion to the Old and New Testaments ; being a Scripture Account of the Faith and Practice of Christians ; consisting of an ample Collection of pertinent Texts on the sundry Articles of Revealed Religion.* A new edition, corrected, compared, and enlarged, by Joseph Strutt. 8vo. London, 1813.

This is a reprint, with corrections and additions, of a rare work originally printed at Dublin in the year 1763. The arrangement, though not equally good with that of some of the works above noticed, is clear ; the selection of texts is sufficiently ample ; and a useful index will enable the reader to find passages of Scripture arranged on almost every topic he can desire. The book is neatly printed ; and as it is of easy purchase, it may be substituted for any of the larger common place books already noticed.

SECTION V.

SCHOLIASTS AND GLOSSOGRAPHERS.

I. *Nature of Scholia ; — II. And of Glossaries ; — III. Rules for consulting them to advantage in the interpretation of the Scriptures.*

THE preceding are the more excellent and certain helps by which to ascertain the meaning of the original words and phrases of Scripture ; and which will doubtless be resorted to by every one who is desirous of searching the Bible for himself. As however it is impracticable for the generality of students to obtain and to collate *all* the versions, and to acquire a thorough knowledge of *all* the kindred languages, it becomes necessary to avail ourselves of the labours of learned men, who have diligently applied themselves to the study and illustration of the Scriptures. We have already stated that scholiasts and glossographers afford direct testimonies for finding out or fixing the meaning of words : it now remains that we briefly notice the nature of the assistance to be derived from these helps.

I. SCHOLIA are short notes on antient authors, and are of two kinds—*exegetical* or explanatory, and *grammatical*. The former briefly explain the *sense* of passages, and are in fact a

species of commentary; the latter, which are here to be considered, illustrate the force and meaning of *words* by other words which are better known. Such scholia are extant on most of the antient classics, as Homer, Thucydides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, &c. &c.

On the Old Testament, we believe, there are no antient scholia extant: but on the New Testament there are several collections, which present themselves under three classes.

1. *Scholia taken from the writings of the Greek fathers*, who in their homilies and commentaries have often briefly explained the force of particular words. The homilies of Chrysostom, in particular, abound with these scholia; and from his works, as well as those of Origen and other fathers, the more modern Greeks have extracted what those illustrious men had concisely stated relative to the meaning of words. Similar grammatical expositions, omitting whatever was rhetorical and doctrinal, have been collected from Chrysostom by Theodoret in a commentary on the fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul; by Theophylact in an indifferent commentary on the four Evangelists; and, to mention no more, by Euthymius in a similar commentary executed with better judgment. There are extant numerous collections of this kind of explanation, made from the writings of the fathers, and known by the appellation of *Catenæ**, which follow the order of the books comprised in the New Testament. Many such scholia have been published by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament.

2. *Scholia, written either in the margin, within the text, or at the end of manuscripts.* Many of this description have been published separately by father Simon†, by Wetstein in the notes to his elaborate edition of the Greek Testament, and particularly by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament already noticed.

3. *Antient Scholia which are also exegetical or explanatory:* these in fact are short commentaries, and therefore are discussed *infra*, Vol. II. Appendix No. II. Sect. 1.

II. A GLOSSARY differs from a lexicon in this respect, that the former treats only of words that really require explanation, while the latter gives the general meaning of words. The authors of the most antient Glossaries are Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, Photius, and Cyril of Alexandria. The celebrated

* See an account of the principal *Catenæ* in vol. ii. Appendix, No. II. sect. iii. § 7.

† *Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament.* Rotterdam, 1684, 4to.

Ernesti selected from the three first of these writers, and also from the *Etymologicon Magnum*, whatever related to the New Testament. and published the result of his researches in two octavo volumes, with the following titles: 1. *Glossæ Sacræ Hesychii, Græcè: excerpſit, emendavit, notisque illustravit, Joh. Christ. Ernesti.* Lipsiæ, 1785. 2. *Suidæ et Phavorini Glossæ Sacræ, Græcè, cum spicilegio Gloss. SS. Hesychii et Etymologici Magni: congeſſit, emendavit, et notis illustravit, J. C. G. Ernesti.* Lipsiæ, 1786. Schleusner has extracted the most valuable matter from these works, and inserted it in his admirable Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, already noticed. *

III. In estimating the value of scholiasts and glossographers, and also the weight of their testimony, for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, it is of importance to consider, first, whether they wrote from their own knowledge of the language, and have given us the result of their own learning, or whether they compiled from others. Almost all the scholia now extant are compiled from Chrysostom, Origen, or some other fathers of the third and fourth centuries: if the scholiast have compiled from good authorities, his labours have a claim to our attention.

In proportion, therefore, to the learning of a scholiast, (and the same remark will equally apply to the glossographer), he becomes the more deserving of our confidence: but this point can only be determined by daily and constant use. The Greek fathers, for instance, are admirable interpreters of the New Testament, being intimately acquainted with its language; notwithstanding they are sometimes mistaken in the exposition of its Hebraisms. But the Latin fathers, many of whom were but indifferently skilled in Hebrew and Greek, are less to be depended on, and are in fact only wretched interpreters of comparatively ill-executed versions.

Again, our confidence in a scholiast, or in the author of a glossary, increases in proportion to his antiquity, at least in the explanation of every thing concerning antient history, rites, or civil life. But, in investigating the force and meaning of words, the antiquity of scholia and glossaries proves nothing; as their authors are liable to error, notwithstanding they lived near the time when the author flourished, whose writings they profess to elucidate. It not unfrequently happens that a more recent interpreter, availing himself of all former helps, perceives the force of words much better than one that is more

* See p. 247, *supra*.

antient, and is consequently enabled to elicit the sense more correctly. The result, therefore, of our inquiry into the relative value of scholiasts and compilers of glossaries is, that in perusing their labours, we must examine them for ourselves, and form our judgment accordingly, whether they have succeeded, or failed, in their attempts to explain an author.

SECTION VI.

OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER.

ALTHOUGH, in interpreting words that have various meanings, some degree of uncertainty may exist as to which of their different senses is to be preferred; yet the ambiguity in such cases is not so great but that it may in general be removed, and the proper signification of the passage in question may be determined: for the *subject-matter*—that is, the topic of which the author is treating—plainly shows the sense that is to be attached to any particular word. One or two examples will illustrate the necessity of considering the subject-matter.

The Hebrew word בֶּשֶׂר (*besher*) literally signifies the *skin*, by a metonymy, the *flesh* beneath the skin, and by a synecdoche it denotes *every animal*, especially man considered as infirm or weak, as in Jer. xvii. 5. *Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh FLESH his arm*; there are also several other meanings derived from these, which it is not material now to notice. But that the word *flesh* is to be understood of *man* only in Gen. vi. 12. Psal. lxxv. 2. and Job x. 4. will be evident on the slightest inspection of the subject-matter. *All flesh had corrupted his way*—that is, all men had wholly departed from the rule of righteousness, or had made their way of life abominable throughout the world. And, in the Psalm above cited, who can doubt but that by the word *flesh* men are intended: *O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh*, that is, *all mankind, come*. In like manner also, in Job x. 4. it is evident that *flesh* has the same meaning; if indeed the passage were at all obscure, the parallelism would explain it—*Hast thou the eyes of a man*, (Heb. *of flesh*)? or *seest thou as man seest*?

But it is not merely with reference to the meaning of particular passages that a consideration of the *subject-matter* becomes necessary to the right understanding of Scripture. It

is further of the greatest importance in order to comprehend the various dispensations of God to man, which are contained in the sacred writings. For, as we have already seen*, although the Bible comprises a great number of books, written at different times, yet they have a mutual connexion with each other, and refer, in the Old Testament, with various but progressively increasing degrees of light and clearness, to a *future* Saviour, and in the New Testament to a *present* Saviour.

With reference therefore to the several divine dispensations to man, the subject-matter of the whole Bible ought to be attentively considered: but, as each individual book embraces a particular subject, it will also be requisite carefully to weigh its subject-matter, in order to comprehend the design of the author.

* See p. 1. *supra*.

SECTION VII.

OF THE CONTEXT.

I. *The Context defined and illustrated*; — II. *Rules for investigating the Context.*

ANOTHER most important assistance, for investigating the meaning of words and phrases, is the consideration of the *context*, or the comparison of the preceding and subsequent parts of a discourse. If we analyze the words of an author, and take them out of their proper series, they may be so distorted as to mean any thing but what he intended to express. Since therefore words have several meanings, and consequently are to be taken in various acceptations, a careful consideration of the preceding and subsequent parts will enable us to determine that signification, whether literal or figurative, which is best adapted to the passage in question. A few instances will illustrate this subject, and show not only the advantage, but also the necessity, of attending to the context.

It has been questioned whether those words of the prophet Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 15.) *Go and prosper, for the Lord shall deliver it (Ramoth) into the hands of the king,* are to be understood affirmatively according to their apparent meaning, or are to be taken in an ironical and contrary sense? That they are to

be understood in the latter sense, the consideration of the context will plainly show, both from the prophet's intention, and from the prophetic denunciation afterwards made by him. Hence it may be inferred that some sort of ironical gesture accompanied Micaiah's prediction, which circumstance ought to be borne in mind by the interpreter of Scripture.

Further, there is a difference of opinion whether the address of Job's wife, (Job ii. 9.) is to be understood in a good sense, as, *Bless* (or ascribe glory to) *God and die*, or in a different signification, *Curse God and die*, as it is rendered in our authorized version. Circumstances show that the last is the proper meaning; because as yet Job had not sinned with his lips, and consequently his wife had no ground for charging him with indulging a vain opinion of his integrity.

Job xli. 20, &c. Whether the leviathan is a whale or a crocodile, has also divided the judgment of commentators. That the latter animal is intended, is evident from the circumstances described in the context, which admirably agree with the crocodile, but can in no respect be applied to the whale: for instance, ch. xli. 17. &c. relative to the hardness of his skin, and v. 13—16. concerning his teeth and impenetrable scales.

Once more, it has been doubted whether our Lord's command to his disciples, *to provide neither gold nor silver in their purses*, (Matt. x. 9.) be a rule of perpetual observation. That it was only a temporary command is evident from the preceding and subsequent parts of the chapter, which prove *that* particular mission to have been only a temporary one; and that, as they were to go for a short time through Judea, and then to return to Jesus, he therefore forbade them to take any thing that would retard their progress.

The context of a discourse or book, in the Scriptures, may comprise either one verse, a few verses, entire periods or sections, entire chapters, or whole books. Thus if 1 Cor. x. 16. be the passage under examination, the preceding and subsequent parts of the epistle, which belong to it, are the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters. If Isa. li. be the chapter in question, the reader must not stop at the end of it, but continue his perusal to the 12th verse of ch. 52.; for these together form one subject or argument of prediction, in which the prophet is announcing to his countrymen the certainty of their deliverance and return from the Babylonish captivity. This entire portion ought therefore to be read at once, in order to apprehend fully the prophet's meaning. In like manner, the verses from v. 13. of ch. lii. to the end of ch. liii. form a new and entire section rela-

tive to the sufferings of the Messiah. Here then is a wrong division of chapters, to which no regard should be paid in examining the context of a book. Ch. li. ought to be extended to v. 12. of ch. lii. and ch. lii. ought to commence at v. 13. and be continued to the end of ch. liii. In like manner, the first verse of the fourth chapter of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians ought to be joined to the third chapter: the slightest attention to this point will enable a diligent student to add numerous other examples.

Sometimes a book of Scripture comprises only one subject or argument, in which case the whole of it must be referred to precedents and subsequents, and ought to be considered together. Of this description is Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, which consists of two parts, doctrinal and practical. The design of the doctrinal portion is to show, that although there was a difference between Jewish and Gentile believers, inasmuch as the former enjoyed a priority of time in point of expecting and acknowledging Christ, and through the free grace of God they were a church or congregation of believers before the Gentiles; yet that, *now*, the latter are become partakers of the same grace with them, and being thus admitted to this communion of grace, every *real* distinction between them is abolished; and therefore that both Jews and Gentiles together form one body of the church under one head, even Jesus Christ. Other special doctrines indeed are incidentally mentioned; but these are either adduced to explain and enforce the principal doctrine, or they are derived from it. The practical part or exhortation, which naturally flows from the doctrine inculcated, is concord and peace between Jew and Gentile, which the apostle enforces with great beauty and energy.*

To this head may also be referred the Psalms, each of which being separated from the other, and having no connexion with the preceding or following Psalm, for the most part comprises a distinct and entire subject. That some of the Psalms have been divided, and forcibly disjoined, which ought to have remained united, and to have formed one ode, is evident as well from the application of sacred criticism as from the subject-matter. The *number* of the Psalms by no means corresponds either in manuscripts or in the antient versions. Thus, in some manuscripts, the first and second Psalms are not reckoned at all, while in others the former is considered as part of

* Moldenhaweri *Introductio ad Libros Vet. et Nov. Fœderis*, p. 307. Professor Franck's *Guide to the Reading of the Scriptures*, translated by Mr. Jaques, p. 178. (1st edit.)

the second Psalm: that they are two distinct compositions, is evident from a comparison of the subject-matter of each Psalm. in the first Psalm the characters of the pious man and the sinner, as well as their respective ends, are contrasted: the second Psalm is prophetic of the Messiah's exaltation. The ninth and tenth Psalms are united together in the Septuagint version; while the hundred and sixteenth and hundred and forty-seventh are, each, divided into two. The argument which pervades the forty-second and forty-third Psalms plainly shows that they are properly but one divine ode, and are therefore rightly joined together in many manuscripts, although they occur as separate compositions in all our printed editions. *

II. In examining the context of a passage, it will be desirable,

1. *To investigate each word of every passage: and as the connexion is formed by PARTICLES, these should always receive that signification which the subject-matter and context require.*

The concordances of Noldius and Taylor already noticed, and also Glassius's *Philologia Sacra*†, will materially assist in ascertaining the force of the Hebrew particles; as will the elaborate work of Hooegeveen on the subject of the Greek particles‡. Further, where particles are wanting, as they sometimes are, it is only by examining the argument and context that we can rightly supply them. For instance, the conditional conjunction is sometimes wanting, as in Gen. xlii. 38., *and [if] mischief befall him by the way*§; in Exod. iv. 23., *and [if] thou refuse to let him go*. Particles of comparison also are frequently wanting, as in Gen. xvi. 12., *he will be a wild man*; literally, *he will be a wild ass man*, that is, [like] *a wild ass*. How appropriately this description was given to the descendants of Ishmael, will readily appear by comparing the character of the wild ass in Job xxxix. 5—8. with the wandering, lawless,

* They are considered, and translated, as *one* Psalm, by Bishop Horsley. See his *Version of the Psalms*, vol. i. pp. 110—114, and the notes.

† See particularly Tract v—viii. on adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, tom. i. pp. 361—556. ed. Dathii.

‡ Hooegeveen, *Doctrina Particularum Græcarum*, 2 vols. 4to, 1769. Though treating of Greek particles generally, this elaborate work incidentally illustrates a great number of passages in the New Testament. A valuable abridgment of it, with the notes of various literati, was published by Professor Schutz at Leipsic in 1806, which has been handsomely reprinted at Glasgow, 1813. See also Dr. Macknight on the *Epistles*, vol. i. Essay 4. § 74. to the end of that essay.

§ Purver rightly supplies it, and renders the passage thus, *and should death befall him in the way*: in the authorized English version the conjunction *and* is omitted, and the conditional *if* is supplied.

and free-booting lives of the Arabs of the Desert, as portrayed by all travellers. Psal. xi. 1. *Flee [as] sparrows to your mountain.* Psal. xii. 6. *The words of the Lord are pure words, [as] silver tried in a furnace of earth.* Isa. ix. 18. *They shall mount up [as or like] the ascending of smoke.* Similar examples occur in the New Testament; as in John v. 17. *My father worketh hitherto, and I work;* that is, as my father worketh hitherto, so also do I work together with him. Sometimes particles are wanting both at the beginning and end of a sentence: thus Job xxiv. 19. *[As] drought and heat consume the snow:* so doth *the grave* those which *have sinned.* Jer. xvii. 11. *[As] the partridge sitteth on eggs, and hatcheth not; [so] he that getteth riches, and not by right, &c.* Numerous similar instances occur in the book of Job, and especially in the Proverbs; where, it is but justice to our admirable authorized version to add, that the particles omitted are properly supplied in italic characters, and thus complete the sense.

2. *If the meaning of a single verse is to be ascertained, the five, six, or seven verses immediately preceding should first be read with minute attention.*

Sometimes a single passage will require a whole chapter, or several of the preceding and following chapters, or even the entire book, to be perused, and that not once or twice, but several times. The advantage of this practice will be very great: because, as the same thing is frequently stated more briefly and obscurely in the former part of a book, which is more clearly and fully explained in the subsequent portion, such a perusal will render every thing plain to the meanest capacity. For instance, that otherwise difficult passage, Rom. ix. 18. *Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth,* will become perfectly clear by a close examination of the context, beginning at verse 17. of chapter viii. and reading to the end of the eleventh chapter; this portion of the epistle being most intimately connected.

3. *A verse or passage must not be connected with a remote context, unless the latter agree better with it than a nearer context.*

Thus Rom. ii. 16, although it makes a good sense if connected with the preceding verse, makes a much better when joined with verse 12. (the intermediate verses being read parenthetically as in the authorized version); and this shows it to be the true and proper context.

4. *Examine whether the writer continues his discourse, lest we suppose him to make a transition to another argument, when in fact he is prosecuting the same topic.*

Rom. v. 12. will furnish an illustration of this remark. From that verse to the end of the chapter, St. Paul produces a strong argument to prove, that as all men stood in need of the grace of God in Christ to redeem them from their sins, so this grace has been afforded equally to all, whether Jews or Gentiles. To perceive the full force, therefore, of the apostle's conclusion, we must read the *continuation* of his argument from verse 12. to the close of the chapter.

5. *The parentheses which occur in the sacred writings should be particularly regarded : but no parenthesis should be interposed without sufficient reason.*

Parentheses, being contrary to the genius and structure of the Hebrew language, are, comparatively, of rare occurrence in the Old Testament. The prophetic writings indeed contain interruptions and interlocutions, particularly those of Jeremiah: but we have an example of a real parenthesis in Zech. vii. 7. The Jewish captives had sent to inquire of the prophet, whether their fasting should be continued on account of the burning of the temple, and the assassination of Gedaliah: after a considerable digression, but closely connected with the question proposed, the prophet at length replies, in ch. viii. 19., that the season formerly devoted to fasting should soon be spent in joy and gladness. The intermediate verses, therefore, from ch. vii. 4. to ch. viii. 17., are obviously parenthetical, though not marked as such in any of the modern versions which we have had an opportunity to examine.

In the New Testament, however, parentheses are frequent, especially in the writings of St. Paul; who, after making numerous digressions, (all of them appropriate to, and illustrative of, his main subject), returns to the topic which he had begun to discuss. Thus, in Rom. ii. verses 13, 14, and 15, are obviously parenthetical, because, as remarked in a former page, the context evidently requires verses 12. and 16. to be read together. In Rom. v., verses 12, 18, 19, evidently form one continued sentence; and all the intermediate verses are undoubtedly to be read as a parenthesis, though they are not marked as such in the authorized translation. 1 Cor. viii. 1. beginning with the words, *Knowledge puffeth up*, &c. to the end of the first clause in verse 4, is in like manner parenthetical. The connexion therefore of the first with the fourth verse is this:—*Now, as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we have all knowledge.—We know that an idol is nothing*, &c. 1 Cor. x. 29., latter clause, and verse 30, are parenthetical; as also are 2 Cor. 9, 10, which are so printed in our version. A still more signal instance of parenthesis

occurs in Eph. iii., where the first and fourteenth verses are connected, the twelve intermediate verses (2 to 13) being parenthetical; as also is 1 Tim. i. verses 3 to 17 inclusive. "In this passage," says Professor Franck, "taking occasion from the false teachers, Saint Paul speaks of the law according to the gospel committed unto him; and having given vent to the feelings of his heart, he returns in verse 18. to the scope he had in view in the third verse, where he intimates, by using the comparative particle *as*, (*καθως*), that the completion of the sense was to be expected in the subsequent verses. The whole of the discourse connects thus:—"As I besought thee to charge some that they teach no other doctrine, but seek after godly edifying; and that the end of the commandment is love out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, &c.; so now I commit the same charge unto *thee*,—that thou mayest hold faith and a good conscience," &c. *

Another instance of the parenthesis we have in Phil. i. 27. to ch. ii. 16. inclusive; in which the apostle discusses a subject, the proposition of which is contained in ch. i. 27. and afterwards in ch. ii. 17. he returns to the topic which he had been treating in the preceding chapter. "In conformity with this statement we find (ch. i. 23.), that Saint Paul says, he is influenced by two things—a desire both of life and death; but he knows not which of these to choose. Death is the most desirable to himself; but the welfare of the Philippians requires rather that he may be spared a little longer; and, having this confidence, he is assured that his life will be lengthened, and that he shall see them again in person. Then, after the interruption which his discourse had received, he proceeds (ch. ii. 17.) as follows: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." The intervening charge is happily and judiciously introduced by the apostle, in order

* Franck's Guide to the Scriptures, p. 188. By the judicious application of the parenthesis, that very difficult passage in Rom. viii. 16—21. has been rendered perfectly easy and intelligible by an eminent divine of the present day. He proposes to translate and point it thus:—*The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God: (for the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it), in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.* Those who are acquainted with the original language will, on consideration, easily perceive the justice of this translation. For the reasons on which it is founded, and for an able elucidation of the whole passage, see "Sermons preached at Welbeck Chapel by the Rev. Thomas White," sermon xx. pp. 363—380. Griesbach has printed in a parenthesis only the middle clause of verse 20, ("not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it"); which certainly does not materially contribute to clear up the difficulty of this passage.

that the Philippians might not remit their exertions until his arrival, but contend for the faith of the Gospel with unity and humility; as will be evident to those who examine the point with attention and candour." *

In 2 Tim. i. 16—18, we have a beautiful example of the parenthesis. The apostle, acknowledging the intrepid affection of Onesiphorus—who, when timorous professors deserted him, stood by him and ministered to him—begins with a prayer for the good man's family; *The Lord grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he often refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chains, but, being in Rome, very carefully sought me, and found me out.* Saint Paul then stops his period, and suspends his sentence, to repeat his acknowledgments and prayer with renewed fervour and gratitude—(*The Lord grant that he may find mercy from the Lord in that day*), and in how many instances he ministered to me at Ephesus, you very well know. If we peruse the choicest authors of Greece and Rome, we shall scarcely find, among their many parentheses and transpositions of style, one expressed in so pathetic and lively a manner, nor for a reason so substantial and unexceptionable. †

Additional instances might be offered, to show the importance of attending to parentheses in the examination of the context; but the preceding will abundantly suffice for this purpose. The author has been led to discuss them at greater length than may seem to have been requisite, from the circumstance, that less attention appears to be given to the parenthesis, than to any other species of punctuation, in the different works on the study of the Scriptures that have fallen under his notice. ‡

6. *No explanation must be admitted, but that which suits the context.*

In direct violation of this self-evident canon of interpretation, the church of Rome expounds Matt. xviii. 17. *if a man neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican*, of the infallibility and final decisions of all doctrines by the (Roman) Catholic church. But what says the evan-

* Franck's Guide, p. 189.

† Blackwall's Sacred Classics illustrated, vol. i. pp. 68, 69. 3d edit.

‡ Christopher Wollius published a very valuable treatise, *De Parenthesi Sacra*, at Leipsic, in 1726, 4to. The same subject has also been discussed in the following works, which the author has been unable to procure, viz. Joh. Fr. Hirt, *Dissertatio de Parenthesi, et generatim, et speciatim Sacra*, 4to, Jena, 1745. Joh. Gottl. Lindneri, *Commentationes Duæ de Parenthesibus Johanneis*, 4to, 1765. Ad. Bened. Spitzneri *Commentatio Philologica de Parenthesi, Libris Sacris V. et N. T. accommodata*. 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1773.

gelist? Let us read the context. “*If*,” says our Lord, “*thy brother shall trespass against thee, go, and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican,* (verse 15—17.) That is, if a man have done you an injury, first admonish him privately of it: if that avail not, tell the church;—not the universal church dispersed throughout the world, but that particular church to which you both belong. And if he will not reform upon such reproof, regard him no longer as a true Christian, but as a wicked man with whom you are to hold no *religious* communion, though, as a fellow-man, you owe him earnest and persevering good-will and acts of kindness. Through the whole of this context there is not one word said about disobeying the determination of the Catholic church concerning a disputed doctrine, but about slighting the admonition of a particular church concerning known sin, and particular churches are owned to be fallible. *

7. *It will most essentially facilitate the understanding of the context, for the reader to adapt every thing to his own times.*

For instance, in perusing any of the prophetic writings, so to read, consider, and judge, as if it were the present time, and the persons addressed by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, &c. were his own countrymen, fellow-citizens, or hearers. Again, in reading the Psalms, it will materially illustrate their force and meaning, to suppose the enemies therein mentioned as being hostile to the student's own country, government, and church. Thus he will become more deeply interested in the Psalm, and will better perceive its energy and beauty. In like manner, we cannot enter fully into the spirit of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, unless we enter into the spirit of a Jew in those times, and have some just notion of his utter aversion from the Gentiles, his valuing and exalting himself, in consequence of his relation to God and to Abraham, upon his law, worship, circumcision, &c. as if the Jews were the only people in the world who had any right to the favour of God.

8. *Where no connexion is to be found with the preceding and subsequent parts of a book, none should be sought.*

* Whitby on Matt. xviii. 15—17. Bishop Porteus's Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 13, 14.

This observation applies solely to the Proverbs of Solomon, and chiefly to the tenth and following chapters which form the second part of that book; and are composed of separate proverbs or distinct sentences, having no real or verbal connexion whatever, though each individual maxim is pregnant with the most weighty instruction. *

From the preceding remarks it will be evident, that, although the comparison of the context will require both labour and unremitting diligence, yet these will be abundantly compensated by the increased degree of light which will thus be thrown upon otherwise obscure passages. The very elaborate treatise of Franzius, already referred to, will supply numerous examples of the Holy Scriptures which are rendered perfectly clear by the judicious consideration of the context.

* J. B. Carpzov. Prim. Lin. Herm. pp. 36, 37. Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 192—200. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. x. (op. tom. ii. pp. 656—658) Franzius, Pref. pp. 8—11. Tract. pp. 48—51. Morus, in Ernesti, tom i. pp. 161—163. Viser, Herm. Nov. Sacr. pars iii. pp. 189—194. Wetstein et Semler de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 116—120. Franckii Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 61—94. Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 197—216. Jahnii Enchirid. Herm. Generalis, pp. 51—71. Chladenii Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 366—374. J. E. Pfeifferi Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 464—468, 507—534.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE SCOPE.

I. The scope defined; — Importance of investigating the scope of a book or passage of Scripture; — II. Rules for investigating it.

I. A CONSIDERATION of the *scope*, or design which the inspired author of any of the books of Scripture had in view, essentially facilitates the study of the Bible: because, as every writer had some design which he proposed to unfold, and as it is not to be supposed that he would express himself in terms foreign to that design, it therefore is but reasonable to admit, that he made use of such words and phrases as were every way suited to his purpose. To be acquainted, therefore, with the scope of an author, is to understand the chief part of his book. The scope, it has been well observed, is the soul or spirit of a book; and, that being once ascertained, every argument and every word appears in its right place, and is perfectly intelligible: but, if the scope be not duly considered, every thing

becomes obscure, however clear and obvious its meaning may really be. *

The scope of an author is either *general* or *special*; by the former we understand the design which he proposed to himself in writing his book; by the latter, we mean that design which he had in view, when writing particular sections, or even smaller portions, of his book or treatise.

The means, by which to ascertain the scope of a *particular* section or passage, being nearly the same with those which must be applied to the investigation of the *general* scope of a book, we shall briefly consider them together in the following observations.

II. The *scope* of a book of Scripture, as well as of any particular section or passage, is to be collected from the writer's express mention of it, from its known occasion, from some conclusion expressly added at the end of an argument, from history; from attention to its general tenor, to the main subject and tendency of the several topics, and to the force of the leading expressions; and especially from repeated, studious, and connected perusals of the book itself.

1. *When the scope of a whole book, or of any particular portion of it, is expressly mentioned by the sacred writer, it should be carefully observed.*

Of all criteria this is the most certain, by which to ascertain the scope of a book. Sometimes it is mentioned at its commencement, or towards its close, and sometimes it is intimated in other parts of the same book, rather obscurely perhaps, yet in such a manner that a diligent and attentive reader may readily ascertain it. Thus the scope and end of the whole Bible, collectively, is contained in its manifold utility, which St. Paul expressly states in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. and also in Rom. xv. 4. In like manner the royal author of Ecclesiastes announces pretty clearly, at the beginning of his book, the subject he

* "How unfair, how irrational, how arbitrary, is the mode of interpretation which many apply to the word of God! They insulate a passage; they fix on a sentence; they detach it from the paragraph to which it belongs, and explain it in a sense dictated only by the combination of the syllables or the words, in themselves considered. If the word of God be thus dissected or tortured, what language may it not seem to speak, what sentiments may it not appear to countenance, what fancy may it not be made to gratify? But would such a mode of interpretation be tolerated by any living author? Would such a method be endured in commenting on any of the admired productions of classical antiquity? Yet in this case it would be comparatively harmless, although utterly indefensible: but who can calculate the amount of injury which may be sustained by the cause of revealed truth, if its pure streams be thus defiled, and if it be contaminated even at the very fountain-head." Rev. H. F. Burder's Sermon on "the Duty and Means of ascertaining the genuine Sense of the Scriptures," p. 21.

intends to discuss, viz. to show that all human affairs are vain, uncertain, frail, and imperfect; and, such being the case, he proceeds to inquire, *What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?* (Eccl. i. 2, 3). And towards the close of the same book (ch. xii. 8.) he repeats the same subject, the truth of which he had proved by experience. So, in the commencement of the book of Proverbs, Solomon distinctly announces their scope, (ch. i. 1—4, 6.)—*The Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David king of Israel;—to know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, judgment, and equity; to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion; to understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.*—Saint John also, towards the close of his Gospel, announces his object in writing it to be, “*That ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.*” Therefore, all those discourses of our Lord, which are recorded almost exclusively by this evangelist and apostle, are to be read and considered with reference to this particular design: and, if this circumstance be kept in view, they will derive much additional force and beauty.

Of the application of this rule to the illustration of a *particular* section, or the ascertaining of a *special* scope, the tenth chapter of Saint Paul’s first Epistle to the Corinthians will supply an example.—In that chapter, the object of which is to show that *it was not good to marry*, the apostle is replying to the queries which had been proposed to him by the Corinthian converts; and it is evident that his reply is continued through the whole chapter. But did he mean to insinuate *absolutely* that matrimony in itself was not good? By no means: on the contrary, it is clear from the scope of this section, given by Saint Paul in express words, that his design was not, in general, to prefer a state of celibacy to that of marriage; much less was it to teach that the living unmarried was either more holy or more acceptable to God; or that those who vow to lead a single life shall certainly obtain eternal salvation, as the church of Rome erroneously teaches from this place. But we perceive that he answered the question proposed to him with reference to the then existing circumstances of the Christian church. The apostle thought that a single life was preferable on account of the *present distress*—that is, the sufferings to which they were *then* liable. The persecutions to which they were exposed, when they came upon them, would be more grievous and afflictive to such as had a wife and children who were

dear to them, than to those who were single: and therefore, under such circumstances, the apostle recommends celibacy to those who had the gift of living chastely without marriage.

2. *The scope of the sacred writer may be ascertained from the known occasion on which his book was written.*

Thus, in the time of the apostles, there were many who disseminated errors, and defended Judaism: hence it became necessary that the apostles should frequently write against these errors, and oppose the defenders of Judaism. Such was the occasion of Saint Peter's second epistle: and this circumstance will also afford a key by which to ascertain the scope of many of the other epistolary writings. Of the same description also were many of the parables delivered by Jesus Christ. When any question was proposed to him, or he was reproached for holding intercourse with publicans and sinners, he availed himself of the occasion to reply, or to defend himself by a parable. Sometimes, also, when his disciples laboured under any mistakes, he kindly corrected their erroneous notions by parables.

The inscriptions prefixed to many of the Psalms, though some of them are evidently spurious, and consequently to be rejected, frequently indicate the occasion on which they were composed, and thus reflect considerable light upon their scope. Thus the scope of the 18th, 34th, and 3d Psalms is illustrated from their respective inscriptions, which distinctly assert upon what occasions they were composed by David. In like manner, many of the prophecies, which would otherwise be obscure, become perfectly clear when we understand the circumstances on account of which the predictions were uttered.

3. *The express conclusion, added by the writer at the end of an argument, demonstrates his general scope.*

Thus in Rom. iii. 28. after a long discussion, Saint Paul adds this conclusion:—*Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law:* Hence we perceive with what design the whole passage was written, and to which all the rest is to be referred. The conclusions interspersed through the epistles may easily be ascertained by means of the particles, “wherefore,” “seeing that,” “therefore,” “then,” &c. as well as by the circumstances directly mentioned or referred to. The principal conclusions, however, must be separated from those which are of comparatively less importance, and subordinate to the former. Thus, in the epistle to Philemon, our attention must chiefly be directed to verses 8 and 17, whence we collect that Saint Paul's design or scope was to reconcile Onesimus (who had been a runaway slave) to his

master, and to restore him to the latter, a better person than he had before been. In the epistle to the Ephesians, the principal conclusions are ch. ii. 11, 12. and ch. iv. 1, 3. The subordinate or less principal conclusions are ch. i. 15. iii. 13. iv. 17, 25. v. 1, 7, 15, 17. and vi. 13, 14.*

The scope of a passage may further be known from history.—For instance, we learn from history, that during the time of the apostles there were numerous errors disseminated; and therefore they wrote many passages in their epistle with the express design of refuting such errors. An acquaintance with these historical particulars will enable us to determine with accuracy the scope of entire books as well as of detached passages.†

5. *A knowledge of the time when a book was written, and also of the state of the church at that time, will indicate the scope or intention of the author in writing such book.*

Thus the epistle of Saint James was written about the year of Christ 61, at which time the Christians were suffering persecution, and probably (as appears from ch. ii. 6. and ch. v. 6.) not long before the apostle's martyrdom; which, Bishop Pearson thinks ‡, happened A. D. 62, in the eighth year of Nero's reign, when the destruction of the Jewish temple and polity was impending, (James v. 1, 8.) At the period referred to, there were in the church certain professing Christians, who, in consequence of the sanguinary persecution then carried on against them both by Jews and Gentiles, were not only declining in faith and love, and indulging various sinful practices—for instance, undue respect of persons, (chapter ii. verse 1. *et seq.*) contempt of their poor brethren, (chapter ii. verse 9. *et seq.*) and unbridled freedom of speech, (chapter iii. verse 3. *et seq.*); but who also most shamefully abused to licentiousness the grace of God, which in the Gospel is promised to the penitent; and, disregarding holiness, boasted of a faith destitute of its appropriate fruits, viz. of a bare assent to the doctrines of the Gospel, and boldly affirmed that this inoperative and dead faith was alone sufficient to obtain salvation, (chapter ii. verse 17. *et seq.*) Hence we may easily perceive that the apostle's scope was not to treat of the doctrine of justification; but, the state of the church requiring it, to correct those *errors in doctrine, and*

* Franckii Manuductio, cap. iii. p. 87, 88, 292, or English edition, p. 61. *et seq.* 177. *et seq.* Franckii Prælect. Herm. p. 38. *et seq.*

† As the consideration of historical circumstances belongs to the historical interpretation of Scripture, these are stated *infra*, ch. vii. to which the reader is referred.

‡ Annales Paulinæ, p. 31.

those sinful practices, which had crept into the church, and particularly to expose that fundamental error of a dead faith unproductive of good works. This observation further shows the true way of reconciling the supposed contradiction between the apostles Paul and James, concerning the doctrine of salvation by faith. *

6. *If, however, none of these subsidiary aids present itself, it only remains that we REPEATEDLY AND DILIGENTLY STUDY THE ENTIRE BOOK, AS WELL AS THE WHOLE SUBJECT, AND CAREFULLY ASCERTAIN THE SCOPE FROM THEM, before we attempt an examination of any particular text.*

Thus we shall be enabled to understand the mind of its author, and to ascertain the main subject and tendency of the book or epistle which may be under consideration: or if it have several views and purposes in it, not mutually dependent upon each other, nor in subordination to one chief end, we shall be enabled to discover what those different matters were, as also in what part the author concluded one and began another; and if it be necessary to divide such book or epistle into parts, to ascertain their exact boundaries.

But, in this investigation of the scope, there is not always that clearness which leads to a certain interpretation: for sometimes there are *several* interpretations which sufficiently agree with the writer's design. In those places, for instance, where the coming of Christ is mentioned, it is not always determined whether it is his last advent to judge the world, or his coming to inflict punishment on the unbelieving Jews. In such cases the interpreter must be content with some degree of probability. There are however two or three cautions, in the consideration of the scope, to which it will be desirable to attend.

1. *Where, of two explanations, one is evidently contrary to the series of the discourse, the other must necessarily be preferred.*

In Psal. xlii. 2. the royal psalmist pathetically exclaims—*When shall I come and appear before God?*—This verse has, by some writers, been expounded thus: that a man may wish for death, in order that he may the sooner enjoy that state of future blessedness which is sometimes intended by the phrase *seeing God*. Now this exposition is manifestly contrary to the design of the Psalm; in which David, exiled from Jerusalem,

* Jo. Henr. Michaelis *Introductio Historico-Theologica in Jacobi Minoris Epistolam Catholicam*, § viii. xi.

and consequently from the house of God, through Absalom's unnatural rebellion, expresses his fervent desire of returning to Jerusalem, and beholding that happy day when he should again present himself before God in his holy tabernacle. In the fourth verse he mentions the sacred pleasure with which he had gone (or would repair, for some of the versions render the verb in the future tense) with the multitude to the house of God. There is therefore in this second sense a necessary and evident connexion with the scope and series of the discourse.

In 1 Cor. iii. 17. we read, *If any man defile (more correctly destroy) the temple of God, him shall God destroy.* The phrase *temple of God*, in this passage, is usually interpreted of the human body, and by its defilement is understood libidinous unchastity, which God will destroy by inflicting corresponding punishment on the libidinous man. This sense is certainly a good one, and is confirmed by a similar expression at the close of the sixth chapter. But, in the former part of the third chapter, the apostle had been giving the Corinthian Christians an important caution to teach pure and salutary doctrines, together with that momentous doctrine—*Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ*, (verse 11.)—and that they should not add false doctrines to it. After largely discussing this topic, he subsequently returns to it, and the passage above cited occurs intermediately. From this view of the scope it will be evident, that by the temple of God is to be understood the Christian church; which if any man defile, corrupt, or destroy by disseminating false doctrines, God will destroy him also.

2. *Where a parallel passage plainly shows that another passage is to be understood in one particular sense, this must be adopted to the exclusion of every other sense, although it should be supported by the grammatical interpretation as well as by the scope.*

Thus in Matt. v. 25. we read—“*Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.*” This passage has been interpreted to refer either to a future state of existence, or to the present life. In the former sense, the *adversary* is God; the *judge*, Christ; the *officer*, death; and the *prison*, hell and eternal punishments. In the latter sense, the meaning of this passage simply is, “If thou hast a lawsuit, compromise it with the plaintiff, and thus prevent the necessity of prosecuting it before a judge: but if thou art headstrong, and

wilt not compromise the affair, when it comes to be argued before the judge, he will be severe, and will decree that thou shalt pay the uttermost farthing." Now both these expositions yield good senses, agreeing with the scope, and both contain a cogent argument that we should be easily appeased: but if we compare the parallel passage in Luke xii. 58, 59, we shall find the case thus stated—*When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him, lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, (τῷ πρæκτορὶ, whose duty it was to levy fines imposed for violation of the law); and the officer on non-payment cast thee into prison. I tell thee thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite.*—In this passage there is no reference whatever to a future state, nor to any punishments which will hereafter be inflicted on the implacable: and thus a single parallel text shews which of the two senses best agrees with the scope of the discourse, and consequently which of them is preferably to be adopted. *

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 201—204. J. B. Carpzov, Herm. Sacr. pp. 33—35. Ernesti, Institutio Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 61, 62. Mori. Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 150—160. Franckii Prælect. Herm. pp. 29—61. Jahnii Enchiridion, pp. 69—71. Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 145—197, 234, 238—240. Chladenii Instit. Exeget. pp. 375—387. J. E. Pfeifferi, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 147—151, 267—276.

SECTION IX.

OF THE ANALOGY OF FAITH.

I. *The Analogy of Faith defined, and illustrated; — II. Its importance in studying the Sacred Writings; — III. Rules for investigating the Analogy of Faith.*

I. **OF** all the various aids that can be employed for investigating and ascertaining the sense of Scripture, the ANALOGY OF FAITH is perhaps the most important. We may define it to be *the constant and perpetual harmony of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and practice*, deduced from those passages, in which they are discussed by the inspired penmen, either directly or expressly, and in clear, plain, and intelligible language. Or, more briefly, the analogy of faith may be defined to be that proportion which the doctrines of the Gospel

bear to each other, or the close connexion between the truths of revealed religion.

The Analogy of Faith is an expression borrowed from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (xii. 6.) where he exhorts those who *prophecy* in the church (that is, those who exercise the office of authoritatively expounding the Scriptures) to *prophecy according to the proportion*, or, as the word is in the original, the *analogy of faith*. To the same effect many commentators interpret Saint Peter's maxim, (2 Pet. i. 20.) that *no prophecy of Scripture is of any private, or self-interpretation*; implying that the sense of any prophecy is not to be determined by an abstract consideration of the passage itself, but by taking it in conjunction with other portions of Scripture relating to the subject, "comparing things spiritual with spiritual" (1 Cor. ii. 13.);—a rule, which, though it be especially applicable to the prophetic writings, is also of general importance in the exposition of the sacred volume. *

II. It is evident that God does not act without a design in the system of religion taught in the Gospel, any more than he does in the works of nature. Now this design must be uniform: for, as in the system of the universe every part is proportioned to the whole, and is made subservient to it, so, in the system of the Gospel, all the various truths, doctrines, declarations, precepts, and promises, must correspond with and tend to the end designed. For instance, if any one interpret those texts of Scripture, which maintain our justification by faith only, or our salvation by free grace, in such a sense as to exclude the necessity of good works, this interpretation is to be rejected, because it contradicts the main design of christianity, which is to save us *from* our sins, (Matt. i. 21.) to make us holy as God is holy (1 Pet. i. 15.) and to cleanse us from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit (2 Cor. vii. 1). In the application, however, of the analogy of faith to the interpretation of the Scriptures, it is indispensably necessary that the inquirer *previously* understand the whole scheme of divine revelation; and that he do not entertain a predilection for a *part* only; without attention to this, he will be liable to error.

* Van Mildert's Bampton Lect. p. 181. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. xii. (Op. t. ii. p. 659). Carpzov, Prim. Lin. Herm. Sacr. p. 28. It may here be remarked, that the New Testament presents *three* terms, which appear to be synonymous with the analogy of faith, viz. 1. Rom. ii. 20. *Μορφωσις της γνωσεως, και της αληθειας εν τω νομω*, the *form of knowledge*, the grand scheme and draught of all true science, and the system of eternal truth in the law.—2. Rom. vi. 17. *Τυπος διδαχης*, the *form* or mould of doctrine into which the Christians were cast.—3. 2 Tim. ii. 17. *Τποτυπωσις υγιαινωντων λογων*, the *form of sound words*.

If we come to the Scriptures with any pre-conceived opinions, and are more desirous to put that sense upon the text which quadrates with our own sentiments rather than the truth, it then becomes the analogy of *our* faith rather than that of the whole system. This, Dr. Campbell remarks, was the very source of the blindness of the Jews in our Saviour's time: they searched the Scriptures very assiduously; but, in the disposition they entertained, they would never believe what that sacred volume testifies of Christ. The reason is obvious: their great rule of interpretation was *the analogy of faith*; or, in other words, the system of the Pharisean Scribes, the doctrine then in vogue, and in the profound veneration of which they had been educated. This is that veil by which the understandings of the Jews were darkened, even in reading the law, and of which Saint Paul observed that it remained unremoved in his day; and we cannot but remark that it remains unremoved in our own time*. There is, perhaps, scarcely a sect or denomination of Christians, whether of the Greek, Romish, or Protestant churches, but has some particular system or digest of tenets, by them termed the *analogy of faith*, which they individually hold in the greatest reverence; and all whose doctrines terminate in some assumed position, so that its partisans may not contradict themselves. When persons of this description, it has been well remarked, meet with passages in Scripture which they cannot readily explain, consistently with their hypothesis, they strive to solve the difficulty by the analogy of faith which they have themselves invented. But allowing all their assumptions to be founded in truth, it is by no means consonant with the principles of sound divinity, to interpret Scripture by the hypotheses of a church; because the sacred records are the *only proper media* of ascertaining theological truth. †

III. Such then being the importance of attending to the analogy of faith, it remains to state a few observations which may enable the student to apply it to the clearing up of obscure or difficult passages of Scripture.

1. *Wherever any doctrine is manifest, either from the whole tenor of divine revelation or from its scope, it must not be weakened or set aside by a few obscure passages.*

For instance, no truth is asserted more frequently in the Bible, and consequently is more certain in religion, than that

* Dr. Campbell's translation of the four Gospels, vol. i. Dissert. iv. § 14. p. 116, 3d edit.

† Franck's Guide to the Scriptures, p. 79. Franckii Prælect. Herm. p. 185.

God is good, not only to some individuals, but also toward all men. Thus, David says, (Psal. cxlv. 9.) *The Lord is good to ALL, and his tender mercies are over ALL his works*; and Ezekiel, (xviii. 23.) *Have I any pleasure at all in the wicked that he should die? saith the Lord: and not that he should turn from his ways and live?* Frequently also does the Almighty declare, both in the books of the law as well as in the prophets, and also in the New Testament, how earnestly he desires the sinner's return to him. See, among other passages, Deut. v. 29. Ezek. xviii. 32. and xxxiii. 11. Matt. xxiii. 37. Luke iii. 6. John iii. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 4. Titus ii. 11. and 2 Pet. iii. 9. If therefore any passages occur which at first sight appear to contradict the goodness of God, as for instance, that He has created some persons that he might damn them (as some have insinuated)*; in such case the very clear and certain doctrine relative to the goodness of God is not to be impugned, much less set aside, by these obscure places, which, on the contrary, ought to be illustrated by such passages as are more clear. For instance, the meaning of Rom. ix. 17, 18. is not that God created Pharaoh on purpose that he might be an example of his vengeance and severity. The literal rendering of Exod. ix. 16. whence this passage is cited, is, *for this cause have I made thee to stand*, (and so it is inserted in the margin of our Bibles), that is, have preserved thee alive notwithstanding the plagues which have been inflicted, though thou hast long since deserved to be destroyed. It is evident from the whole of the Mosaic history, that what God did to Pharaoh tended naturally to soften him; though

* The passage alluded to, is Prov. xvi. 4. which in our versions runs thus; *The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil.* This passage has by several eminent writers been supposed to refer to the predestination of the elect and the reprobation of the wicked, but without any foundation. Junius, Cocceius, Michaelis, Glassius, Pfeiffer, Turretin, Ostervald, Dr. Whitby, Dr. S. Clarke, and other critics, have shewn that this verse may be more correctly rendered, *The Lord hath made all things to answer to themselves*, or aptly to refer to one another, *yea even the wicked, for the evil day*, that is, to be the executioner of evil to others; on which account they are in Scripture termed the rod of Jehovah, (Isa. x. 5.) and his sword (Psal. xvii. 13.) But there is no necessity for rejecting the received version, the plain and obvious sense of which is that there is nothing in the world which does not contribute to the glory of God, and promote the accomplishment of his adorable designs. The pious and the wicked alike conduce to this end; the wicked, whom God has destined to punishment *on account of their impiety*, serve to display his justice (see Job xxi. 30), and consequently to manifest his glory. "God," says Dr. Gill (who was a strenuous advocate for the doctrines of election and reprobation) "made man neither to damn him nor to save him, but for his own glory, and that is secured whether in his salvation or damnation; nor did or does God make men wicked; He made man upright, and he has made himself wicked; and being so, God may justly appoint him to damnation for his wickedness, in doing which he glorifies his justice." (Gill in loc.) See also J. E. Pfeiffer's Inst. Herm. Sacr. p. 134—136.

Pharaoh, like other sinners, turned those means of softening into hardening: so that in God's agency here, one step seems to be sunk: and the hardening is made the act of God, though in fact it was Pharaoh's deed. Pharaoh was a wicked prince. God did not make him so, that he might be an instance of his power; but, being a wicked prince, God made him the example he intended. *

2. *No doctrine can belong to the analogy of faith, which is founded on a SINGLE text: for every essential principle of religion is delivered in more than one place. Besides, single sentences are not to be detached from the places where they stand, and must be taken in connexion with the whole discourse.*

From disregard of this rule, the temporary direction of the apostle James (v. 14, 15.) has been perverted by the church of Rome, and rendered a permanent institution, from a mean of recovery, to a charm, when recovery is desperate, for the salvation of the soul †. The mistake of the church of Rome, in founding what she calls the *sacrament of extreme unction* upon this place, is very obvious; for the anointing here mentioned was applied to those whose *recovery* was *expected*, as appears from verse 16. where it is said that the Lord in answer to the prayer of faith shall raise up and restore the sick: whereas in the Roman Catholic church, extreme unction is used where there is little, or no hope of recovery, and is called the *sacrament of the dying* ‡. The same remark is applicable to the popish system of auricular confession to a priest; which is attempted to be supported by James v. 16. and 1 John i. 9. neither of which passages has any reference whatever to the ministerial office. In the former, confession of our faults is represented as the duty of the faithful to each other; and in the latter, as the duty of the penitent to God alone.

3. *No interpretation of Scripture can belong to the analogy of faith, that contradicts any of those fundamental points of doctrine or morality, which are frequently repeated in the Scriptures, and which we every where find most urgently enforced.*

To this purpose Saint John (1 John iv. 2, 3.) has laid down the following axiom as a test by which to try the *spirits*, or teachers pretending to be inspired by the Holy Spirit:—*Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of*

* Gilpin's Exposition of the New Test. vol. ii. p. 135, note; see also Bishop Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, part ii. p. 28, 29.

† Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 160.

‡ See Bishop Burnet on the 25th Article, Whitby, Benson, Macknight, and other commentators on this text; and Mr. Fletcher's Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion, p. 198, *et seq.*

God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. This was a fundamental doctrine, or principle of christianity by which other doctrines were to be tried. Nearly to the same purpose is the following rule of Saint Paul. (1 Tim. vi. 3, 5.) :—*If any man teach otherwise and consent not to wholesome words, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, from such withdraw thyself.* The obvious meaning of which is, that if any man teach such doctrines as contradict the main design of Christianity, which is to promote true holiness, he is not to be attended to; nor is the sense which such a one gives of any particular text of Scripture to be received, because it militates against the grand design of the Christian scheme, which explicitly states (to use the language of Saint Paul himself), that *Christ came into the world to destroy the works of the devil, and gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.* (Tit. ii. 14.)

4. *An obscure, doubtful, ambiguous, or figurative text must never be interpreted in such a sense as to make it contradict a plain one : for, in explaining the Scriptures, consistency of sense and principles ought to be supported in all their several parts ; and if any one part be so interpreted as to clash with another, such interpretation cannot be justified. Nor can it be otherwise corrected than by considering every doubtful or difficult text, first by itself, then with its context, and then by comparing it with other passages of Scripture ; and thus bringing what may seem obscure into a consistency with what is plain and evident.*

The doctrine of transubstantiation, inculcated by the church of Rome, is founded on a strictly literal interpretation of figurative expressions, *this is my body, &c.* * (Matt. xxvi. 26. &c.) and (which has no relation to the supper), *eat my flesh, drink my blood,* (John vi. 51—58.) But independently of this, we may further conclude that the sense put upon the words “*this is my body*” by the church of Rome, cannot be the true one, being contrary to the express declaration of the New Testament history, from which it is evident that our Lord is ascended into heaven, where he is to continue “*till the time of the restitution of all things,*” (Acts iii. 21.) that is, till his second coming to judgment. How then can his body be in ten thousand several places on earth at one and the same time? We may further add that, if the doctrine of transubstantiation be true, it will follow that our Saviour, when he instituted the sacra-

* See an illustration of this text, *infra*, pp. 368, 369.

ment of the Lord's Supper, did actually eat his own flesh, and drink his own blood: a conclusion this, so obviously contradictory both to reason and to Scripture, that it is astonishing how any sensible and religious man can credit such a tenet.

Upon a similar literal interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18. *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church*, the church of Rome has erected the claim of supremacy for Peter and his successors. Hence building on Peter is explained away by some commentators, as being contrary to the faith that Christ is the only foundation, (1 Cor. iii. 11). The most eminent of the antient fathers, as well as some of the early bishops or popes of Rome, particularly Gregory the Great, and likewise several of the most judicious modern commentators, respectively take this rock to be the profession of faith which Peter had just made that *Christ was the son of God*. The connexion however shews that Peter is here plainly meant. *Thou art Peter*, says Christ; and *upon this rock*, that is, Peter, pointing to him; for thus it connects with the reason which follows for the name, in the same manner as the reason is given for that of Abraham in Gen. xvii. 5. and of Israel, in Gen. xxxii. 28. The Apostles are also called, in other parts of the New Testament, the foundation on which the church is built, as in Eph. ii. 20. and Rev. xxi. 14. as being the persons employed in erecting the church, by preaching. It is here promised that Peter should commence the building of it by his preaching, which was fulfilled by his first converting the Jews, (Acts ii. 14—42), and also the Gentiles, (Acts x. xv. 7). This passage therefore gives no countenance to the papal supremacy, but the contrary, for this prerogative was personal and incommunicable. *

5. *Such passages as are expressed with brevity are to be expounded by those, where the same doctrines or duties are expressed more largely and fully.*

Even slight variations will often times serve for the purpose of reciprocal illustration. Thus the beatitudes related in the sixth chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel, though delivered at another time and in a different place, are the same with those delivered by our Lord in his sermon on the Mount, and recorded in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel. Being however epitomized by the former Evangelist, they may be explained by the latter. Further, the quotation from Isaiah,

* Barrow's Works, vol. i. p. 581. Grotius in loc. Elsley's Annotations, vol. i. pp. 273—275. Gerard's Institutes, p. 163. See also the commencement of the Bishop of Saint David's Letter to his Clergy, entitled, *Christ, and not Saint Peter, the Rock of the Christian Church*.

vi. 9. *Hear ye indeed, but understand not, &c.* is contracted in Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10. and John xii. 40. but it is given at large in Matt. xiii. 14, 15. and accordingly from this last cited Gospel, the sense of the prophet is most evident. Again, Nothing is more certain than that God *hath no pleasure in wickedness*, or sin (Psal. v. 4.) and consequently cannot be the cause of sin. When therefore any passages occur which *appear* to intimate the contrary, they must be so understood as not to impugn this important truth. The *hardening* of Pharaoh's heart therefore is not to be taken as the act of God, but that he permitted him to go on, following his own cruel schemes, regardless of the divine judgments. *

6. *In ascertaining the analogy of faith, the seat of a subject must be consulted and considered.*

By the *seat of a subject* we mean any place or passage in Scripture where any subject is treated, either professedly, or in subordination to another subject, or in which more especially it is regularly discussed and grounded by the special appointment of the Holy Spirit. This last has been termed its *proper and principal seat*, and is that which must chiefly be regarded: for there is no article of faith, necessary to be believed unto salvation, which is not clearly and explicitly proposed in some part or other of the Scripture. Such texts therefore as treat professedly on a subject, have greater weight than those which only touch upon it incidentally: and texts that express it absolutely and as it is in itself, are clearer and more decisive than such as have a reference to particular occasions, without a perfect knowledge of which they cannot be understood, but may be totally misapprehended.

Thus the Lord's Supper is treated of, professedly, and in its proper and principal seat, in *the words of its institution* related in Matt. xxvi. 26—28. Mark xiv. 22—24. Luke xxii. 19, 20. and 1 Cor. xi. 23—26. Now, should any question arise relative to this point, these passages are to be exclusively consulted, and not uncertain or dubious places, as Luke xxiv. 30. in which there appears no vestige of the Lord's Supper, or John vi. 51—58. where indeed mention is made of the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking his blood, but not sacramentally, as it is done in the Lord's Supper. Further, The doctrine of justification is considered in the third chapter of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, as in its proper seat:

* See this text more fully considered, *supra*, p. 356. J. E. Pfeiffer has given some additional examples, illustrating the preceding rule, in his *Inst. Herm. Sect.* pp. 142—144.

and the Epistle to the Galatians, and especially that to the Romans are the principal seats of that momentous doctrine; and according to the tenor of these, particularly Rom. iii., all the other passages of Scripture that treat of justification, should be explained.*

7. “*Where several doctrines of equal importance are proposed, and revealed with great clearness, we must be careful to give to each its full and equal weight.*”

“Thus, that we are saved by the free grace of God, and through faith in Christ, is a doctrine too plainly affirmed by the sacred writers to be set aside by any contravening position: for it is said, *By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God*, (Eph. ii. 8). But so, on the other hand, are the doctrines of repentance unto life, and of obedience unto salvation; for, again it is said, *Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out*, (Acts iii. 19), and, *If thou wilt enter life, keep the commandments*, (Matt. xix. 17). To set either of these truths at variance with the others, would be to frustrate the declared purpose of the Gospel, and to make it of none effect. Points thus clearly established, and from their very nature indispensable, must be made to correspond with each other: and the exposition, which best preserves them unimpaired and undiminished, will in any case be a safe interpretation, and most probably the true one. The analogy of faith will thus be kept entire, and will approve itself, in every respect, as becoming its divine author, and *worthy of all acceptation.*”†

Some further remarks might be offered, in addition to the above rules; but as they fall more properly under consideration in the subsequent part of this work, the preceding observations on the interpretation of Scripture by the analogy of faith will perhaps be found abundantly sufficient. It only remains to state, that, valuable as this aid is for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, it must be used in *concurrence* with those which have been illustrated in the foregoing sections, and to subjoin a few cautions, in the application of the analogy of faith, attention to which will enable us successfully to “*compare things spiritual with spiritual.*”

1. “Care,” then, “must be taken, not to confound seeming with real analogies;—not to rely upon merely verbal resemblances when the sense may require a different application; not to interpret what is parallel only in one respect, as if it

* Franck's Guide, p. 41. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. xii. p. 659, and Critica Sacra, c. v. § 15. pp. 719, 720. Gerard's Institutes, p. 161.

† Vanmildert's Bampton Lect. p. 204.

were so in all; not to give to any parallel passages so absolute a sway in our decisions as to over-rule the clear and evident meaning of the text under consideration; and, above all, not to suffer an eagerness in multiplying proofs of this kind, to betray us into a neglect of the immediate context of the passage in question, upon which its signification must principally depend*.” The occasion, coherence, and connexion of the writing, the argument carrying on, as well as the scope and intent of the paragraph, and the correspondence of the type with its antitype, are all to be carefully remarked.

2. Further, “In forming the analogy of faith, all the plain texts relating to one subject or article, ought to be taken together, impartially compared, the expressions of one of them restricted by those of another, and explained in mutual consistency; and that article deduced from them all in conjunction: not, as has been most commonly the practice, one set of texts selected, which have the same aspect, explained in their greatest possible rigour; and all others, which look another way, neglected or explained away, and tortured into a compatibility with the opinion in that manner partially deduced.”

3. Lastly, “The analogy of faith, as applicable to the examination of particular passages, ought to be very short, simple, and purely scriptural; but most sects conceive it, as taking in all the complex peculiarities, and scholastic refinements, of their own favourite systems.”†

Thus, as it has been remarked with equal truth and elegance,‡ “by due attention to these principles, accompanied with the great moral requisites already shown to be indispensable, and with humble supplication to the throne of grace for a blessing on his labours, the diligent inquirer after Scripture truth may confidently hope for success. The design of every portion of holy writ, its harmony with the rest, and the divine perfection of the whole, will more and more fully be displayed. And thus will he be led, with increasing veneration and gratitude, to adore HIM, to whom every sacred book bears witness, and every divine dispensation led the way; even HIM, who is *Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.*”§

* Vanmildert's Bampton Lect., p. 215.

† Gerard's Institutes, p. 161. The analogy of faith is copiously illustrated, in addition to the authorities already cited, by Franck, in his *Prælect. Herm. positio v.* pp. 166—192; by Rambach, in his *Instit. Herm. Sacrae*, lib. ii. c. i. pp. 87—106; by Jahn in his *Enchiridion Herm. Generalis*, § 32. pp. 96—100; by J. E. Pfeiffer, in his *Instit. Herm. Sacrae*, pp. 706—740; and by Chladenius, in his *Institutiones Exegeticae*, pp. 406—430.

‡ By Professor Vanmildert, Bampton Lect. p. 216.

§ Rev. i. 2. Heb. xiii. 8.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

“**FIGURATIVE** language had its rise in the first ages of mankind: the scarcity of words occasioned them to be used for various purposes; and thus figurative terms, which constitute the beauty of language, arose from its poverty; and it is still the same in all uncivilized nations. Hence originated the metaphorical diction of the Indians, and the picture writing of the Mexicans.”

The Bible, though too commonly regarded as containing only lessons of morality and plain statements of facts, abounds with the most beautiful images, and with every ornament of which style is susceptible. Yet these very ornaments are sometimes occasions of difficulty: for, the books which contain the revelations of God, being more antient than any others now extant, are written either in the language used by mankind in the first ages, or in a language nearly allied to it. The style of these writings therefore being very different from that of modern compositions, to interpret them exactly as they are usually expounded, is without doubt to *misinterpret* them: accordingly, persons ignorant of the character of the primitive languages, have, by that method of interpretation, been led to imagine that the Scriptures contain notions unworthy of God; and thus have not only exposed these venerable writings to the scorn of infidels, but have also framed to themselves erroneous notions in religion*. To prevent similar mistakes, and, it is hoped, to render more delightful the study of the sacred volume by an explanation of its figurative language, is the design of the present chapter.

Figures, in general, may be described to be that language, which is prompted either by the imagination or by the passions. Rhetoricians commonly divide them into two great

* Macknight on the Epistles, vol. iv. 4to, or vol. vi. 8vo. essay viii. sect. 1. On the right Interpretation of Scripture. The materials of this chapter are abridged chiefly from Professor Dathe's edition of Glassius's *Philologia Sacra*, lib. ii. forming the whole second volume of that elaborate work. See also Jahn's *Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis*, cap. iv. De Tropis recte interpretandis, pp. 101—125., and Rambach's *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, lib. iii. c. ii. De Adminiculis Rhetoricis, pp. 429—440.

classes, *figures of words*, and *figures of thought*. Figures of words, are usually termed *tropes*, and consist in the advantageous alteration of a word or sentence from its original and proper signification to another meaning: as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. *The rock of Israel spake to me*. Here the trope lies in the word *rock*, which is changed from its original sense, as intending one of the strongest works and most certain shelters in nature; and is employed to signify that God, by his faithfulness and power, is the same security to the soul which trusts in him, as the rock is to the man who builds upon it, or flees for safety to its impenetrable recesses. So, in Luke xiii. 32. our Lord, speaking of Herod, says, *go ye, and tell that fox*: here the word *fox* is diverted from its proper meaning, which is that of a beast of prey and of deep cunning, to denote a mischievous, cruel, and crafty tyrant; and the application of the term gives us a complete idea of his hypocrisy.

The other class, called figures of thought, supposes the words to be used in their literal and proper meaning, and the figure to consist in the turn of the thought; as is the case in exclamations, apostrophes, and comparisons, where, though we vary the words that are used, or translate them from one language into another, we may nevertheless still preserve the same figure in the thought. This distinction, however, Dr. Blair remarks, is of no great use, as nothing can be built upon it in practice: neither is it always very clear. It is of little importance, whether we give to some particular mode of expression the name of a trope, or of a figure, provided we remember that figurative language always imports some colouring of the imagination, or some emotion of passion expressed in our style: and, perhaps *figures of imagination*, and *figures of passion*, might be a more useful distribution of the subject.*

Without regarding therefore the technical distinctions, which have been introduced by rhetorical writers, we shall first offer some hints by which to ascertain and correctly interpret the tropes and figures occurring in the sacred writings; and in the following sections we shall notice the principal of them, illustrated by examples, to which a diligent reader may easily subjoin others.

* Blair's Lectures, vol. i. p. 320.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TROPEs
AND FIGURES.

“ALL languages are more or less figurative: but they are most so in their earliest state. Before language is provided with a stock of words, sufficient in their literal sense to express what is wanted, men are under the necessity of extending the use of words beyond the literal sense. But the application, when once begun, is not to be limited by the bounds of necessity. The imagination, always occupied with resemblances which are the foundation of figures, disposes men to seek for figurative terms, where they might express themselves in literal terms. Figurative language presents a kind of picture to the mind, and thus delights while it instructs; whence its use, though more necessary when a language is poor and uncultivated, is never wholly laid aside, especially in the writings of orators and poets.”* The language of the Scriptures is highly figurative, especially in the Old Testament. For this two reasons have been assigned; *one* is, that the inhabitants of the East, naturally possessing warm and vivid imaginations, and living in a warm and fertile climate, surrounded by objects equally beautiful and agreeable, delight in a figurative style of expression; and as these circumstances easily impel their power of conceiving images, they fancy similitudes which are sometimes far fetched, and which, to the chastised taste of European readers, do not always appear the most elegant. The *other* reason is, that many of the books of the Old Testament are poetical: now it is the privilege of a poet to illustrate the productions of his muse, and to render them more animated, by figures and images drawn from almost every subject that presents itself to his imagination. Hence David, Solomon, Isaiah, and other sacred poets, abound with figures, make rapid transitions from one to another, every where scattering flowers, and adorning their poems with metaphors, the real beauty of which however can only be appreciated by being acquainted with the country in which the sacred poets lived, its situation and peculiarities, and also with the manners of the inhabitants, and the idioms of their language.

* Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 69.

The language of the New Testament, and especially the discourses, and speeches of our Saviour, are not less figurative; “and numerous mistakes have been made by a literal application of what was figuratively meant. When our Saviour said to the Jews, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,” the Jews understood the word *temple* in its natural sense, and asked him, whether he could raise again in three days what had taken six-and-forty years to build. They did not perceive that his language was figurative, and that he spake of the temple of his body*.”

In order, then, to understand fully the figurative language of the Scriptures, it is requisite *first* to ascertain and determine what is really figurative, lest we take that to be literal which is figurative, as the disciples of our Lord and the Jews frequently did, or lest we pervert the literal meaning of words by a figurative interpretation; and *secondly*, when we have ascertained what is really figurative, to interpret it correctly, and deliver its true sense. For this purpose, Ernesti has given the following general rule:—We may ascertain whether any expression is to be taken literally or figuratively, by recalling the thing spoken of to its internal or external sense, that is, by seeking out its internal or external meaning; and this may in general be readily ascertained. Hence it is, that in human compositions we are very rarely if ever in doubt, whether a thing be spoken literally or figuratively; because the thing or subject spoken of, being human, and capable both of external and internal senses, may be recalled to a human sense, that is, to a sense intelligible by man. To understand this subject more particularly:

1. *The literal meaning of words must be retained, more in the historical books of Scripture, than in those which are poetical.* For it is the duty of an historian to relate transactions, simply as they happened; while a poet has license to ornament his subject by the aid of figures, and to render it more lively by availing himself of similes and metaphors. Hence we find, that the style of narration, in the historical books, is simple, and *generally* devoid of ornament, while the poetical books abound with images borrowed from various objects; not, indeed, that the historical books are *entirely* destitute of figurative expressions: for, whatever language men may use, they are so accustomed to this mode of expression, that they cannot fully convey their meaning in literal words, but are compelled by the force of habit to make use of such as are figurative.

* Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 69.

But we must not look for a figurative style in the historical books, and still less are historical narratives to be changed into allegories and parables, unless these be obviously apparent. Those expositors therefore violate this rule for the interpretation of the Scriptures, who allegorise the history of the fall of man*! and that of the prophet of Jonah.

2. *The literal meaning of words is to be given up, if it be either improper, or involve an impossibility.*

Thus, in Jer. i. 18. God is represented as saying to the prophet, *I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land.* Now, it is obvious that these expressions are figurative: because, if taken literally, they involve an impossibility. The general import of the divine promise is, that God would defend Jeremiah against all open assaults and secret contrivances of his enemies, who should no more be able to prevail against him than they could against an impregnable wall or fortress. So, the literal sense of Isa. i. 25. is equally inapplicable; but in the following verse the prophet explains it in the proper words.

3. *The literal meaning of words is to be given up, if the predicate being literally taken, be contrary to the subject.* In Amos iv. 1. we read:

Hear this word, O ye Kine of Bashan,
That are on the mountain of Samaria;
That oppress the poor, that crush the needy;
That say to their masters, Bring, and let us drink.

Here the predicates, to *oppress*, *crush*, and *say*, (which, if the subject, the *Kine of Basham*, be taken literally, do not answer to it, but may be accommodated to men,) evidently indicate that the expression is figurative; and that by the Kine of Bashan, which place was famous for its flocks and herds, we are to understand the proud and luxurious matrons of Israel. In like manner, in Psal. xviii. 2. where God is termed a *rock*, a *fortress*, a *deliverer*, a *buckler*, a *horn of salvation*, and a *high tower*, it is obvious that these predicates are metaphorically spoken of the Almighty.

4. *Where the literal meaning of words is contrary, either to common sense, to the context, to parallel passages, or to the scope of a passage, it must be given up.*

When, in Psalm xlv. 23. the Psalmist exclaims, *awake, why sleepest thou?* The literal signification of sleeping cannot be retained; because, as the sacred poet observes in another psalm, *he that keepeth Israel neither slumbereth nor sleepeth.* Now matter of fact shews, that the assertion, contained in the

* See Gen. ii. and iii.

passage last cited, is to be understood properly and literally, and consequently that the interrogation comprised in the 44th Psalm must be taken figuratively. In Isa. iv. 4. that the expression, *the filth of the daughters of Zion*, must be understood figuratively, is evident not only from the scope of the passage, but also from the words immediately following,—*the blood of Jerusalem*, that is, the murder and bloodshed committed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. To *change day into night*, (Job xvii. 12.) is a moral impossibility, contrary to common sense, and must be a figurative expression. In Isa. i. 5, 6. the Jewish nation are described as being sorely *stricken* or chastised, like a man mortally wounded, and destitute both of medicine as well as of the means of cure. That this description is figurative, is evident from the context; for in the two following verses the prophet delineates the condition of the Jews in literal terms.

The declaration of our Lord in Matt. xxvi. 26, 28. may be cited as an illustration of the four preceding rules; as the interpreting of his words, *literally*, is not only repugnant to the sacred history, and involves an absurdity, but is also contrary to the context, to parallel texts, and to the scope of the passage. Yet it is upon a forced and literal construction of these words that the church of Rome has, ever since the thirteenth century, erected and maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the conversion of the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, into the actual body and blood of Christ!—A doctrine which is manifestly “repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions*.” The expressions, “this is my body,” and “this is my blood,” (Matt. xxvi. 26, 28. and Mark xiv. 22, 24. compared with Luke xxii. 19, 20. and 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.) by a well known metonymy, simply mean, “this represents my body,” and “this represents my blood†.” For, as these words were spoken *before* Christ's body was broken upon the cross, and *before* his blood was shed, he could not pronounce them with the intention that they should be taken and interpreted literally by his disciples: nor do we find that they ever understood him thus. If the words of institution had

* Art. xxvii. of the Confession of the Anglican Church.

† Whitby in loc. Dr. Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 50—54. The modern Jews employ a similar phraseology in celebrating the passover. The plate containing the passover-cakes being lifted up by the hands of the whole company, they unite in rehearsing: “*This* is the bread of poverty and affliction which our fathers did eat in Egypt,” &c. Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 383. The doctrine of transubstantiation is confuted at length by the Bishop of Durham, (Tracts, pp. 355—370.) See also Mr. Fletcher's Lectures on Popery, pp. 139—169.

been spoken in *English* or *Latin* at first, there might perhaps have been some reason for supposing that our Saviour meant to be literally understood. But they were spoken in Syriac; in which, as well as in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, there is no word which expresses to *signify*, *represent*, or *denote*. Hence it is that we find the expression *it is*, so frequently used in the sacred writings, for *it represents* or *signifies*. Thus, in Gen. xvi. 10. 23. 26. “this is [represents] my covenant betwixt me and thee.” So, in Gen. xli. 26, 27. *the seven good kine and the seven ill-favoured kine ARE [represent] seven years.* Exod. xii. 11. This is [represents] *the Lord’s passover.* Dan. vii. 24. *The seven horns ARE [denote] ten kings.* 1 Cor. x. 4. *That rock WAS [typified or represented] Christ.* Matt. xiii. 38, 39. *The field is [denotes] the world; the good seed is [represents] the children of the kingdom; the tares ARE [represent] the children of the wicked one. The enemy is [represents] the Devil: the harvest is [signifies] the end of the world; the reapers ARE [represent] Angels.* Similar modes of expression occur in Luke viii. 9. xv. 26. Gr. and xviii. 36. Gr. John vii. 36. and x. 6. Acts x. 17. Gal. iv. 24. and Rev. i. 20. It is further worthy of remark, that we have complete versions of the Gospels in the Syriac language, which were executed at the commencement of the second century, and in them it is probable that we have the precise words spoken by our Lord on this occasion. Of the passage, Matt. xxvi. 26. 28. the Greek is a verbal translation: nor would any man even in the present day, speaking in the same language, use, among the people to whom it was vernacular, other terms to express, “this represents my body,” and “this represents my blood.” It is evident, therefore, from the context, from parallel passages, and the scope of the passage, that the literal interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 26. 28. must be abandoned, and with it necessarily falls the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation.

IV. It is not, however, sufficient to know *whether* an expression be figurative or not, but when this point is ascertained, another of equal importance presents itself; namely, *to interpret metaphorical expressions by corresponding and appropriate terms.* In order to accomplish this object, it is necessary that we inquire in *what respects the thing compared, and that with which it is compared, respectively agree, and also in what respects they have any affinity or resemblance*: for, as a similitude is concealed in every metaphor, it is only by diligent study that it can be elicited, by carefully observing the points of agreement between the proper or literal and the figurative meaning. For instance, the prophetic writers, and particularly Ezekiel, very frequently

charge the Israelites with having committed adultery and played the harlot, and with deserting Jehovah, their husband. From the slightest inspection of these passages, it is evident that spiritual adultery, or idolatry, is intended. Now the origin of this metaphor is to be sought from one and the same notion, in which there is an agreement between adultery and the worship paid by the Israelites to strange gods. That notion or idea is unfaithfulness; by which, as a wife deceives her husband, so they are represented as deceiving God, and as violating their fidelity, in forsaking him.

To explain this general remark more particularly,

1. *The sense of a figurative passage will be known, if the resemblance between the things or objects compared be so clear as to be immediately perceived.*

Thus, if any one be said to *walk in the way of the ungodly*, or of the *godly*, we readily apprehend that the imitation of the conduct of those characters is the idea designed to be expressed. In like manner, when any one is compared to a *lion*, who does not immediately understand that strength of limbs, firmness of nerve, and magnanimity, are the ideas intended to be conveyed? In Gen. xlix. 9. Judah is styled a *lion's whelp*, and is compared to a lion and lioness couching, whom no one dares to rouse. The warlike character and the conquests of this tribe are here prophetically described: but the full force of the passage will not be perceived, unless we know that a lion or lioness, when lying down after satisfying it's hunger, will not attack any person. Mr. Park has recorded an instance of his providential escape from a lion thus circumstanced, which he saw lying near the road, and passed unhurt*.

2. *As, in the sacred metaphors, one particular is generally the principal thing thereby exhibited, the sense of a metaphor will be illustrated by considering the context of the passage in which it occurs.*

This rule particularly applies to images, which do not always convey one and the same meaning. Thus, light and darkness not only denote happiness and misery, but also knowledge and ignorance; which of these two significations is to be preferably adopted, the context alone can show. In Psalm cxii. 4. we read: *Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.* Bishop Horsley thinks that this is an allusion to what happened in Egypt, when the Israelites had light in all their dwellings in Goshen, while the rest of Egypt was enveloped in darkness. Be

* Travels in the Interior of Africa, p. 310, 8vo. 1807, or in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 848.

this, however, as it may, since the design of the Psalm in question is, to show the blessedness of the righteous and the final perdition of the ungodly, the context will plainly indicate that happiness is the idea intended in this verse: for, if we consult what precedes, we shall find that temporal prosperity is promised to the righteous, and that, among the particulars in which his prosperity is stated to consist, it is specified *that his seed shall be mighty upon earth; the generation of the upright shall be blessed; wealth and riches shall be in his house.* On the contrary, in Psal. xix. 8. where the commandment of Jehovah is said to *enlighten the eyes*, the idea of spiritual knowledge is intended, and this phrase corresponds to that in the preceding verse, where the testimony of Jehovah is said to *make wise the simple.* In the New Testament, light and darkness are of frequent occurrence, and in like manner designate a state of knowledge and a state of ignorance. It may be sufficient to refer to Luke i. 78, 79. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. i. 21. Eph. iv. 18. and v. 8. 1 Peter ii. 9.

3. *The sense of a metaphor is often known from the sacred writer's own explanation of it.*

In common with profane writers, whether in prose or verse, the inspired penmen of the Old Testament frequently subjoin to metaphorical expressions proper or literal terms, and thus explain the meaning intended to be conveyed by the images they employ. Thus, in Esther viii. 16. it is said that *the Jews had light and gladness, and joy and honour*: here the explanatory synonyms mark the greatness of their prosperity and joy. In Psal. xcvi. 11. *light* is said to be *sown for the righteous*: the exposition immediately follows, *and joy for the upright in heart.* In like manner, when the prophet Hosea complains that a spirit of lasciviousness had driven the Israelites astray, (Hos. iv. 12.) he explains his meaning not only by subjoining that they forsook their God, but in the following verse he states in clear and literal terms the eagerness with which they committed idolatry; *upon the tops of the mountains they sacrifice, and upon the hills they burn incense, &c.*

4. *The sense of a figurative expression may also be ascertained by consulting parallel passages; in which the same thing is expressed properly and literally, or in which the same word occurs, so that the sense may be readily apprehended.*

The Hebrew prophets very often represent Jehovah as holding in his hand a cup, and presenting it to men who are compelled to drink it up to the very dregs. The intoxicated stagger, and, falling prostrate on the ground, shamefully vomit forth the wine they have drunk. This metaphor is frequently repeated

in various ways by the sacred poets, who sometimes only glance at it, while at others they more fully illustrate it. Compare Obad. 16. Nahum iii. 11. Habak. ii. 16. Psal. lxxv. 8. Jer. xxv. 15—26. and Ezekiel xxiii. 33, 34. Now, if there were any doubt as to the meaning of the image occurring in these passages, its sense might be immediately ascertained by comparing the following parallel passage in Isaiah li. 17—23. in which the prophet portrays Jerusalem as a woman so intoxicated as to be unable to stand; but in which he introduces some words that clearly mark the sense of the metaphor. The passage itself, Bishop Lowth justly remarks, is poetry of the first order, sublimity of the highest proof.

Rouse thyself, rouse thyself up; arise, O Jerusalem!
 Who hast drunken from the hand of JEHOVAH the cup of his fury;
 The dregs of the cup of trembling, thou hast drunken, thou hast wrung them out.
 There is not one to lead her, of all the sons which she hath brought forth:
 Neither is there one to support her by the hand, of all the sons which she hath educated.
 These two things have befallen thee; who shall bemoan thee?
 Desolation and destruction; the famine and the sword; who shall comfort thee?
 Thy sons lie astounded; they are cast down:
 At the head of all the streets, like the oryx! taken in the toils;
 Drenched to the full with the fury of JEHOVAH, with the rebuke of thy God.
 Wherefore hear now this, O thou afflicted daughter;
 And thou drunken, but not with wine.
 Thus saith thy Lord JEHOVAH;
 And thy God, who avengeth his people;
 Behold, I take from thy hand the cup of trembling;
 The dregs of the cup of my fury;
 Thou shalt drink of it again no more.
 But I will put it into the hand of them who oppress thee;
 Who said to thee, bow down thy body, that we may go over:
 And thou layedst down thy back, as the ground;
 And as the street, to them that pass along.

Bishop LOWTH's Version.

5. *Consider history.*

A consideration of events recorded in history will very frequently show how far and in what sense any expression is to be understood figuratively. Thus many and various things are said relative to the coming of Christ, his kingdom, government, and adversaries. Now history informs us, that he came, at the destruction of Jerusalem, to rule and govern far and wide by the spreading of the Gospel. In Matt. x. 34. Christ says that he came not to send peace on earth, but *a sword*. In the parallel passage, Luke xii. 51. he says, that he came to cause *division*. The general import of these two passages is, that he would cause discord, and as it were sow dissensions. But in what sense could the blessed Saviour mean that he would cause

* Or wild bull.

discord? We learn from history, that in consequence of the diffusion of the Christian religion, nations and families became divided, so that some embraced it while others rejected it, and the former were persecuted by the latter on account of their Christian profession. A further exposition of this passage is given in p. 380, *infra*.

6. *Consider the connexion of doctrine, as well as the context of the figurative passage.*

A consideration of the connexion of doctrine, as well as of the context, will often lead to the origin of the figurative expressions employed by the sacred writers, and consequently enable us to ascertain their meaning: for very frequently some word precedes or follows, or some synonyme is annexed, that plainly indicates whether the expression is to be taken properly or figuratively. For instance, the words *sin* and *iniquity*, which are of such frequent occurrence in the law of Moses, are tropically put for punishment: and, that the phrase, *to bear one's sin or iniquity*, is equivalent to the suffering of the punishment due to sin, appears from the synonymous expressions of *being cut off from the people*, and *dying*, being very often annexed. As in Levit. xix. 8. Exod. xxviii. 43. Numb. xiv. 33. and xviii. 22. 32. &c. Thus also diseases and infirmities are called sins, because they are considered as the punishment of sin, as in Isa. liii. 4. (with Matt. viii. 17.) the figure in which passage is subsequently explained in verse 5. Compare also verse 12, and Psal. xxxviii. 3.—5. Ezek. xxxiii. 10. and John ix. 2, 3. So likewise, in Gen. xxxi. 42. 53. the context manifestly shows that *fear of Isaac*, and *the fear of his father*, are put for Jehovah, the object of fear and reverence. Once more; when, in 1 Pet. ii. 5. 9. believers are said to be living stones, a spiritual house, and a royal priesthood, as these expressions are derived from the Old Testament, we must recur to Exod. xix. 5, 6. in order to ascertain the full extent of their privileges. The general tenor of the apostle's address then will be, "Consider yourselves as forming part of a nobler temple than that of the Jews, and in which a much more spiritual sacrifice is offered to God through Christ.—You, who have embraced the Gospel, are considered by God as inheritors of all those holy blessings which were promised to the Jews."

7. *In fixing the sense exhibited by a metaphor, the comparison ought never to be extended too far, or into any thing which cannot be properly applied to the person or thing represented.*

In other words, a comparison, which ordinarily has but *one particular view*, ought not to be strained, in order to make it agree in other respects, where it is evident that there is not a

similitude of ideas. For instance, in Isa. xl. 6. we read *all flesh is grass*; that is, all mankind are liable to wither and decay, and will wither and decay like grass. But this metaphor would be tortured to a meaning, which, as it is foolish and absurd, we may be sure was never intended by the inspired writer, if we were to say, that mankind were like grass, or were grass in colour or shape. What wild, and indeed what wicked abuse, would be made of the Scripture expression concerning our Lord, that *he will come as a thief in the night*, (Rev. xvi. 15.) if we were not to confine the sense to the suddenness and surprisal of the thief, but should extend it to the temper and designs of the villain who breaks open houses in the night*? Hence, though one metaphor may be brought to signify *many* things with respect to some *different* qualities, and *diverse* attributes, it nevertheless is very evident that *that* sense ought chiefly to be attended to, which appears to be designed by the Spirit of God, and which is obviously figured out to us in the nature, form, or use of the thing from which the metaphor is taken. Thus, Christ is called a *lion*, Rev. v. 5. because he is noble, heroic, and invincible; Satan, the grand adversary of souls, is called a lion in Pet. v. 3. because he is rapacious, roaring and devouring. And wicked men are termed *lions* in Job iv. 10, 11. and 2 Tim. iv. 17. because they are fierce, outrageous, and cruel to weaker men.†

Lastly, *in explaining the figurative language of Scripture, care must be taken that we do not judge of the application of characters from modern usage; because the inhabitants of the East have very frequently attached a character to the idea expressed, widely different from that which usually presents itself to our views.*

The inhabitants of the East, from their lively imaginations, very often make use of far-fetched comparisons, and bring together things which, in our judgments, are the most dissimilar. Besides, since the Hebrew mode of living differed greatly from ours, and many things were in use and commended by the Israelites which to us are unknown,—we ought not to be surprised, if there be a very wide difference subsisting between the metaphorical expressions of the Hebrews, and those which are familiar to us, and if they should sometimes appear harsh, and seem to convey a different meaning from that which we are accustomed to receive. Thus, in Deut. xxxiii. 17. the glory of the *tribe* of Joseph is compared to the firstling of a bullock; in like manner,

* Dr. Gibbon's Rhetoric, p. 49.

† Numerous similar instances are given by Glassius, *Philologia Sacra*, (edit. Dathii) lib. ii. pp. 918—921.

Amos iv. 1. compares the noble women of Israel to the kine of Bashan, and Hosea compares the Israelites to refractory kine that shake off the yoke. The patriarch Jacob, in his prophetic and valedictory address to his children, (Gen. xlix. 14.) in which he foretells their own and their descendants' future condition, terms Issachar a *strong ass*, literally a *strong-boned* or *strong-limbed ass*. Now, if we take these metaphors according to their present sense, we shall greatly err. The ox tribe of animals, whose greatest beauty and strength lie in its horns, was held in very high honour among the antient nations, and was much esteemed on account of its aptitude for agricultural labour: hence Moses specially enacts, that the ox should not be muzzled while treading out the corn. The ass tribe, in the East, is robust, and more handsome, as well as much quicker in its pace, than those animals are in our country: and therefore princes and persons of noble birth thought it no degradation to ride on asses. Hence, in the opinion of the inhabitants of the East, it is not reckoned disgraceful to be compared with oxen and asses; nor, if a metaphor be derived from those animals, do they intend to convey the same meaning which we should express by a figure drawn from them. In the comparison of the tribe of Joseph to the firstling of a bullock, the point of resemblance is strength and power*. In the comparison of the matrons of Samaria to the kine of Bashan, the point of resemblance is luxury and wantonness, flowing from their abundance†; in the comparison of Issachar to an ass, the point of resemblance is bodily strength and vigour: for in that animal the Hebrews were accustomed to regard strength, though we usually associate with it the idea of slowness. ‡

* Mr. Brown has recorded a similar figure, which is in use at the present time at the court of the Sultan of Dar Fûr, in Africa; where, during public audiences, a kind of hired encomiast stands at the monarch's right hand, crying out, "See the buffalo, the offspring of a buffalo, the bull of bulls, the elephant of superior strength, the powerful Sultan Abd-el-rachmân-al-rashid!" Journey to Dar Fûr, chap. 1. *in fine*, or Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. p. 122.

† The propriety of this comparison will appear when it is recollected that Bashan was celebrated for the richness of its pastures, and its breed of cattle. See Numb. xxxii. 4. Deut. xxxii. 14. and Ezek. xxxix. 18.

‡ Bauer, Herm. Sacra, pp. 206, 210—213, 216—221. Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 99—110. Morus in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 260—300.

SECTION II.

ON THE METONYMIES OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

Nature of a Metonymy — 1. *Metonymy of the cause* — 2. *Metonymy of the effect* — 3. *Metonymy of the subject* — 4. *Metonymy of the adjunct, in which the adjunct is put for the subject.*

A METONYMY is a trope, by which we substitute one appellation for another*, as the *cause* for the *effect*, the *effect* for the *cause*, the *subject* for the *adjunct*, or the *adjunct* for the *subject*.

A *Metonymy of the cause* is used in Scripture, when the person acting is put for the thing done, or the instrument by which a thing is done is put for the thing effected, or when a thing or action is put for the effect produced by that action.

A *Metonymy of the effect* occurs, when the effect is put for the efficient cause.

A *Metonymy of the subject* is, when the subject is put for the adjunct, that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to the subject; when the thing or place *containing* is put for the thing *contained* or placed; when the possessor is put for the thing possessed; when the *object* is put for the thing conversant about it; or when the thing signified is put for its sign.

A *Metonymy of the adjunct* is, when that which belongs to any thing serves to represent the thing itself.

1. *Metonymy of the cause.*

I. *Frequently the person acting is put for the thing done.*

1. Thus, *Christ* is put for his *doctrine* in Rom. xvi. 9. *Salute Urbanus our helper in Christ*, that is, in preaching the doctrines of the Gospel, he having been a fellow-labourer with the apostles. Similar instances occur in 1 Cor. iv. 15. and Eph. iv. 20.

2. The *Holy Spirit* is put for his *effects*: as in 2 Cor. iii. 6. *Who hath made us able ministers of the new covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.* Here, by the word *letter* we are to understand the *law* written on tables of stone, which required perfect obedience, and which no man can perform because of the corruption of his nature; therefore the law or *letter killeth*, that is, can pronounce nothing but a sentence of condemnation and eternal death against man. But by the *spirit* is intended the saving doctrine of the Gospel,

* Quintilian, lib. viii. c. vi. tom. ii. p. 103. ed. Bipont.

which derives its origin from the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who teaches or instructs, and prepares man for eternal life. In the same sense, Jesus Christ says, John vi. 63. *The words that I speak, they are spirit and life*, that is, they are from the Spirit of God, and, if received with true faith, will lead to eternal life. A similar mode of expression occurs in Rom. viii. 2. Here, by *the law of the spirit of life* is meant the doctrine of the Gospel, because it is a peculiar instrument of the operation of the Holy Spirit; who, by a divine efficacy, changes the heart, and writes his law there, which now is not only inscribed on tablets or parchments, but also penetrates the very heart of man, and quickens the soul to spiritual motions and actions*. Similar instances occur in Gal. iii. 4, 5. Isa. xi. 4. 2 Thess. ii. 8. Isa. xlii. 1. and xli. 1, 2. John iii. 34. &c.

3. The Holy Spirit is put for His *operations*:—For regeneration, Psal. li. 10. Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27. Eph. iv. 23. Rom. xii. 2. all which passages imply nothing less than a radical change, both external or moral, and internal or spiritual, wrought in the soul by the influence of divine grace.

4. The Holy Spirit is put for *the influences or gifts of the spirit*, as in 1 Thess. v. 19. *Quench not the spirit*. The similitude is borrowed from the antient altar of burnt-offering, on which the fire was to be kept continually burning. The Holy Spirit is here represented as a *fire*, because it is His province to enlighten, quicken, purify, and refine the soul, and to excite and maintain every pious and devout affection. The Christian therefore must not quench the sacred flame of the Holy Spirit in any of His *influences* by committing any act, uttering any word, or indulging any sensual or malevolent disposition, which may provoke Him to withdraw both His gifts and graces. Neither must the Christian extinguish the *gifts of the Spirit*, but keep them in constant exercise, as love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, &c. So, in 2 Tim. i. 6. Saint Paul's advice, *Stir up the gift of God which is in thee*, means *the gift of the Holy Spirit*. See also 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Again, when our Saviour “exhorts us to ask with confidence for spiritual aid, appealing to the conduct of men, he adds, “*If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.*” (Luke xi. 13.) By which he would have us distinctly understand that if man, with all his imperfec-

* Flaccus Illyricus, in Clav. Script. pars i. col. 1162.

tions and all his unkindness, can yet be tender-hearted to his children, and seasonably bestow on them beneficial gifts, much more will God, who is perfection and benignity itself, most assuredly impart the blessing of his Holy Spirit to those who earnestly and anxiously implore divine help—that help which can illumine what is dark; can strengthen what is irresolute; can restrain what is violent; can comfort what is afflicted; in such a manner, and to such a degree, as may be requisite for the soul when struggling under different but difficult temptations; that help, without which man, unassisted, cannot persevere in rectitude of thought and action.”*

5. Spirit also denotes a divine power or energy, reigning in the soul of the regenerate man. See Luke i. 46, 47. with 1 Thess. v. 23.; and for other places, where the word spirit is put for the new man and spiritual strength, see Isa. xxvi. 9. Ezek. xviii. 31. Matt. xxvi. 41. Rom. i. 9. 1 Cor. v. 3—5. and vi. 20. Gal. iii. 3. &c.

6. More especially the Holy Spirit is put for those peculiar and extraordinary gifts of the spirit, which, for various uses, whether public or private, spiritual or temporal, are bestowed on man, as in 2 Kings ii. 9. where Elisha earnestly requests of Elijah, *Let a double portion of thy spirit rest upon me*; that is, an extraordinary measure of the gifts of prophecy, and of power in working miracles, which are here called the *portion of the spirit*. See also Numb. xi. 17. 25. Dan. v. 12. The prophet Daniel *had a more excellent spirit*, that is, a more eminent gift of the spirit, more knowledge, and more understanding. See also Luke i. 17. 80. and ii. 40. Acts xix. 2. John vii. 32. Acts i. 5. &c.

7. The *spirit* is also put for revelations, visions, or extacies, whether really from the Holy Spirit, or pretended to be so. Ezek. xxxvii. 1. *The hand of the Lord carried me out in the spirit of the Lord*, that is, by a vision or rapture of spirit. 2 Thess. ii. 2. *That ye be not shaken in mind—neither by spirit, &c.* that is, by revelations pretending to come from the spirit. Rev. i. 10. *I was in the spirit*, that is, in an extacy and peculiar revelation of the Holy Spirit, as is described in Rev. iv. 2. xvii. 3. xxi. 10. and 2. Cor. xii. 2. To this head may also be referred those passages, where spirit is put for doctrines, whether really revealed or pretended to be so: as in 1 Tim. iv. 1. where, by *seducing spirits* are intended false teachers who pretend to receive their doctrine from the Spirit of God; and 1 John iv. 1.

* Bishop Huntingford's Charge, entitled "Preparation for the Holy Order of Deacons," p. 14.

where spirit is put for doctrine pretended to be received by the false teachers from God.

8. Parents or ancestors are put for their posterity: this mode of speaking is of very frequent occurrence in the sacred writings. Thus Shem, Japhet, and Canaan are put for their posterity, in Gen. ix. 27. Jacob and Israel for the Israelites, in Exod. v. 2. Numb. xxiii. 21. xxiv. 5. 17. Deut. xxxiii. 28. 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18. Psalm xiv. 7. and cxxxv. 4. Amos vii. 9. in which verse *Isaac*, as in verse 16. the *house of Isaac*, means the same people. The seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (*of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came*, Rom. ix. 5.) is put for Christ himself, in Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. and Gal. iii. 8. as is evident by comparing Acts iii. 25. and Gal. iii. 14. 16. In 2 Chron. xxv. 24. *Obededom* is put for his descendants, who, it appears from 1 Chron. xxvi. 15. were porters and keepers of the sacred treasures. In Ezek. xxxiv. 23. David is put for David's Lord, the illustrious Messiah.

9. The writer or author is put for his book or work, as in Luke xvi. 29. xxiv. 27. Acts xv. 21. xxi. 21. and 2 Cor. iii. 15. in which passages *Moses* and the *Prophets* respectively mean the Mosaic and Prophetic writings, composed by them under divine inspiration, and transmitted to posterity as the rule of faith.

To this first species of metonymy may be appropriately referred, first, all those passages where the soul of man is put for his *life*, which is its effect, as in Gen. ix. 5. (Heb.) Exod. iv. 19. (Heb.) Lev. xvii. 11. Judg. ix. 17. (Heb.) 1 Sam. xxvi. 21. 1 Kings ii. 23. (Heb.) 2 Kings vii. 7. (Heb.) Psal. xxxiii. 19. xxxviii. 12. (Heb.) lvi. 13. Jer. xlv. 5. (Heb.) Lam. v. 9. (Heb.) Jonah ii. 6. (Heb.) Matt. ii. 20. (Gr.) x. 39. (Gr.) xvi. 25. (Gr.) xx. 28. (Gr.) John x. 17, 18. (Gr.) xiii. 37, 38. (Gr.) xv. 13. (Gr.) &c. Secondly, those passages also, where the *soul* is put for the *will, affections, and desires*, which are its operations, as in the original of the following passages, where the metonymy is correctly rendered in our authorized version, viz. Gen. xxiii. 8. Exod. xxiii. 9. Deut. xxiii. 24. Psal. xvii. 10. xxvii. 12. xli. 2. cv. 22. Prov. xxiii. 2. Jer. xxxiv. 16. and John x. 24. (literally, *hold our soul in suspense*.) And thirdly, all such passages, where the *spirit* (which is frequently synonymous with the soul of man) is used to express the motions or affections of the soul, whether good or evil. Examples of this kind occur in Gen. xlv. 27. Numb. xiv. 24. Judg. viii. 3. where, in the Hebrew, *anger* is *soul*, as is *heart* in Exod. xxiii. 9. 2 Chron. xxi. 16. xxxvi. 22. Psal. lxxvi. 12. lxxvii. 3. Prov. i. 23. xviii. 14. xxix. 1. Eccles. vii. 9. Isa. xxix. 10. xxxvii. 7. Jer. li. 11. Ezek. xiii. 3. Dan. v. 20. Hag. i. 14. Hab. i. 11. Rom. xi. 8. (Gr.) 1 Cor. ii. 12. (Gr.) &c.

II. Sometimes the cause or instrument is put for the thing effected by it.

Thus, 1. The *mouth*, the *lips*, and the *tongue*, are respectively put for the speech. Thus, Deut. xvii. 6. *by the mouth of two or three witnesses* (that is, their speech or testimony) *shall he that is worthy of death be put to death*. So Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.—Prov. xxv. 15. *a soft tongue breaketh the bone*; that is, a mild and courteous way of speaking softens the hardest heart and most obstinate resolutions. Similar instances occur in Psal. v. 9. Prov. x. 20. Jer. xviii. 18. Acts ii. 4. 11. *Tongue* is also put for the gift of foreign languages, in Mark xvi. 17. and 1 Cor. xiv. 19. Gen. xi., *the whole earth was of one language*, (Heb. *lip*,) *and of one speech*, (Heb. *word*.) In the book of Proverbs, the lip is very frequently put for speech. See Prov. xii. 19. 22. xiv. 7. xvii. 7. xviii. 7. 20. Job. xii. 20. (Marginal renderings.)

2. The *mouth* is also put for *commandment* in Gen. xlv. 21. (marginal rendering), (Heb. *mouth*.) Numb. iii. 16. 39. xx. 24. xxvii. 14. Deut. i. 26. 43. and xxxiv. 5. — In Prov. v. 3. the *palate* is also put for *speech*.

3. The *throat* is also put for *loud speaking*, in Isa. lviii. 1. *Cry aloud*, (Heb. *with the throat*.)

4. The *hand* is ordinarily put for its writing, 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18. By the same form of speech also *labour* is put for *wages*, or the fruit of labour, Ezek. xxiii. 29.; and things that are sold, for the price at which they are sold. Thus, in Matt. xxvi. 9. it is said the ointment might have been sold for so much, and given to the poor. See likewise Exod. xxi. 21. The *sword* is put for *war* or slaughter, Exod. v. 3. Lev. xxvi. 6. Psal. cxliv. 10. Isa. i. 20. Jer. xliii. 11. Rom. viii. 35.

5. The *sword*, *famine*, and *pestilence*, likewise respectively denote the effects of those scourges, Ezek. vii. 15. *The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within*; that is, death and ruin are every where scattered by those terrible agents. So, in Matt. x. 34. *I came not to send peace, (or temporal prosperity) but a sword*; that is, variance, death, and persecution. Our Saviour's meaning is, not that his coming was the necessary and proper cause of such unhappiness, but that so it should eventually happen on his appearance in our nature; because his kingdom was of another world, and consequently opposed to all the designs and interests of the present world.

2. *Metonymy of the effect.*

III. Sometimes, on the contrary, the effect is put for the cause.

Thus, *God* is called *salvation*, that is, the author of it, Exod. xv. 2. our *life* and the length of our days, Deut. xxx. 20. our strength, Psal. xviii. 1. So *Christ* is termed *salvation*, Isa. xlix. 6.

Luke ii. 30.—*Life*, John xi. 25. and the *resurrection* in the same place. See also Col. iii. 4. *Peace*, Eph. ii. 14. So he is said to be made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, that is, the *author* of all these, in 1 Cor. i. 30. So, in Luke xi. 14. compared with Matt. ix. 32. a dumb devil or demon is one that made the person whom he possessed, dumb. In like manner, the Gospel is called the *power of God unto salvation*, Rom. i. 16. that is, the instrument of his power.

Faith is called our *victory*, because by it we overcome the world, 1 John v. 4. That which is the means of sustaining or preserving life is called our life, Deut. xxiv. 6. or our living, Mark x. 44. Luke viii. 43. and xv. 12. So, glad tidings are such as make glad, Rom. x. 15. A lively hope is that which doth revive or enliven, 1 Pet. i. 3.—*Wine is a mocker, and strong drink is raging*, Prov. xx. 1. that is, they make men such. There is the same form of speech likewise in Heb. vi. 1. and ix. 14. where *dead works* are deadly works, that is, such as make men obnoxious to death. Deut. xxx. 15. *I have set before thee this day life and death*, that is, have clearly showed thee what is the cause and original of each. John iii. 19. *This is the condemnation*, that is, the cause of it. Rom. vii. 7. *Is the law sin?* that is, the cause of sin, in itself. Rom. viii. 6. *To be carnally minded is death*, that is, its cause, but to be *spiritually minded is life and peace*, or the cause of those blessings. A like expression occurs in Rom. vi. 23. Bread is put for the seed of which bread is made, Eccl. xi. 1. Shame is put for that which is the cause of it, or the idols worshipped by the Israelites, which proved their shame. Jer. iii. 24. Hos. ix. 10.

3. Metonymy of the subject.

IV. Sometimes the subject is put for the adjunct, that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to or depending upon the subject.

Thus, the HEART is frequently used for the *will and affections*. Deut. iv. 29. vi. 5. x. 12. Psalm ix. 1. xxiv. 4. li. 10. lxii. 10. cv. 25. cxix. 10. 32. 141. Prov. xxi. 1. xxiii. 26. Acts iv. 32. For the *understanding, thoughts, and memory*, Deut. iv. 39. vi. 6. xi. 16. 18. xxix. 4. 1 Sam. i. 13. 2 Chron. vi. 8. Job xxii. 22. Psal. iv. 4. lxiv. 6. Prov. xix. 21. xxviii. 26. and Luke ii. 51. For the *conscience*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 10. 2 Kings xxii. 19. Eccles. vii. 22. and 1 John iii. 20. and for the *desires of the soul* expressed in prayer, in Psal. lxii. 8. Lam. ii. 19. The *reins* are also frequently put for the thoughts, as in Psal. vii. 9, 10. xxvi. 1, 2. li. 6. lxxiii. 21. Prov. xxiii. 16. Jer. xi. 20. xvii. 10. and xx. 12.

So the *new* or *inward* man is put for the condition or state of a regenerated soul, to which the *old* or outward man is opposed. See Rom. vi. 6. vii. 5, 7, 8. and xii. 2. Eph. iv. 22. 24. 2 Cor. v. 17. vii. 1.

V. *Sometimes the place or thing containing denotes that which is contained in such place or thing.*

Thus, the EARTH and the WORLD are frequently put for the *men that dwell therein*, as in Gen. vi. 11. Psal. xcvi. 13. Hab. ii. 14. John i. 29. iii. 16, 17. xv. 18. and xvii. 21. 1 Cor. vi. 2. and so in very many passages. In like manner, *countries, islands, cities, and houses*, are respectively put for their inhabitants, Gen. xli. 57. Psal. c. 1. cv. 38. Isa. xli. 1. 5. xlii. 4. xliii. 3. li. 5. Matt. iii. 5. viii. 34. xi. 21, 22, 23. Gen. vii. 1. Exod. i. 21. 2 Sam. vii. 11. 1 Chron. x. 6. Acts x. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 4. Heb. xi. 7. So, the *houses of Levi and Israel* denote their several families. Exod. ii. 1. Ezek. iii. 1. The *basket*, Deut. xxviii. 5. 17. is the fruit of the basket; a *table*, Psal. xxiii. 5. lxix. 22. and lxxviii. 19. denotes the meat placed on it; the *cup*, the wine or other liquor in it, Jer. xlix. 12. Ezek. xxiii. 32. Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Mark xiv. 23. Luke xxii. 17. 20. 1 Cor. x. 16. 21. and xi. 26, 27. *Ships*, Isa. xxiii. 1. 14. the men in it; the *grave*, those who are buried in it, as in Isa. xxxviii. 18. compared with verse 19. and Psalms vi. 5. and xxv. 17. A *nest* is put for the young ones in it, Deut. xxxii. 11. In like manner *heaven* is put for God himself, in Psal. lxxiii. 9. Matt. xxi. 25. Luke xx. 4. and xv. 18.

VI. *Sometimes the possessor of a thing is put for the thing possessed.*

Thus, Deut. ix. 1. *To possess nations greater and mightier than thyself*, means to possess the countries of the Gentiles. See also 2 Sam. viii. 2. and Psalm lxxix. 7. In like manner, the name of God is put for the oblations made to him. Josh. xiii. 33. with verse 14. Josh. xviii. 7. and Deut. x. 9. *Christ* is put for his church (or believers who are termed his peculiar people, Tit. ii. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 9.) in Matt. xxv. 35. explained in verse 40. 1 Cor. xii. 12.; and the afflictions of Christ are put for the afflictions of the faithful, in Col. i. 24.

VII. *Frequently the object is put for that which is conversant about it.*

Thus glory and strength are put for the celebration of the divine glory and strength, in Psal. viii. 2. explained by Matt. xxi. 16. see also Psal. xcvi. 7, 8. A *burthen* is a prediction of divine judgments or punishment about to be inflicted on sinners. Isa. xiii. 1. xv. 1. xvii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 1. xxii. 1. and xxiii. 1. *Promise* is put for faith which receives the gracious promise of

God, in Rom. ix. 8. and Gal. iv. 28. *Sin* denotes a sacrifice for sin or sin-offering Gen. iv. 7. Exod. xxix. 14. (Heb. *sin*) Lev. x. 17. (Heb. *sin*.) Hos. iv. 8. Isa. liii. 10. (Heb. *sin*) and 2 Cor. v. 21.*

VIII. Sometimes the thing signified is put for its sign.

So, the *strength of God*, in 1 Chron. xvi. 11. and Psal. cv. 4. is the ark, which was a sign and symbol of the divine presence and strength, whence it is expressly called the *ark of the strength of God* in Psal. cxxxii. 8. Thus, in Ezek. vii. 27. *desolation* denotes a mourning garment as a token of it. We have similar instances in Gen. xvii. 19. and xl. 13. Matt. xxvi. 26. 28. Luke viii. 11. 1 Cor. x. 4. 16.

IX. When an action is said to be done, the meaning frequently is, that it is declared or permitted, or foretold that it shall be done.

Thus, in the original of Lev. xiii. 3. the priests shall look on him *and pollute* him; in our version, *shall pronounce him unclean* or polluted. The original of Ezek. xiii. 22. is, by quickening or enlivening him; in our translation it is rendered by *promising him life*. So Gen. xli. 13. *me he restored*, means, foretold or declared that I should be restored. Jer. iv. 10. *Ah Lord God! thou hast greatly deceived this people*, that is, hast permitted them to be deceived by their false prophets. Ezek. xiii. 19. *to slay the souls which should not die*, denotes the prophesying falsely that they should die. So Jer. i. 10. *I have set thee over the nations to root out and to pull down*, that is, to prophesy or declare them pulled down, Ezek. xx. 25, 26. *I gave them statutes which were not good, and polluted them in their own gifts*, that is, I gave them up to themselves, and permitted them to receive such statutes of the heathen, and suffered them to pollute themselves in those very gifts; which, by the law, they were to dedicate to my service, and dealt with them accordingly. Hos. vi. 5. *I have hewn them by the prophets*, or foretold that they should be hewn or slain. So in Acts x. 15. the original rendering is, *what God hath cleansed, that do not thou pollute* (compare Matt. xv. 11.) that is, as in our version, *call not thou common or defiled*. Hence in Matt. xvi. 19. *whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth, &c.* means whatsoever thou shalt declare to be my will on earth shall be confirmed in heaven. And in like manner the meaning of John xx. 23. is, whose sins ye shall declare to be remitted or

* Dr. A. Clarke, in his commentary on this verse, has adduced *one hundred and eight* instances from the Old and New Testaments, in which the word *sin* is put for a *sin-offering*: Dr. Whitby, (in loc.) has specified only twenty-two examples.

retained by the word of God. * Matt. vi. 13. *lead us not into temptation*, that is, suffer us not to be overcome by temptation.

Further, an action is said to be done, when the giving of an occasion for it only is intended. Thus, the literal rendering of Jer. xxxviii. 23. is, *thou shalt burn this city*, that is (as translated in our version), shall cause it to be burnt. Hence Jeroboam is recorded in 1 Kings xiv. 16. *to have made Israel to sin*, that is, to have occasioned it, by his example and command. In Acts i. 18. Judas is said to have *purchased a field*, that is, occasioned it to be purchased by the money which he cast down in the temple. Rom. xiv. 15. *destroy not him*, that is, be not the cause or occasion of his destruction. And in 1 Cor. vii. 16. *whether thou shalt save thy husband*, means, whether thou shalt be the cause of his conversion, and consequently of his salvation.

4. *Metonymy of the adjunct, in which the adjunct is put for the subject.*

X. *Sometimes the accident, or that which is additional to a thing, is put for its subject in kind.*

The abstract is put for the concrete. So *grey hairs* (Heb. *hoariness*, or *grey-headedness*) in Gen. xlii. 38. denote me, who am now an old man, grey and decrepid with age. So also, *days* and *multitude of years*, in Job xxxii. 7. are old men. The *strength of Israel*, 1 Sam. xv. 29. is the *strong God of Israel*. *Circumcision* and *uncircumcision*, in Rom. iii. 30. signify the *circumcised* and *uncircumcised*. The *election*, Rom. xi. 7. is the *elect*. *Abomination*, in Gen. xlvii. 34. and Luke xvi. 15. is an *abominable thing*. A *curse*, Gal. iii. 13. is *accursed*. *Light* and *darkness*, Eph. v. 8. denote the enlightened and the ignorant. *Sin* is put for *sinner* in Isa. i. 18. The meaning of which passage, Glassius remarks, is, that sinners, by having their iniquities pardoned, shall be cleansed and purified from the guilt and condemnation of sin: for sin, in itself, cannot be made clean. A like expression occurs in Psal. li. 9. and also in Matt. viii. 3. where *leprosy* means the *leprous man*.

XI. *Sometimes the thing contained is put for the thing containing it, and a thing deposited in a place for the place itself.*

* On a forced interpretation of these two clauses (among others) has the papal church erected the dangerous notion that priests may grant particular absolution to individuals. See it briefly but ably confuted in Bishop Porteus's *Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome*, pp. 44, 45.

Thus Gen. xxviii. 22. means, this place, where I have erected a pillar of stone, shall be God's house. Josh. xv. 19. Springs of water denote some portion of land, where there may be springs. Matt. ii. 11. *Treasures* are the cabinets or other vessels containing them. Similar expressions occur in Psal. cxxxv. 7. and Matt. xii. 35. *Outer darkness*, in Matt. xxii. 13. means *hell*, the place of outer darkness. Matt. xxv. 10. *Marriage* denotes the place where the nuptial feast was to be celebrated. Mark iii. 11. *Unclean spirits* are men possessed by them. Luke xxi. 4. In Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13. 16. *Prayer* evidently means the place of prayer*. Rev. viii. 3. *Golden incense* λιβανωτον means a golden censer, and so it is rendered in our authorized English version.

XII. *Time is likewise put for the things which are done or happen in time.*

This is to be understood both of the word *time* itself, and of names expressing portions of time, whether divided naturally or by human institution. Thus, in 1 Chron. xii. 32. xxix. 30. Esth. i. 13. 2 Tim. iii. 1. Deut. iv. 32. Mark xiv. 35. and John xii. 27. *times*, *day*, and *hour* respectively denote the transactions that took place in them. Again, *days* are said to be *good* or *evil*, according to the events which happen in them, as in Gen. xlvii. 9. Eccles. vii. 10. and Eph. v. 16. and that is called a person's day, in which any thing notorious or remarkable befalls him, whether it be good, as in Hos. i. 11. and Luke xix. 42. 44. or evil, as in Job xviii. 20. Psal. cxxxvii. 7. Ezek. xxii. 4. Obad. 12. Micah vii. 4. Psal. xxxvii. 13. The *days of the Lord*, in Job xxiv. 1. Isa. xiii. 6. Joel i. 15. and ii. 1, 2. Amos v. 20. Zeph. i. 14—16, 18. and ii. 2. respectively denote the days when divine punishments were to be inflicted; and hence, by way of eminence, the *day of the Lord* is appropriated to the *day of judgment*, in Joel ii. 31. Acts ii. 20. 1 Cor. i. 8. 2 Thess. ii. 2. &c.

In the same manner, the harvest and *summer* are put for the fruits gathered at those seasons, Deut. xxiv. 19. Isa. xvi. 9. [Jer. xl. 10. Amos. viii. 1, 2. Sam. xvi. 2. in which three passages, as also in Isa. xvi. 9. the Hebrew is only *summer*.] And also the *passover* is put for the lamb which was slain and eaten on that solemn festival. Exod. xii. 21. 2 Chron xxx. 17. Mark xiv. 12, 14. Matt. xxvi. 17—19. Luke xxii. 8. 11. 13. 15.

* Προσευχη, from Macc. iii. 36, 37. it appears that the Jews had a similar place of prayer at Mizpah. See Wolfius, Rosenmuller, Schindler, and others on Luke vi. 12.

XIII. *In the Scriptures, things are sometimes named or described according to appearances, or to the opinion formed of them by men, and not as they are in their own nature.*

Thus Hananiah, the opponent of Jeremiah, is called a prophet, not because he was truly one, but was *reputed* to be one, Jer. xxviii. 1. 5. 10. In Ezek. xxi. 3. the *righteous* mean those who had the semblance of piety, but really were not righteous. So in Matt. ix. 13. Christ says, *I am not come to call the righteous, (that is, such as are so in their own estimation) but sinners to repentance.* See further Luke xviii. 9. and Rom. x. 2, 3, &c.

In Luke ii. 48. Joseph is called the *father* of Christ, and in v. 41. is mentioned as one of his parents, because he was *reputed* to be his father, as the same evangelist states in ch. iii. 23. Compare John vi. 42, &c. The preaching of the Gospel is in 1 Cor. i. 21. termed foolishness; not that it was really such, but was accounted to be so by its opponents. In like manner false teaching is called *another Gospel* in Gal. i. 6. and Epimenides, the Cretan philosopher, is termed a prophet in Tit. i. 12. because his countrymen regarded him as such, and after his death offered sacrifices to him. *

His enemies shall lick the dust, Psal. lxxii. 9. means that they shall prostrate themselves so low towards the earth, that they shall seem to lick the dust. Similar expressions occur in Isa. xlix. 23. Micah vii. 17. &c. The phrase, *coming from a far country and from the end of heaven*, in Isa. xlii. 5. is taken from the opinion which antiently obtained, and was founded on the appearance to the eye, viz. that the *heavens* are not spherical but hemispherical, ending at the extremities of the earth, upon which the extremities of heaven appear to rest. Hence the *ends of the earth* denote the remotest places. The same phrase occurs in Deut. iv. 32. and xxx. 4. Neh. i. 9. Matt. xxiv. 31.

XIV. *Sometimes the action or affection, which is conversant about any object, or placed upon it, is put for the object itself.*

Thus, the senses are put for the *objects* perceived by them, as *hearing* for doctrine or speech, in Isa. xxviii. 9. (mar. rend.) and liii. 1. (Heb.) In John xii. 38. and Rom. x. 16. the Greek word *akouē*, translated *report*, literally means hearing, and so it is rendered in Gal. iii. 2. 5. Hearing is also put

* Diog. Laert. lib. i. c. x. § 11. tom. i. p. 123. ed. Longolii.

for fame or rumour in Psal. cxii. 7. (Heb.) Ezek. vii. 26. Obad. 1. Heb. iii. 2. Matt. iv. 24. xiv. 1. and xxiv. 6. Mark i. 28. and xiii. 7. &c.

The *eye*, in the original of Numb. xi. 7. Lev. xiii. 55. Prov. xxiii. 31. Ezek. i. 4. viii. 2. and x. 9. is put for colours which are seen by the eye.

FAITH denotes the doctrine, received and believed by faith, in Acts vi. 7. Gal. i. 23. and iii. 23. 25. Eph. iv. 5. 1 Tim. iv. 1. Tit. i. 13. Jude 3. Rev. ii. 13.—HOPE, in Psal. lxv. 6. and lxxi. 5. Jer. xiv. 8. and xvi. 7. 13. is God, in whom we have hope, or place our confidence. *Hope* also denotes Christ, or the benefits which we receive by him, in Acts xxvi. 6—8. xxviii. 20. Col. i. 27. 1 Tim. i. 1. *Hope* is sometimes also put for *men* in whom we confide, or from whom we expect some good, as in Isa. xx. 5, 6. and for the thing hoped for, as in Prov. xiii. 12. Rom. viii. 24. and Gal. v. 5. in which last place *the hope of righteousness by faith* means eternal life, which is promised to the just by faith, and also in Tit. ii. 13. LOVE is put for the object of affection, Jer. ii. 33. and xii. 7. (marginal rendering.)—DESIRE, Ezek. xxiv. 16. 21. is the thing desired. In like manner, the *lust* or desire of the eyes, 1 John ii. 16. is the object of the eyes which we eagerly desire. So, FEAR is put for the object that is feared, in Psal. liii. 5. Prov. i. 26. Isa. viii. 13.

XV. *Sometimes the sign is put for the thing signified.*

Thus, sovereign power and authority are expressed by a sceptre, crown, diadem, throne, and shutting and opening without resistance, Gen. xlix. 10. Isa. xxii. 22. Ezek. xxi. 26. Zech. x. 11. Rev. iii. 7. War is denoted by bows, spears, chariots, and swords, Psal. xlv. 9. Lam. v. 9. Ezek. xxi. 3, 4. Matt. x. 34. So, to lift up the hand is sometimes to swear, Gen. xiv. 22. Deut. xxxii. 40. and sometimes to pray, Lam. iii. 41. 1 Tim. ii. 8. In like manner, to stretch forth the hand is to call for audience, Psal. xlv. 20. Prov. i. 24.

To kiss the hand, or to kiss another, is to yield reverence, Job xxxi. 27. 1 Sam. x. 1. Psal. ii. 12. 1 Kings xx. 18. Hos. xiii. 2. To bow the knee, is to worship, Isa. xlv. 23. Phil. ii. 10. Eph. iii. 14. To give the hand, or to strike hands, is to swear, join in fellowship, engage or become surety for another, Ezek. xvii. 18. Gal. ii. 9. Job xvii. 3. Prov. vi. 1. To put on sackcloth, is to mourn, Psal. lxix. 11. To beat swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks, is, to live in peace and security, Isa. ii. 4.

XVI. *Lastly, the names of things are often put for the things themselves.*

Thus, the name of God denotes the Almighty himself, Psal. xx. 1. cxv. 1. Prov. xviii. 10. Isa. xxx. 27. Jer. x. 25. and perhaps Acts iv. 12. may be so understood. Names are likewise put for persons, Acts i. 15. Rev. iii. 4. and xi. 13. In like manner we find, that names are given to persons to express their state or condition, although they are not ordinarily called by such names, as in Isa. i. 26. Thou shalt be called the city of righteousness or justice, that is, thou shalt be so. Similar expressions occur in Isa. lxiv. 4. Jer. iii. 17.

SECTION III.

ON SCRIPTURE METAPHORS.

Nature of a Metaphor — Sources of Scripture Metaphors; — I. The Works of Nature; — II. The Occupations, Customs, and Arts of life; — III. Sacred Topics, or Religion and things connected with it; — IV. Sacred History.

A METAPHOR is a trope, by which a word is diverted from its proper and genuine signification to another meaning, for the sake of comparison, or because there is some analogy between the similitude and the thing signified. Of all the figures of rhetoric, the metaphor is that which is most frequently employed, not only in the Scriptures, but likewise in every language; for, independently of the pleasure which it affords, it enriches the mind with *two* ideas at the *same* time, the *truth* and the *similitude*. Two passages will suffice to illustrate this definition. In Deut. xxxii. 42. we read, *I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh*. Here, the *first* metaphor is borrowed from excessive and intemperate drinking, to intimate the very great effusion of blood, and the exceeding greatness of the ruin and destruction which would befall the disobedient Israelites: the *second* metaphor is drawn from the voracious appetite of an hungry beast, which in a lively manner presents to the mind the impossibility of their escaping the edge of the sword, when the wrath of God should be provoked. Again, in Psal. cxxxix. 2. we read, *Thou understandest my thoughts afar off*. In this verse the metaphor is taken from the prospect of a distant object: but in a proper sense the phrase assures us, that Jehovah, by his prescience, knows our thoughts before they spring up in our souls.

In order to understand metaphors aright, it should be observed that the foundation of them consists in a likeness or similitude between the thing from which the metaphor is drawn, and that to which it is applied. When this resemblance is exhibited in one or in a few expressions, it is termed a simple metaphor. When it is pursued with a variety of expressions, or there is a continued assemblage of metaphors, it is called an *allegory*. When it is couched in a short sentence, obscure and ambiguous, it is called a *riddle*. If it be conveyed in a short saying only, it is a *proverb*; and if the metaphorical representation be delivered in the form of a history, it is a *parable*. When the resemblance is far-fetched,—as *to see a voice*, (Rev. i. 12.) it is termed a *catachresis*. This last-mentioned species of figure, however, is of less frequent occurrence in the Scriptures than any of the preceding.

The metaphor is of indispensable necessity in the Scriptures; for the sacred writers, having occasion to impart divine and spiritual things to man, could only do it by means of terms borrowed from sensible and material objects, as all our knowledge begins at our senses. Hence it is, especially in the poetical and prophetical parts of the Old Testament, that the sentiments, actions, and corporeal parts, not only of man, but also of inferior creatures, are ascribed to God himself; it being otherwise impossible for us to form any conception of his pure essence and incommunicable attributes. The various sources, whence the sacred writers have drawn their metaphors, have been discussed at great length by Bishop Lowth*, and his annotator Michaelis, and also by Glassius†; from whose elaborate works the following observations are abridged. The sources of Scripture metaphors may be classed under the four following heads, viz. natural, artificial, sacred, and historical.

I. *The works of nature furnish the first and most copious, as well as the most pleasing source of images in the sacred writings.*

Thus, the images of *light* and *darkness* are commonly made use of, in all languages, to denote prosperity and adversity; and an uncommon degree of light implies a proportionate degree of joy and prosperity, and *vice versâ*. Isa. xiii. 10. lix. 9. lx. 19, 20. xxiv. 23. xxx. 26. Jer. xv. 9. Amos viii. 9. Micah iii. 6. Joel ii. 10. The same metaphors are also used to denote knowledge and ignorance. Isa. viii. 20. ix. 2. Matt. iv. 16. Eph. v. 8. The sun, moon, and stars figuratively represent

* In his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. 6—9.

† Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pp. 916—1243. ed. Dathii.

kings, queens, and princes or rulers, as in Isa. xxiv. 23. Ezek. xxxii. 7.

“The lights of heaven,” says a late pious and learned writer*, “in their order are all applied to give us conceptions of God’s power and the glory of his kingdom. In the 84th Psalm (verse 11.) the Lord is said to be a sun and shield; a *sun* to give *light* to his people, and a *shield* to protect them from the power of darkness. Christ, in the language of the prophet, is the *sun* of righteousness; who, as the natural sun revives the grass and renews the year, brings on the acceptable year of the Lord, and is the great restorer of all things in the kingdom of grace; shining with the new light of life and immortality to those, who once sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. And the church has warning to receive him under this glorious character. *Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee*, (Isa. lx. 1.) When he was manifested to the eyes of men, he called himself the *light* of the world, and promised to give the same light to those that follow him. In the absence of Christ as the personal light of the world, his place is supplied by the light of the Scripture, which is still a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our paths. The word of prophesy is *as a light shining in a dark place*; and as we study by the light of a lamp, so we must give heed to this light, if we would see things to come.

“The moon is used as an emblem of the church, which receives its light from Christ, as the moon from the sun: therefore the renovation of the moon signifies the renovation of the church.—The angels or ruling ministers in the seven churches of Asia (Rev. ii. and iii.) are signified by the *seven stars*, because his ministers hold forth the word of life, and their light shines before men in this mortal state, as the stars give light to the world in the night season; of which light Christians in general partake, and are therefore called children of the light.”

Nothing is more grateful to the inhabitants of the East than springs, rivers, and rain: for, as showers rarely fall in their countries, the grass and flowers of the field become consumed by the intolerable heat, unless watered by showers or canals. Hence flowing springs, copious showers, and nightly dews, which fertilize the fields, furnish them with a variety of pleasing images. Isa. xli. 18. and xxxv. 1. 6, 7. The blessings of the Gospel are delineated under the metaphors of dew, Isa.

* The Rev. W. Jones, Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture, Lect. ii. Works, vol. iii. p. 25.

xxvi. 19. moderate rains, Hos. vi. 3. gentle streams and running waters, Isa. xxvii. 3. and xlv. 3. On the other hand no metaphor is more frequent than that by which sudden and great calamities are expressed under the figure of a deluge of waters. With this metaphor the Hebrews appear to have been extremely familiar, as if it were directly taken from the nature and state of the country. Immediately before their eyes was the river Jordan *, which annually overflowed its banks: for the snows of Lebanon and the neighbouring mountains, being melted in the beginning of summer, the waters of the river were often suddenly augmented by the descending torrents. The whole country also, being mountainous, was exposed to frequent floods after the great periodical tempests of rain. To this David alludes, Psal. xlii. 7. Immoderate rains, hail-floods, inundations, and torrents denote judgments and destruction, Isa. viii. 7. Jer. xlvii. 2. Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

To the class of metaphors derived from natural objects we may refer the *anthropopathy*, a metaphor by which things belonging to creatures, and especially to man, are ascribed to God, and the *prosopopœia* or personification, that is, the change of things to persons. Both these figures are nearly allied to the metaphor, and still more to the metonymy; but they are noticed in this place, as being upon the whole the most convenient arrangement.

1. In the consideration of *anthropopathies*, one important rule must be constantly kept in mind; viz. that we understand them in a way and manner suitable to the nature and majesty of the Almighty, refining them from all that imperfection with which they are debased in the creatures, and so attribute them to the Deity. Thus, when the members of a human body are ascribed to God, we are not to conceive of him as a venerable old man, sitting gravely in heaven to observe and censure the things done on earth; but must understand those perfections, of which such members in us are the instruments. The *eye*, for instance, being that member by which we discern or observe any thing, is employed to denote God's *perfect and exact knowledge of all things*, Job xxxiv. 21. Psal. xi. 4. and Heb. iv. 13.; as also his *watchful providence*, Deut. xi. 12. 1 Kings ix. 3. Psal. xxxiv. 15. In like manner, *ears* are attributed to him, to signify his *gracious acceptance* of his people's prayers, Psal. x. 17. and xxxi. 2., or the *exact notice* which he takes of the sins of others, James v. 4. By his *arm* we are to understand his *power and strength*, Exod. xv. 16., which is also expressed

* Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Eccles. xxiv. 26.

by his *right hand*, Exod. xv. 6. and Psal. cxviii. 15, 16. So, his *work* is expressed by his *fingers*, Exod. viii. 19. and Psal. viii. 3., and his *love* and compassion by his *bowels*, Isa. lxiii. 15. Jer. xxxi. 20. Luke i. 78. *through the bowels of the mercy of our God*, (δα σπλαγχνᾶ), whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us. There are a thousand similar instances in the Scriptures.

Further, when human affections are attributed to Jehovah, we must be careful not to interpret them in a manner that shall imply the least imperfection in Him; but must thereby conceive, 1. either *a pure act of his will, free from all perturbation to which men are liable*, or else, 2. the effect of such human affections, the antecedent being put for the consequent, that is, one thing being expressed while another thing is understood which is usually its effect, or at least follows it—a figure of very frequent occurrence in the sacred writings. Thus, when God is said to repent, we are not to imagine any change of mind in Him, with whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning, or any sorrow or trouble that is inconsistent with his perfect happiness; but, either his purpose to undo what he hath done, or desist from what he is doing, which are the ordinary effects of repentance in man: so that the change is not in the disposition of the Supreme Mind, but in the dispensations of his Providence; as in Gen. vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 11. 35. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. Psalm cvi. 45. Again, God is said in very many passages to be *angry*, to have *fury*, &c. in order to make us apprehend how much he hates sin, and will punish sinners. The same remark will apply to other affections which are attributed to Him.

In a similar manner are we to understand all those passages in which *human actions* are ascribed to God, as in Gen. xviii. 21. To *go down* and see what is done in Sodom, is to regard well, and proceed justly, orderly, and leisurely to their punishment; though in the divine promise to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 15. it means that the divine favour and protection should accompany him all the way. To *search the heart* and *try the reins*, is to discern exactly, as in Psal. vii. 9. and Jer. xvii. 10.—Lastly, *human relations* are likewise ascribed to God, to express the *properties* of such relations: thus, he is called a *King*, Psal. xcv. 3., a *Father*, Psal. ciii. 13. Rom. viii. 15., a *Husband*, Isa. liv. 5., Hosea ii. 19., a *Shepherd*, Psal. xxiii. 1.; to express his power and authority, his love, pity, tender care, and watchful providence.

2. Of the *prosopopœia* or personification, there are two kinds: one, when action and character are attributed to fictitious,

irrational, or even inanimate objects; the other, when a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real character. The former, Bishop Lowth remarks, evidently partakes of the nature of the metaphor, and is by far the boldest of that class of figures: it is most frequently and successfully introduced by the sacred writers. In Psal. lxxxv. 10. how admirable is the personification of the divine attributes!

Mercy and truth are met together;

Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.

How just, elegant, and splendid does it appear, if applied only (according to the literal sense) to the restoration of the Jewish nation from the Babylonish captivity! But if we consider it in a most sacred and mystical sense, which is not obscurely shadowed under the ostensible image, viz. that of the method of redemption by the sacrifice and mediation of Jesus Christ, in which the divine perfections were so harmoniously displayed, it is beyond measure grand and elevated. Again, what can be more sublime or graceful than the personification of wisdom, so frequently introduced in the Proverbs of Solomon, particularly in chapter viii. verse 22—31. She is not only exhibited as the director of human life and morals, as the inventress of arts, as the dispenser of honours and riches, as the source of true felicity, but also as the eternal daughter of the omnipotent Creator, and as the eternal associate in the divine counsels. Similar passages, exquisitely imagined, and from the boldness of the fiction, extremely forcible, occur in Job xviii. 13. xxviii. 22. Isa. v. 14. xlvii. 1. 5. Lam. i. 1. 6. 17. Jer. xlvii. 6, 7. Hos. xiii. 14. Heb. iii. 5. and 1 Cor. xv. 54. *

The second kind of prosopopœia, by which a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real person—though less calculated to excite admiration and approbation by its novelty, boldness, and variety, than the former, is nevertheless possessed of great force, evidence, and authority. It would, as Bishop Lowth remarks, be an infinite task to specify every instance in the sacred poems, which on this occasion might be referred to as worthy of notice; or to remark the easy, natural, bold, and sudden personifications; the dignity, importance, and impassioned severity of the characters. It would be difficult to describe the energy of that eloquence which is attributed to Jehovah himself, and which appears so suitable in all respects to the Divine Majesty; or to display the force and beauty of the language which is so ad-

* The late benevolent and learned Mr. Gilpin has pointed out many very striking personifications and other metaphorical allusions used by Saint Paul. See his Sermons, vol. iv. p. 405, *et seq.*

mirably and peculiarly adapted to each character; the probability of the fiction; and the excellence of the imitation. One example, therefore, must suffice for the present; one more perfect it is not possible to produce. It is expressive of the eager expectation of the mother of Sisera, from the inimitable ode of the prophetess Deborah, (Judg. v. 28—30).

The first sentences exhibit a striking picture of maternal solicitude, both in words and actions; and of a mind suspended and agitated between hope and fear:

Through the window she looked and cried out,
The mother of Sisera, through the lattice:
Wherefore is his chariot so long in coming?
Wherefore linger the wheels of his chariot?

Immediately, impatient of his delay, she anticipates the consolations of her friends, and her mind being somewhat elevated, she boasts with all the levity of a fond female:

(Vast in her hopes, and giddy with success;)
Her wise ladies answer her;
Yea, she returns answer to herself:
Have they not found?—Have they not divided the spoil?

Let us now observe how well adapted every sentiment, every word, is to the character of the speaker. She takes no account of the slaughter of the enemy, of the valour and conduct of the conqueror, of the multitude of the captives, but

Burns with a female thirst of prey and spoils.

Nothing is omitted which is calculated to attract and engage the passions of a vain and trifling woman—slaves, gold, and rich apparel. Nor is she satisfied with the bare enumeration of them; she repeats, she amplifies, she heightens every circumstance; she seems to have the very plunder in her immediate possession; she pauses and contemplates every particular:

Have they not found?—Have they not divided the spoil?
To every man a damsel, yea a damsel or two?
To Sisera a spoil of divers colours?
A spoil of needlework of divers colours,
A spoil for the neck of divers colours of needlework on either side.

To add to the beauty of this passage, there is also an uncommon neatness in the versification, great force, accuracy, and perspicuity in the diction, the utmost elegance in the repetitions, which, notwithstanding their apparent redundancy, are conducted with the most perfect brevity. In the end, the fatal disappointment of female hope and credulity, tacitly insinuated by the sudden and unexpected apostrophe,

So let all thine enemies perish, O JEHOVAH!

is expressed more forcibly by this very silence of the person

who was just speaking, than it could possibly have been by all the powers of language.

But whoever wishes to understand the full force and excellence of this figure, as well as the elegant use of it in the Hebrew ode, must apply to Isaiah, whom we may justly pronounce to be the sublimest of poets. He will there find, in one short poem, examples of almost every form of the *proso-popœia*, and indeed of all that constitutes the sublime in composition. I trust it will not be thought unseasonable to refer immediately to the passage itself, and to remark a few of the principal excellencies, (Isa. xiv. 4—27).

The prophet, after predicting the liberation of the Jews from their severe captivity in Babylon, and their restoration to their own country, introduces them as reciting a kind of triumphal song upon the fall of the Babylonish monarch, replete with imagery, and with the most elegant and animated personifications. A sudden exclamation, expressive of their joy and admiration on the unexpected revolution in their affairs, and the destruction of their tyrants, forms the exordium of the poem. The earth itself triumphs with the inhabitants thereof; the fir-trees and the cedars of Lebanon (under which images the parabolic style frequently delineates the kings and princes of the Gentiles) exult with joy, and persecute with contemptuous reproaches the humbled power of a ferocious enemy:

The whole earth is at rest, is quiet; they burst forth into a joyful shout:
Even the fir-trees rejoice over thee, the cedars of Lebanon;
Since thou art fallen, no feller hath come up against us.

This is followed by a bold and animated personification of Hades, or the infernal regions. Hades excites his inhabitants, the ghosts of princes, and the departed spirits of kings: they rise immediately from their seats, and proceed to meet the monarch of Babylon; they insult and deride him, and comfort themselves with the view of his calamity:

Art thou, even thou too, become weak as we? Art thou made like unto us?
Is then thy pride brought down to the grave; the sound of thy sprightly instruments?
Is the vermin become thy couch, and the earth-worm thy covering?

Again, the Jewish people are the speakers, in an exclamation after the manner of a funeral lamentation, which indeed the whole form of this composition exactly imitates. The remarkable fall of this powerful monarch is thus beautifully illustrated:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!
Art cut down from earth, thou that didst subdue the nations!

He himself is at length brought upon the stage, boasting in the most pompous terms of his own power, which furnishes the poet with an excellent opportunity of displaying the unparalleled

misery of his downfall. Some persons are introduced, who find the dead carcase of the king of Babylon cast out and exposed; they attentively contemplate it, and at last scarcely know it to be his :

Is this the man that made the earth to tremble ; that shook the kingdoms ?
That made the world like a desert ; that destroyed the cities ?

They reproach him with being denied the common rites of sepulture, on account of the cruelty and atrocity of his conduct ; they execrate his name, his offspring, and their posterity. A solemn address, as of the Deity himself, closes the scene, and he denounces against the king of Babylon, his posterity, and even against the city which was the seat of their cruelty, perpetual destruction, and confirms the immutability of his own counsels by the solemnity of an oath.

How forcible is this imagery, how diversified, how sublime ! how elevated the diction, the figures, the sentiments !—The Jewish nation, the cedars of Lebanon, the ghosts of departed kings, the Babylonish monarch, the travellers who find his corpse, and last of all Jehovah himself, are the characters which support this beautiful Lyric drama. One continued action is kept up, or rather a series of interesting actions are connected together in an incomparable whole : this, indeed, is the principal and distinguished excellence of the sublimer ode, and is displayed in its utmost perfection in this poem of Isaiah, which may be considered as one of the most antient, and certainly the most finished specimen of that species of composition, which has been transmitted to us. The personifications here are frequent, yet not confused ; bold, yet not improbable : a free, elevated, and truly divine spirit pervades the whole ; nor is there any thing wanting in this ode to defeat its claim to the character of perfect beauty and sublimity. There is not perhaps a single instance in the whole compass of Greek and Roman poetry, which, in every excellence of composition, can be said to equal, or even to approach it*.

II. *The Hebrews derived many of their figures from the ordinary occupations and customs of life, as well as from such arts as were practised at that time.*

This source indeed is common to all nations ; and in proportion as they are more polished, and cultivate more numerous arts, they are supplied with a greater variety of images. The whole course and method of common and domestic life among the antient Hebrews was simple in the highest degree. There did not

* Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. xiii. towards the end, or vol. i. pp. 291—300. of Dr. Gregory's version, which has been adopted above.

exist that variety of studies and pursuits, of arts, conditions, and employments, which afterwards obtained among other nations. The Hebrews were a nation of husbandmen and shepherds: the patriarchs were possessed of great flocks and herds which they tended, though their descendants afterwards applied themselves to agriculture. Every Israelite, on the conquest of Canaan, received his allotted portion of land, which he cultivated, and which, as it could not be alienated by sale, descended without diminution to his posterity, who enjoyed unmolested the produce of his land and labour. Hence, very numerous metaphors in the sacred writings are derived from pastoral and rural occupations. Thus, kings are said to feed their people, who again are compared to a flock of sheep, which the shepherd conducts to pasture, and guards from danger. It would extend the limits of this section too far, to instance particularly with what embellishments of diction, derived from one low and trivial object (as it may appear to some)—the barn or threshing-floor—the sacred writers have added a lustre to the most sublime, and a force to the most important subjects. Yet the following passages we cannot omit to notice, on account of their uncommon force and beauty. Thus, Jehovah threshes out the heathen, and tramples them beneath his feet, Hab. iii. 12. He delivers the nations to Israel to be beaten in pieces by an indented flail, or to be crushed by their brazen hoofs, Joel iii. 13. Jer. li. 33. Isa. xxi. 10. Mic. iv. 13. He scatters his enemies like chaff upon the mountains, and disperses them with the whirlwind of his indignation, Psal. lxxxiii. 14, 15. Isa. xvii. 13. But nothing can surpass the magnificent delineation of the Messiah coming to take vengeance on his adversaries, expressed by imagery taken from the wine-press, which is of frequent occurrence with the sacred poets, and which no other poet has presumed to introduce. See Isa. lxiii. 1—3.

The pastoral and rural allusions in the New Testament are almost equally numerous with those of the Old Testament. Thus the world is compared to a *field*, the children of the kingdom to the *wheat*, and the children of the wicked to *tares*, Matt. xiii. 38. The end of the world is the *harvest*, and the angels are *reapers*, Matt. xiii. 39. A preacher of the word is the *sower*, Matt. xiii. 3. The word of God is the *seed*. The heart of man is the *ground*, Luke viii. 15. Heb. vi. 7. The cares, riches, and pleasures of life are the *thorns*, Luke viii. 14. Heb. vi. 8. The preparation of the heart by repentance is *plowing and breaking up the fallow ground*, Hos. x. 12. Death, which cuts down the fairest flowers of the field, is a *mower*, Psal. xc. 6. The minister, who serves under God in his husbandry,

is the *labourer*, Matt. ix. 37, 38. 1 Cor. iii. 9. The wicked are *stubble*, Isa. xlvii. 14. And the temptations and trials of the godly are the *sifting of the wheat*, Luke xxii. 31.*

III. *Sacred Topics, that is to say, Religion, and things connected with it, furnished many images to the sacred writers.*

Numerous and diversified sacred rites were enjoined to the Israelites by Moses, and their religious worship was conducted with great pomp and splendour. Thus, the images derived from the temple and its magnificent service serve chiefly to denote the glory of the Christian church, the excellency of its worship, God's favour towards it, and his constant presence with it; the prophets speaking to the Jews in terms accommodated to their own ideas, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. compared with Heb. viii. 10. Further, much of the Jewish law is employed in discriminating between things clean and unclean; in removing and making atonement for things polluted or prescribed; and under these ceremonies, as under a veil or covering, a meaning the most important and sacred is concealed, as would appear from the nature of them, even if we had not other clear and explicit authority for this opinion. Among the rest are certain diseases and infirmities of the body, and some customs in themselves evidently indifferent: these, on a cursory view, seem light and trivial; but, when the reasons of them are properly investigated, they are found to be of considerable importance. We are not to wonder, then, if the sacred poets have recourse to these topics for imagery, even on the most momentous occasions; as when they display the universal depravity of the human heart, (Isa. lxiv. 6.) or upbraid their own people for the corruptness of their manners, (Isa. i. 5, 6. 16. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.) or when they deplore the abject state of the virgin, the daughter of Sion, polluted and exposed, (Lam. i. 8, 9. 17. and ii.) If we consider these metaphors, without any reference to the religion of their authors, they will doubtless appear in some degree disgusting and inelegant; but, if we refer them to their genuine source, the peculiar rites of the Hebrews, they will not be found wanting either in force or dignity.

The pontifical vestments, which were extremely splendid, suggested a variety of images expressive of the glory both of the Jewish and Christian church. We have an instance of this in Ezek. xvi. 10. 13. 18., and particularly in the following passage of the evangelical prophet:

* A Key to the Language of Prophecy, by the Rev. W. Jones, (Works, vol. v. p. 282.)

I will greatly rejoice in JEHOVAH;
 My soul shall exult in my God.
 For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation,
 He hath covered me with the mantle of righteousness;
 As the bridegroom decketh himself with a priestly crown;
 And as the bride adorneth herself with her costly jewels. Isa. lxi. 10.

In this verse, the elegant Isaiah is describing, in his peculiar magnificent manner, the exultation and glory of the church, after her triumphal restoration. Pursuing the allusion, he decorates her with the vestments of salvation, and clothes her in the robe of righteousness: he afterwards compares the church to a bridegroom dressed for the marriage, to which comparison incredible dignity is added by the word *Ikohen*, a metaphor plainly taken from the priests' apparel, the force of which therefore no modern language can express. No imagery, Bishop Lowth further remarks, which the Hebrew writers could employ, was equally adapted with this to the display (as far as human powers can conceive or depict the subject) of the infinite majesty of God. JEHOVAH is therefore introduced by the Psalmist as *clothed with glory and with strength*, (Psal. xciii. 1.) and he is *girded with power*, (Psal. lxxv. 6.) which are the very terms appropriated to the description of the dress and ornaments of the priests. The Epistle to the Hebrews is an admirable comment on many parts of the Mosaic ritual.

IV. *The Hebrews derived many of their metaphors from Sacred History.*

Thus, as the devastation of the land of Israel is frequently represented by the restoration of antient chaos, (as in Jer. iv. 23—26. Isa. xxxiv. 4. 11., and Joel iii. 15, 16.) so the same event is sometimes expressed in metaphors suggested by the universal deluge, (as in Isa. xxiv. 1, 18—20.), and also from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, (Isa. xxxiv. 9.) See also Psal. xi. 6.

The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, while it affords materials for many magnificent descriptions, is commonly applied, in a metaphorical manner, to represent other great deliverances: as in Isa. xi. 15, 16. xliii. 16—19. xlviii. 21. and li. 9, 10. But the figurative application of the history of the Exodus is much plainer in the New Testament. There we see Zacharias, in his prophetic hymn, on occasion of the birth of John the Baptist, celebrating the blessings of the Christian redemption in terms borrowed from the past redemption of Israel out of Egypt*.

* This interesting and important topic is well illustrated in the "Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture," Lect. vi.—Jones's Works, vol. iii. pp. 92—100.

Lastly, when Jehovah is described as coming to execute judgment, to deliver the pious, and to destroy his enemies, or in any manner to display his divine power upon earth, the description is embellished from that tremendous scene which was exhibited on Mount Sinai * at the delivery of the law. Two sublime examples of this sort, to mention no more, occur in Psal. xviii. 7—15., and Mic. i. 3, 4. †

* See Exod. xix. 16. 18. Deut. iv. 11, 12.

† The learned Professor Michaelis, in his additions to Bishop Lowth's ninth lecture, has endeavoured to prove that the sacred writers drew largely from poetic fable, which they derived from the Egyptians, in common with the Greeks and Romans. As it respects the latter, his argument is convincing and satisfactory; but with regard to the Hebrews, as it depends chiefly on his *own* Latin versions, which (the excellent English translator of the Bishop's lectures remarks) are by no means so faithful to the original as our common version, his point by no means appears to be demonstrated. On this account the present brief notice of Michaelis's hypothesis may be deemed sufficient: it is, however, adopted by Bauer in his *Hermeneutica Sacra*, pp. 209, 210.

SECTION IV.

ON SCRIPTURE ALLEGORIES.

The Allegory defined — Different species of Allegory — Rules for the interpretation of Scripture Allegories.

ANOTHER branch of the figurative language of Scripture is the *Allegory*; which, under the literal sense of the words, conceals a foreign or distant meaning. Of this species of figure Bishop Lowth * has distinguished three kinds, viz. 1. The *Allegory* properly so called, and which he terms a *continued metaphor*;—2. The *Parable*, or similitude, which is discussed in the following section;—and, 3. The *Mystical Allegory*, in which a double meaning is couched under the same words, or when the same prediction, according as it is differently interpreted, relates to different events, distant in time, and distinct in their nature.

The mystical allegory differs from the two first-mentioned species in the nature of its materials; it being allowable in the former to make use of imagery from different objects, while the mystical allegory is exclusively derived from things sacred. There is likewise this further distinction, that, in those other forms of allegory, the exterior or ostensible imagery

* Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, vol. i. lect. 10 and 11.

is fiction only; the truth lies altogether in the interior or remote sense, which is veiled as it were under this thin and pellucid covering. But, in the mystical allegory, each idea is equally agreeable to truth. The exterior or ostensible image is not a shadowy colouring of the interior sense, but is in itself a reality; and, although it sustains another character, it does not wholly lay aside its own. As, however, the interpretation of the mystical and typical parts of Scripture is treated of in a subsequent part of this volume*, we shall, in the present section, direct our attention to the allegory, properly and strictly so called.

As every such allegory is a representation of real matters of fact under feigned names and feigned characters, it must be subjected to a two-fold examination. "We must first examine the immediate representation, and then consider what other representation it was intended to excite. Now, in most allegories, the immediate representation is made in the form of a narrative; and since it is the object of an allegory to convey a moral, not an historical truth, the narrative itself is commonly fictitious. The immediate representation is of no further value, than as it leads to the ultimate representation. It is the application or moral of the allegory which constitutes its worth†." In the investigation, then, of an allegory, the following rules may assist us to determine its ultimate meaning.

I. *Allegorical senses of Scripture are not to be sought for where the literal sense is plain and obvious.*

This rule is of the greatest importance: from not attending to it, the antient Jews, as the Therapeutæ, the author of the book of Wisdom, Josephus, and Philo, and, in imitation of them, Origen‡ and many of the fathers, (whose example has also been followed by some modern expositors), have respectively turned even historical passages of Scripture into allegories, together with such other passages as already had a proper and literal sense. Hence many ridiculous interpretations have been imposed on passages of Scripture, the proper moral sense of which has been either greatly enervated, or entirely frittered away, by such misnamed spiritual expositions.

* See chapters ix. and x. *infra*, on the Mystical and Typical Interpretations of Scripture; and vol. ii. book i. chapter vi. section iii. on the Double Sense of Prophecy.

† Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 80. The seventeenth and eighteenth lectures, in which the subject of figurative interpretation is ably discussed at considerable length, are particularly worthy of perusal.

‡ Dr. A. Clarke, (note on Exod. i. 22.) has given a curious specimen of Origen's mode of allegorizing, to which the reader is referred on account of its length.

II. *The design of the whole allegory must be investigated.*

The consideration of this rule will embrace a variety of particulars.

1. *In investigating the design of an allegory, the CONTEXT is first to be examined and considered*, by comparing the preceding and subsequent parts of the discourse.*

In 2 Tim. ii. 20. we read thus: *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour.* Now, since the apostle did not intend to say what these words literally mean of themselves, it is evident that he employed an allegory, the design of which is to be ascertained by the aid of the context. In the preceding verses, 15 and 16, he had exhorted Timothy to *study to shew himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, and to shun vain and profane babblings.* Hence it appears that Saint Paul was speaking of the qualifications of a teacher. The *great house* then, in which are vessels of several kinds, will signify the Christian church, in which are various teachers, and of different value. In the *following* verses, 21 and 22, Timothy is exhorted to avoid novel doctrines, and to separate himself from false teachers, and to make himself a vessel fitted for the master's use, prepared for every good work. Here, again, the apostle is not speaking literally of household goods, but of teachers. The design of the allegory, therefore, in the passage above cited, is to intimate, that, as in a great house there is a variety of utensils, some of a more precious and others of a coarser material, so in the church of God, which is the house of God, there are teachers of different characters and capacities. Some of them, being faithful, are employed in the honourable work of leading men in the paths of truth and piety; while others, being unfaithful, are permitted to follow the dishonourable occupation of seducing those who love error, that the approved may be made manifest.

2. *The OCCASION which gave rise to the allegory, and which is indicated by the context, is also to be considered.*

Thus, in the Gospels, we meet with numerous instances of persons who asked questions of our Saviour, or who entertained erroneous notions: an allegory is delivered, by way of reply, to correct the error, and at the same time to instruct the inquirer. In John vi. 25—65. many things are announced relative to the eating of bread: these are to be understood of

* On the Investigation of the Context, see chapter iii. section vii. pp. 337—346. *supra*.

spiritual food, the doctrines of Christ, which are to be received for the same purpose as we take food, namely, that we may be nourished and supported. The *occasion* of this allegorical mode of speaking is related in verse 31. *Our fathers, said the Jews, did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. I, says Christ, am the living bread, which cometh down from heaven.* The meaning of the whole evidently is, by eating the flesh of Christ we are to understand the same idea as is implied in eating bread, namely, to derive support from it. The argument of our Lord then may be thus expressed:—"The manna, which your fathers did eat in the wilderness, could only preserve a mortal life. That is the true bread of life which qualifies every one who eats it for everlasting happiness. I call myself this bread, not only on account of my *doctrine*, which purifies the soul, and fits it for a state of happiness, but also because I shall give my own life to procure the life of the world."

3. *As the context frequently indicates the meaning of an allegory, so likewise its SCOPE and INTERPRETATION are frequently pointed out by some explanation that is subjoined.*

In Luke v. 29. it is related that our Lord sat down to eat with publicans and sinners. When questioned by the Pharisees for this conduct, he replied, *They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick*; and added the following explanation—I am not come to call the *righteous*, those who arrogantly presume themselves to be such, *but sinners to repentance.* The scope, occasion, and explanation being severally known, the meaning of the allegory becomes evident. Sometimes, however, this explanation of an allegory is conveyed in a single word, as in 1 Thess. v. 8. Here we are commanded to put on a breast-plate and helmet; it is added, by way of exposition, the breast-plate of faith and love, and the helmet of hope. The sense of the figure is—Prepare yourself for your spiritual warfare with faith, love, and hope, lest you suffer loss.

4. Sometimes the allegory proposed is explained in its *several parts* by the person speaking. Thus, in Eph. vi. 11—19. many things are said of the Christian's armour; and the girdle, breast-plate, greaves, shield, and sword are distinctly specified. That these terms are allegorical is evident. In the tenth verse the exhortation, *to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, precedes; in the eleventh and following verses the apostle explains what he intended to be understood, in its several parts: thus, the sword is the word of God, the girdle is integrity, the shield is faith, &c. In such passages as this,

an explanation is desirable, otherwise the allegory it contains could not be interpreted upon any certain principle.

4. Sometimes also the context incidentally presents some proper word, by which the meaning of the whole allegory may be discerned.

In John xii. 35. our Lord says—*Yet a little while is the light with you.* A single proper word is almost immediately subjoined—*believe in the light,* (verse 36.) Hence it appears that by light is meant himself, the divine teacher: it is equally plain that to continue in darkness means to continue in ignorance. Another instance occurs in Matt. v. 14. *Ye are the light of the world: a city that is set on an hill cannot be hid, &c.* It is afterwards subjoined, *that men may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* From this expression, *good works*, which is the key to the whole passage, we perceive that our Lord's discourse treats of that example of a holy life and conversation, which it is the duty of Christians to set before others.

III. *The proper or literal meaning of the primary word must be ascertained, before we attempt to explain an allegory.*

For this purpose, the primary word itself must first be ascertained, and its force expressed, by an appropriate literal word; and to this sense all the other figurative words of the passage should be referred, and explained agreeably to it. The *primary* word in an allegory is that, which contains the foundation and reason why the passage under consideration is expressed by that particular image: and such primary word is to be ascertained both from the *scope* as well as from the *explanation* which may be subjoined, and also from the *subject* or *thing* itself which is treated of. Thus, in 1 Cor. v. 6—8. the apostle speaks of leaven in such a manner, that the whole of that passage contains an earnest exhortation to a holy life: for the context shows that the design of the allegorical admonition was, that the Corinthians should not be tainted with wickedness and depravity of life. The occasion of the allegory was their admittance of an incestuous person into the church at Corinth. Now, as the apostle says, *Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?* and accommodates the remaining sentences of the passage to the same image; the consideration of the primary word will readily lead us to this sense: one man may be injurious to the whole congregation by his corrupt example. St. Paul further adds an explanation of his meaning, when he says, *Let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, &c.* Here the meaning of *εορταζειν* (keep the feast) is, not to celebrate

the festival of the passover as it literally means, but to serve and worship God in Christ; in other words, to be a sincere Christian, and in such a manner that, being cleansed from all former sins, we should serve and worship God in true holiness *. In like manner are we to understand the expression, *destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*, (John ii. 19.) The primary word *temple* must be changed into a proper or literal one, namely, the *body of Christ*, as the evangelical history suggests; and to this the rest of the passage must be referred.

IV. *In the explanation of an allegorical passage, historical circumstances should be consulted.*

For it sometimes happens that history alone can throw any light on the passage. Thus, in John xxi. 18. the evangelist evidently refers us to history for an explanation. Our Lord is there represented as saying to Peter—“*When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst: but, when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.*” This, adds the historian, *spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God.* Now there is nothing related in the New Testament which can afford any clue to this passage: but, if we consult ecclesiastical history, we shall find that Peter suffered a violent death; and thus every sentence becomes clear.

In Prov. v. 15—17. we have the following beautiful allegory:—*Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well. Let thy fountains be dispersed abroad, and rivers of waters in the streets. Let them be only thine own, and not strangers with thee. Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth.* That this passage is allegorical, is evident from the same figure being continued through several sentences and verses. Its sense is to be in-

* Mr. Gilpin has given the following lucid exposition of this, in some respects, difficult passage:—“I hear,” says the apostle to the Corinthians, “that there hath been practised among you a very enormous kind of wickedness, which is not heard of even among Gentiles—that one of you hath had connexion with his father’s wife; and that others, instead of making it a cause of general mourning, and separating themselves from so vile a person, seem rather to defend him in his wickedness.—Though absent, I take upon me, through the authority of the Holy Ghost, to decide in this matter. I command, therefore, that, on the receipt of this epistle, you gather the congregation together, and in the name of Jesus Christ solemnly expel this person from your communion; that he may see the heinousness of his sin, and after a sincere repentance be restored to God’s favour.—Your defending him in his wickedness is an immediate step towards being corrupted yourselves. You are under a necessity, therefore, on your own account, to remove this pernicious example. Consider your blessed Saviour’s death, and preserve yourselves as free as possible from sin, which was the cause of it.”
the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 165.

investigated both according to *the oriental mode of speaking*, (for the inhabitants of the East, who draw most of their metaphors from natural objects, are accustomed to compare their wives to a cistern or pool, whence rivers flow), and also from the proper words subjoined towards the close, *rejoice with the wife of thy youth*; as likewise from the series of the discourse, since the author of the Book of Proverbs, in the beginning of this chapter, is dissuading from illicit intercourse. From these circumstances collectively considered, the sense of the allegory plainly is, that no man should follow strange women, but live content with the wife whom he has espoused; lest, influenced by his example, she should deviate from the path of virtue.

V. *The nature of the thing spoken of is also to be considered in the exposition of an allegory.*

It is necessary that the nature of the thing should be considered, in order that the *tendency* of every comparison may appear, and also the literal meaning which is concealed under the figurative expressions. Thus, in Matt. v. 13. we read, *Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.* Now, what is the meaning of this admonition? What is the primary word? *Salt*. But with what proper word can it be interpreted? Here the nature of the thing is to be consulted, which shows that it is the property of salt to render food savoury, as well as to correct the taste: hence it is clear in what sense the disciples are said to be the *salt of the earth*; for they were teachers by whom some were corrected and made better. The general meaning of the passage is:—Ye, who embrace my religion, like salt shall purify the world; but ye must first be pure yourselves.

In Luke v. 36. the following passage occurs: *No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old: if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.* Nothing is adduced by way of explanation: in a preceding verse the Pharisees had asked Christ, why his disciples did not fast, but lived more cheerfully than those of John. Our Saviour replied in the words above cited: nothing, then, can lead us to understand the passage but the nature of the subject. Now in common life we know that no one voluntarily and readily acts indiscreetly, or in an unbecoming manner. Therefore, says Christ, since no one in common life acts thus indiscreetly, neither do I require my disciples to do so, since there is no need for them to undergo

such austerities. The time will come (verse 34.) when they will fare hardly enough; then they will have sufficient trials. At present neither circumstances, time, nor place require it; things must be accommodated to circumstances. The passage being thus considered, the meaning of the allegory becomes very evident.

There is, however, one caution which it will be necessary to observe in the interpretation of allegories; namely, that we do not explain one part literally, and another part figuratively. Thus the whole of 1 Cor. iii. 9—13. is allegorical: a comparison is there instituted between the office of a teacher of religion, and that of a builder. Hence a Christian congregation is termed a building; its ministers are the architects, some of whom lay the foundation on which others build; some erect a superstructure of gold and silver; others of wood, hay, and stubble. The sense concealed under the allegory is apparent: a Christian congregation is instructed by teachers, some of whom communicate the first principles, others impart further knowledge; some deliver good and useful things, (*the truth*), while others deliver useless things, (*erroneous doctrines*, such as at that time prevailed in the Corinthian church). That day (the great day of judgment) will declare what superstructure a man has raised; that is, whether what he has taught be good or bad. And as fire is the test of gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, so the great day will be the test of every man's work. Though the whole of this passage is obviously allegorical, yet it is understood literally by the church of Rome, who has erected upon it her doctrine of the fire of purgatory. How contrary this doctrine is to every rule of right interpretation, is too plain to require any exposition.*

It falls not within the plan of this work to enumerate all the allegories occurring in the sacred writings: some have been incidentally mentioned in the present section; yet, before we proceed to other topics, we cannot but notice the admirable allegorical delineation of old age by Solomon, Eccl. xii. 2—6. It is perhaps one of the finest allegories in the Old Testament: the inconveniences of increasing years, the debility of mind and body, the torpor of the senses, are expressed most learnedly and elegantly indeed, but with some degree of obscurity, by different images derived from nature and common life: for,

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 221—226. Ernesti Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 110, 111. Mori Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 301—313. Glassii Phil. Sac. lib. ii. pp. 1294—1304. Ramiresii de Prado, Pentecontarchus, c. 28. apud Fabricii Observationes Selectæ, pp. 173—179. J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 740—753.

by this enigmatical composition, Solomon, after the manner of the oriental sages, intended to put to trial the acuteness of his readers. It has on this account afforded much exercise to the ingenuity of the learned; many of whom have differently, it is true, but with much learning and penetration, explained the passage.

There is also in Isaiah (xxviii. 23—29.) an allegory, which, with no less elegance of imagery, is perhaps more simple and regular, as well as more just and complete in the colouring, than any of those above cited. In the passage referred to, the prophet is examining the design and manner of the divine judgments, and is inculcating the principle, that God adopts different modes of acting in the chastisement of the wicked, but that the most perfect wisdom is conspicuous in all; that he will, as before urged, “exact judgment by the line, and righteousness by the plummet;” that he ponders, with the most minute attention, the distinctions of times, characters, and circumstances, as well as every motive to lenity or severity. All this is expressed in a continued allegory, the imagery of which is taken from the employments of agriculture and threshing, and is admirably adapted to the purpose*.

* Lowth's Prælectiones, No. 10. or vol. i. p. 220. of Dr. Gregory's Translation.

SECTION V.

ON SCRIPTURE PARABLES.

Nature of a Parable — Antiquity of this mode of Instruction — Rules for the Interpretation of Parables — Parables, why used by Jesus Christ.

A PARABLE, (Παραβολή, from παραβαλλειν to compare together*,) is a similitude taken from natural things in order to instruct us in things spiritual. The word, however, is variously used in the Scriptures to denote a *proverb* or short saying, (Luke iv.

* A verbo παραβαλλειν, quod significat conferre, comparare, assimilare (cf. Marc. iv. 30.) ductum est nomen παραβολης, quod similitudinem, collationem Quinctilianus (Inst. Or. l. v. c. 11. l. viii. c. 3. pp. 298. 302. 470) interpretatur, Seneca (Ep. lix.) imaginem. Itaque collatio, sive, ut Ciceronis (l. 1. de Invent. c. 30.) definitione utamur, oratio, rem cum re ex similitudine conferens, Græco nomine parabola appellatur. Eo sensu Christus (Marc. iii. 23) εν παραβολαις locutus dicitur, quando per variis simili-

23.); a *famous* or *received saying*, (1 Sam. x. 12.* Ezek. viii. 2.); a thing gravely spoken, and comprehending important matters in a few words, (Job xxvii. 1. Numb. xxiii. 7. 18. xxiv. 3. 15. Psal. xlix. 4. and lxxviii. 2.); a *thing darkly* or *figuratively expressed*, (Ezek. xx. 49. Matt. xv. 15.); a *visible type or emblem*, representing something different from and beyond itself, (Heb. ix. 9. and xi. 19. Gr.); a *special instruction*, (Luke xiv. 7.); and a *similitude or comparison*, (Matt. xxiv. 32. Mark iii. 23.†)

According to Bishop Lowth, a parable is that kind of allegory which consists of a continued narration of a fictitious event, applied by way of simile to the illustration of some important truth. By the Greeks, allegories were called *αἰναι* or *apologues*, and by the Romans *fabulæ* or *fables*‡; and the writings of the Phrygian sage, or those composed in imitation of him, have acquired the greatest celebrity. Nor did our Saviour himself disdain to adopt the same method of instruction; of whose parables it is doubtful, whether they excel most in wisdom and utility, or in sweetness, elegance, and perspicuity. As the appellation of PARABLE has been applied to his discourses of this kind, the term is now restricted from its former extensive signification to a more confined sense. This species of composition also occurs very frequently in the prophetic poetry, and particularly in that of Ezekiel.

The use of parables is of very great antiquity. In the early ages of the world, when the art of reasoning was little known, and the minds of men were not accustomed to nice and curious speculations, we find that the most antient mode of instruction was by parable and fable; its advantages, indeed, are many and obvious. It has been remarked by an acute observer of men and morals, that “little reaches the understanding of the mass but through the medium of the senses. Their minds are not fitted for the reception of abstract truth. Dry argumentative instruction, therefore, is not proportioned to their capacity; the faculty, by which a right conclusion is drawn, is in them

tudines (v. 24—27) se non Satanæ ope, sed altiore virtute dæmonia ejicere. G. C. Storr, De Parabolis Christi, in Opusc. Academic. vol. i. p. 89. The whole disquisition, to which this section is largely indebted, is well worthy of perusal. See also Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneut. pp. 187, *et seq.*; J. E. Pfeiffer's Instit. Hermeneut. Sacr. pp. 753—773; and Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 190, *et seq.*

* In this and the other references to the Old Testament in the above paragraph, the original is מָשָׁל, (*mashal*), a parable.

† Glassii Phil. Sacr. lib. ii. pp. 1304—1306. ed. Dathii. Parkhurst and Schleusner, in voce Παραβολή.

‡ Storr, Opusc. Acad. vol. i. p. 89, *et seq.*

the most defective; they rather feel strongly than judge accurately; and their feelings are awakened by the impression made on their senses *.” Hence, instruction by way of parable is naturally adapted to engage attention; it is easily comprehended, and suited to the meanest capacity; and while it opens the doctrine which it professes to conceal, it gives no alarm to our prejudices and passions; it communicates unwelcome truths in the least disagreeable manner; points out mistakes, and insinuates reproof with less offence and with greater efficacy than undisguised contradiction and open rebuke. Of this description, we may remark, are the parables related by Nathan to David, (2 Sam. xii. 1—9.) and by the woman of Tekoah to the same monarch, (2 Sam. xiv. 1—13). The New Testament abounds with similar examples. “By laying hold on the imagination, parable insinuates itself into the affections; and by the intercommunication of the faculties, the understanding is made to apprehend the truth which was proposed to the fancy†.” In a word, this kind of instruction seizes us by surprise, and carries with it a force and conviction which are almost irresistible. It is no wonder, therefore, that parables were made the vehicle of national instruction in the most early times; that the prophets, especially Ezekiel, availed themselves of the same impressive mode of conveying instruction or reproof; and that our Lord, following the same example, also adopted it for the same important purposes.

Although a parable has some things in common with an allegory, so that the same rules which apply to the latter are in some degree applicable to the former; yet, from its peculiar nature, it becomes necessary to consider the parable by itself, in order that we may understand and interpret it aright.

I. The first excellence of a parable is, that it turns upon an image well known and applicable to the subject, the meaning of which is clear and definite: for this circumstance will give it that perspicuity which is essential to every species of allegory.

How clearly this rule applies to the parables of our Lord, is obvious to every reader of the New Testament. It may suffice to mention his parable of the *Ten Virgins*, (Matt. xxv. 1—13.), which is a plain allusion to those things which were common at the Jewish marriages in those days: the whole parable indeed is made up of the rites used by the Orientals, as well as by the Roman people, at their nuptials; and all the particulars related in it were such as were commonly known to the Jews,

* Mrs. More's Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 106.

† Ibid. p. 107.

because they were every day practised by some of them. In like manner, the parables of the *lamp*, (Luke viii. 16.), of the *sower* and the seed, of the *tares*, of the *mustard seed*, of the *leaven*, of the *net cast into the sea*, all of which are related in Matt. xiii., as well as of the *householder* that planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, (Matt. xxi. 33.), are all representations of usual and common occurrences, and such as the generality of our Saviour's hearers were daily conversant with, and they were therefore selected by him as being the most interesting and affecting.

If the parables of the sacred prophets be examined by this rule, they will not appear deficient; being in general founded upon such imagery as is frequently used, and similarly applied by way of metaphor and comparison in Hebrew poetry. Examples of this kind occur in the deceitful vineyard, (Isa. v. 1—7.), and in the useless vine which is given to the fire, (Ezek. xv. and xix. 10—14.); for, under this imagery, the ungrateful people of God are more than once described. Similar instances of opposite comparison present themselves in the parable of the lion's whelps falling into the pit, (Ezek. xix. 1—9.), in which is displayed the captivity of the Jewish princes; and also in that of the fair, lofty, and flourishing cedar of Lebanon, (Ezek. xxxi. 3—17.), which once raised its head to the clouds, at length cut down and neglected;—thus exhibiting, as in a picture, the prosperity and the fall of the king of Assyria. To these may be added one more example, namely, that in which the love of God towards his people, and their piety and fidelity to him, are expressed by an allusion to the solemn covenant of marriage. Ezekiel has pursued this image with uncommon freedom in two parables, (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.); and it has been alluded to by almost all the sacred poets.

II. *The image, however, must not only be apt and familiar, but must also be elegant and beautiful in itself, and all its parts must be perspicuous and pertinent; since it is the purpose of a parable, and especially of a poetic parable, not only to explain more perfectly some proposition, but frequently to give it animation and splendour.*

Of all these excellencies there cannot be more perfect examples than the parables which have just been specified; to which we may add the well-known parables of Jotham, (Judges ix. 7—15.), of Nathan, (2 Sam. xii. 1—4.), and of the woman of Tekoah, (2 Sam. xiv. 4—7.). The admirably devised parable of Nathan is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the genuine pathetic style that can be found in the Old Testament; and

David's eager condemnation of the unsuspected offender at the same time displays a striking instance of the delusion of sin and the blindness of self-love. "He, who had lived a whole year in the unrepented commission of one of the blackest crimes in the decalogue—and who, to secure to himself the object for which he had committed it, perpetrated another almost more heinous, and that with an hypocrisy suited to his character—he could in an instant denounce death on the imaginary offender for a fault comparatively trifling."—"Seeing, he saw not, and hearing, he heard not;" he immediately saw the iniquity and barbarity of the rich man's proceedings; his heart was in a moment fired with indignation at the thought of it; "the vehemence of his resentment even overstepped the limits of his natural justice, in decreeing a punishment disproportioned to the crime, while he remained dead to his own delinquency. A pointed parable instantly surprised him into the most bitter self-reproach. A direct accusation might have inflamed him before he was thus prepared; and in the one case he might have punished the accuser, by whom, in the other, he was brought into the deepest self-abasement. The prudent prophet did not rashly reproach the king with the crime, which he wished him to condemn; but placed the fault at such a distance, and in such a point of view, that he first procured his impartial judgment, and afterwards his self-condemnation:—an important lesson, not only to the offender, but also to the reprov^r.*"

III. Every parable is composed of three parts, 1. The *sensible similitude*, which has variously been termed the *bark* and the *protasis*, and consists in its literal sense;—2. The *explanation* or *mystical sense*, also termed the *apodosis* and the *sap* or fruit, or the thing signified by the similitude proposed. This is frequently not expressed: for, though our Saviour sometimes condescended to unveil the hidden sense, by disclosing the moral meaning of his parables, (as in Matt. xiii. 3—8, 18—23. compared with Luke viii. 4—15. and Matt. xiii. 24—30, 36—43.); yet he usually left the application to those whom he designed to instruct by his doctrine. Of this description are the parables of the grain of mustard seed of leaven, of the hidden treasure, and the pearl of great price, (Matt. xiii. 31—33, 44—46.) between which and the kingdom of heaven a comparison is instituted, the mystical sense of which is to be sought in the

* Mrs. More's Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 108.

similitudes themselves. 3. The third constituent part of a parable is the *root* or *scope* to which it tends.*

IV. *For the right explanation and application of parables, their general scope and design must be ascertained.*

Where our Saviour has not himself interpreted a parable, its immediate scope and design are to be sought with great attention: this indeed will generally appear from the context, being either expressed at its commencement or at its conclusion; or it is sufficiently evident from the occasion on which it was delivered. More particularly, the scope of a parable may be ascertained,

1. *From the clear declaration prefixed to it*; as in the parable of the rich glutton, (Luke xii. 16—20. which is prefaced by the following caution in verse 15. *Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.* Thus in Luke xviii. 2—8. the parable of the unjust judge is preceded by this declaration, which plainly points out one of its senses: *He spake a parable unto them, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* And again, in verse 9. *He spake this parable* (of the Pharisee and Publican, verse 10—14) *unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others.*

2. *From the declaration subjoined to a parable.* Thus our Saviour concludes the parable of the unmerciful creditor, who would not forgive his debtor the minutest portion of his debt, though much had been forgiven him, (Matt. xviii. 23—35.) by the following explanation:—*So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.* Similar declarations are annexed to the parables of the wedding feast, (Matt. xxv. 13. Luke xiv. 11.) of the rich glutton, (Luke xii. 21.) and of the unjust steward, (Luke xvi. 9.) The prophetic writings will furnish similar instances: thus Isaiah (v. 1—7.) having delivered the parable of a vineyard—planted with the choicest vines, and cultivated with the utmost care, yet which produced only wild fruit—announces at its close, that by the vineyard were intended the Jews, and by the wild fruit their enormous wickednesses, for which they deserved

* In parabolis, si integre accipiantur, tria sunt; *radix*, *cortex* et *medulla* sive *fructus*. *Radix* est scopus, in quem tendit parabola. *Cortex* est similitudo sensibilis, quæ adhibetur, et *suo sensu literal*i constat. *Medulla* seu *fructus* est *sensus parabolæ mysticus*, seu ipsa res ad quam parabolæ fit accommodatio, seu quæ per similitudinem propositam significatur. Glassii *Philologia Sacra*, lib. ii. pars i. tr. 2. canon 3. sect. 5. It is not a little remarkable that the nine very useful canons for the interpretation of parables, by Glassius, should be altogether omitted in Professor Dathe's valuable edition of his work.

the severest judgments. Nathan, also, in the beautiful parable already cited, subjoined a declaration of its scope to the criminal sovereign. In the short parable, or apologue communicated from Jehoash king of Israel to Amaziah king of Judah, (2 Kings xiv. 9, 10.) the application of it to the latter is explicitly stated at its conclusion.

3. *The occasion, on account of which a parable was delivered, also materially assists in ascertaining its scope.*

Thus to the parable of the prodigal son, nothing is prefixed or subjoined; but the relation occurs immediately after two others, in which it was declared that the return of penitent sinners affords joy in heaven. This, however, is an important topic, and will require to be more particularly considered. From the observations already made on the general nature of parables, it will be easily perceived that the objects of our Lord's parables were various; such as the conveying either of instruction or reproof, the correcting or preventing of errors; the instructing of men in the knowledge of some truths which could be viewed with advantage only at a distance, or of others, which would have startled them when plainly proposed. Further, there were truths which were necessary to be conveyed, respecting the establishment of his religion, and the conduct of his disciples on *occasion* of that event. These subjects required to be touched with a delicate hand; and a few instances will show that each of them was conducted with the highest grace and propriety.

Thus, the *worldly spirit* of the Pharisees is delicately yet strikingly reproved in the parables of the rich man whose grounds brought forth plentifully, (Luke xii. 15—21.) which was spoken to show the folly of covetousness,—of the unjust steward, (Luke xvi. 1.) to show the proper use of wealth—and of the rich man and the beggar, (Luke xvi. 19—31.) to show the danger of abusing it.—The *selfishness* and bigotry of the same sect, which characteristic in some degree applied to the whole Jewish nation, who “trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others,” is convicted in the parables of the Pharisee and the Publican praying in the temple, of the two sons commanded to work in the vineyard, of the guest who chose the highest seat at the table, of the lost sheep and money, of the prodigal son, and of the good Samaritan.—In several of these parables the comparative merit of the Jew and Gentile world is justly though faintly stated, on purpose to abase the pride of the one and to exalt the humble hopes of the other.

Another class of parables is designed to deliver some general lessons of wisdom and piety: such are the parables of the ten virgins and the talents. The parables of the sower and of the tares, and many of the lesser parables, are designed to show the nature and progress of the gospel dispensation, together with the opposition which would be made to it from the malice of Satan, and the folly and perverseness of mankind. With these are closely connected such parables as have for their object the rejection of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles: under this head are comprised the parables of the murmuring labourers, of the cruel and unjust husbandmen, the barren fig-tree, and the marriage feast. By considering the occasions upon which these and other parables were delivered by the Redeemer of the world, we shall be enabled, not only to ascertain their scope and design, but also to perceive their wisdom, beauty, and propriety.

V. *As every parable has two senses, the LITERAL or external, and the MYSTICAL or internal sense, the literal sense must be first explained, in order that the correspondence between it and the mystical sense may be the more readily perceived.*

For instance, “the parable of the unforgiving servant represents, *literally*, that his lord forgave him a debt of ten thousand talents:—*mystically*, or spiritually, that God remits to the penitent the punishment of innumerable offences. *Literally*, it states that this servant, on his refusal to exercise forbearance towards his fellow-servant, was delivered over to the tormentors; *mystically*, that God will inflict the severest judgments on all who do not forgive others their trespasses. The unity of sense in both interpretations is easily perceptible* :” whence it follows that every parable must be consistent throughout, and that the literal sense must not be confounded with the mystical sense. Hence also it follows, that, since the scope and application of parables are the chief points to be regarded,

VI. *It is not necessary, in the interpretation of parables, that we should anxiously insist upon every single word; nor ought we to expect too curious an adaptation or accommodation of it in every part to the spiritual meaning inculcated by it; for many circumstances are introduced into parables which are merely ornamental, and designed to make the similitude more pleasing and interesting.*

Inattention to this obvious rule has led many expositors into the most fanciful explanations: resemblances have been accu-

* Vanmildert's Bampton Lectures, p. 236.

mulated, which are for the most part futile, or at best of little use, and manifestly not included in the scope of the parable. Where, indeed, circumstantial resemblances (though merely ornamental) will admit of an easy and natural application, they are by no means to be overlooked: and it is worthy of remark, that in those parables which our Lord himself explained to his disciples, there are few, if any, of the circumstantial points left unapplied; but here great judgment is necessary neither to do too little, nor to attempt too much *. In the application, then, of this rule, there are two points to be considered:

1. *Persons are not to be compared with persons, but things with things; part is not to be compared with part, but the whole of the parable with itself.*

Thus, we read in Matt. xiii. 24. *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field:* and, in verse 45. *The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls.* The similitude here is not with the men, but with the *seed* and the *pearl*; and the construction is to be the same as in verse 31 and 33. where the progress of the gospel is compared to the grain of mustard seed, and to leaven.

2. *In parables it is not necessary that all the actions of men, mentioned in them, should be just actions, that is to say, morally just and honest.*

For instance, the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1—8.) is not proposed either to justify his dishonesty, or as an example to us in cheating his lord (for that is merely ornamental, and introduced to fill up the story); but as an example of his care and prudence, in providing for the future. From the conduct of this man, our Lord took occasion to point out the management of worldly men, as an example of attention to his followers in their spiritual affairs; and at the same time added an impressive exhortation to make the things of this life subservient to their everlasting happiness; assuring them, that if they did not use temporal blessings as they ought, they could never be qualified to receive spiritual blessings. So again, in Luke xii. 39. and Rev. iii. 3. the coming of Christ is compared to the coming of a thief, not in respect of theft, but of the sudden surprise. “It is not necessary,” says a great master of eloquence, “that there should be a perfect resemblance of one

* Vanmildert's Lectures, p. 236.

thing in all respects to another; but it is necessary that a thing should bear a likeness to that with which it is compared." *

VII. *Attention to historical circumstances, as well as an acquaintance with the nature and properties of the things whence the similitudes are taken, will essentially contribute to the interpretation of parables.*

1. Some of the parables related in the New Testament are supposed to be true histories: in the incidental circumstances of others, our Saviour evidently had a regard to historical propriety. Thus, the scene of that most beautiful and instructive parable of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30—37.) is very appositely placed in that dangerous road which lay between Jerusalem and Jericho; no way being more frequented than this, both on account of its leading to Peræa, and especially because the classes or stations of the Priests and Levites were fixed at Jericho as well as at Jerusalem: and hence it is that a Priest and a Levite are mentioned as travelling this way †. It further appears, that at this very time Judea in general was overrun by robbers, and that the road between Jericho and Jerusalem (in which our Lord represents this robbery to have been committed) was particularly infested by banditti, whose depredations it favoured, as it lay through a dreary solitude. On account of these frequent robberies, we are informed by Jerome that it was called the *Bloody Way*. ‡

Again, in the parable of *a nobleman who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return*, (Luke xix. 12.) our Lord alludes to a case, which, no long time before, had actually occurred in Judea. Those, who by hereditary succession, or by interest, had pretensions to the Jewish throne, travelled to Rome, in order to have it confirmed to them. Herod the Great first went that long journey to obtain the kingdom of Judea from Antony, in which he succeeded: and having *received the kingdom* §, he afterwards travelled from Judea to Rhodes, in order to obtain a confirmation of it from Cæsar, in which he was equally successful ||. Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod, did the same: and to him our Lord most probably alluded **. Every historical circumstance is beautifully interwoven by our Saviour in this instructive parable.

* Non enim res tota toti rei necesse est similis sit; sed ad ipsum, ad quod confertur, similitudinem habeat, oportet. CICERO ad Herennium, lib. iv. c. 48. tom. i. p. 122. edit. Bipont.

† Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in loc.

‡ Jerome, cited by Calmet, in loc.

§ Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 14. § 4, 5.

|| Ibid. lib. xv. c. 6. § 6, 7.

** See an illustration of this parable, as referring to Archelaus, *supra*, p. 70.

2. Of the further benefit to be derived from history in the interpretation of parables, the similes in Matt. xiii. 31. 33. will afford a striking illustration: in these parables the progress of the Gospel is compared to a grain of mustard seed, and to leaven: nothing is subjoined to these verses, by way of explanation. What then is their scope? Jesus Christ was desirous of accustoming his disciples to parabolic instruction: from this design, however, we cannot collect the sense of the parables; we have therefore no other resource but *history*. Since, then, Jesus Christ is speaking of the progress of the Christian church, we must consult ecclesiastical history, which informs us that, from small beginnings, the church of Christ has grown into a vast congregation, that is spread over the whole world.

3. We have said that the understanding of parables is facilitated by an *acquaintance with the properties of the things whence the similitudes are derived*. Besides the diffusive effects of *leaven* already adverted to, which sufficiently indicate the certain spread of the Gospel, we may adduce an example from the prophet Jeremiah; who, parabolically describing a furious invader (xlix. 19.) says, *he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong*. The propriety of this will appear, when it is known that in antient times the river Jordan was particularly infested with lions, which concealed themselves among the thick reeds upon its banks. * Let us then imagine one of these monarchs of the desert asleep among the thickets upon the banks of that river: let us further suppose him to be suddenly awakened by the roaring, or dislodged by the overflowing of the rapid tumultuous torrent, and in his fury rushing into the upland country; and we shall perceive the admirable propriety and force of the prophet's allusion.

VIII. *Lastly, although in many of his parables Jesus Christ has delineated the future state of the church, yet he intended that they should convey some important moral precepts, of which we should never lose sight in interpreting parables.*

* "After having descended," says Maundrell, "the outermost bank of Jordan, you go about a furlong upon a level strand, before you come to the immediate bank of the river. This second bank is so beset with bushes, and trees, such as tamarisks, willows, oleanders, &c. that you can see no water, till you have made your way through them. In this thicket, antiently, and the same is reported of it at this day, several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river gave occasion to that allusion, *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan*," &c. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 110. (London, 1810.) Agreeably to this account Ammianus Marcellinus states, that "innumerable lions wander about among the reeds and copses on the borders of the rivers in Mesopotamia." Lib.® xviii. c. 7. (tom. i. p. 177. edit. Bipont.)

Thus, the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 3—24. Mark iv. 3—20. and Luke viii. 4—16.) has a moral doctrine, for our Lord himself soon after subjoins the following important caution, *Take heed how ye hear*. Again, the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 24. *et seq.*) refers to the mixture of the wicked with the good in this world: when, therefore, our Lord intimated (in verses 27—29.) that it is not our province to judge those whom he has reserved for his own tribunal; and in the 30th verse added, *let both grow together*, he evidently implied that, since God tolerates incorrigible sinners, it is the duty of men to bear with them; the propagation of false doctrines is an offence against God, who alone is the judge and punisher of them;—man has no right to punish his brethren for their sentiments.* The parables which are delivered in the same chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, and also in Luke xiii. 19. 21. delineate the excellence of the religion of Jesus, and are admirably adapted to inspire us with love and admiration for its divine Author. Further, the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1—17.) besides predicting the future reception of the Gospel, teaches us that no one should despair of the divine mercy so long as he lives, and that God will bestow upon the faithful a larger measure of blessedness than they can venture to expect, and also that we should not be moved with envy, if others enjoy a greater portion of gifts or talents than are bestowed upon ourselves. In fact, as an able expositor † has remarked, since our Saviour's parables frequently have a double view, this parable seems not only to illustrate the case of the Jews and Gentiles, but also the case of all individuals of every nation, whom God accepts according to their improvement of the opportunities they have enjoyed. In like manner, the parable of the royal nuptials, related in Matt. xxii. verse 1—15. was designed chiefly to show the Jews, that the offers of grace which they rejected would be made to the Gentiles. But the latter part of it also seems intended to check the presumption of such as pretend to the divine favour without complying with the conditions on which it is promised. It was customary for the bridegroom to prepare vestments for his

* It is with pleasure the author transcribes the following explicit declaration of the learned Roman Catholic writer, Viser. Having cited the passages above adduced, he says: *Facile apparet eos huic precepto nequaquam satisfacere, qui VI, METU, ac MINIS, HOMINES STUDENT A SUA RELIGIONE ABDUCERE.* Hermeneutica Sacra, Nov. Test. pars iii. p. 131.

† Gilpin's Exposition of the New Test. vol. i. p. 78. note †.

guests; and the man mentioned in verse 11—13. is said to have intruded without the requisite garment.*

From the preceding remarks it will have been seen that parables are of more frequent occurrence in the New than in the Old Testament: and although some hints have been already offered †, to account for the adoption of this mode of instruction; yet, as some persons have taken occasion, from the prophecy of Isaiah, (vi. 9, 10.) as cited by Matthew, (xiii. 13, 14.) to insinuate that our Lord spake in parables in order that the perverse Jews might not understand, it may not be irrelevant if we conclude the present strictures on parabolic instruction, with a few remarks on the reasons why it was adopted by our Lord.

1. The practice was familiar to the Jews in common with the other inhabitants of the East, as already stated: and some of our Lord's parables were probably taken from Jewish customs, as the royal nuptials, (Matt. xx. 1—17.) the rich glutton, (Luke xvi. 19—31.) and the wise and foolish virgins, (Matt. xxv. 1—13. ‡ This method of teaching, therefore, was intelligible to an attentive and inquiring auditory. See Matt. xv. 10. and Mark iv. 13.

2. It was customary for the disciples of the Jewish doctors, when they did not understand the meaning of their parables, to request an explanation from their teachers: in like manner, Christ's hearers might have applied to him, if they had not been *indisposed* to receive the doctrines he taught, and had they not preferred to be held in error by the Scribes and Pharisees, rather than to receive instruction from his lips.

3. Parabolic instruction was peculiarly well calculated to veil offensive truths or *hard sayings*, until, in due season they should be disclosed with greater evidence and lustre, when they were able to hear and to bear them, lest they should revolt at the premature disclosure of the mystery. Compare Mark iv. 33. with John xvi. 12. 25.

* The authorities consulted for this section, independently of those already cited incidentally, are Ernesti, *Instit. Interp. Nov. Test.* p. 112.; Morus, in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 314—320.; Bauer, *Hermeneutica Sacra*, pp. 226—229.; Glassii *Philologia Sacra*, lib. ii. part i. Tract 2. sect. 5. Canons, 3—9. pp. 336—350.; Turretin, *de Interpret. Script.* pp. 214, 215. Pfeiffer *Herm. Sacr.* c. iii. § 13. (Opp. tom. ii. p. 635, 636.); Chladenius, *Inst. Exeget.* pp. 190, 191; and J. E. Pfeiffer, *Inst. Herm. Sacr.* pp. 753—773.

† See pp. 409, 410, *supra*.

‡ Sheringham, in *Præf. ad Joma*, cited by Whitby on Matt. xii. 10. Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, has pointed out many Jewish sources whence it is probable that Jesus Christ took several of his parables.

4. It was a necessary screen from the malice of his inveterate enemies, the chief priests, Scribes and Pharisees; who would not have failed to take advantage of any *express* declaration which they might turn to his destruction (John x. 24.); but yet they could not lay hold of the most pointed parables, which, they were clear-sighted enough to perceive, were levelled against themselves. See Matt. xxi. 45. Mark xii. 12. and Luke xx. 19. *

5. The parables did not contain the fundamental precepts and doctrines of the Gospel, which were delivered in the audience of the people with sufficient perspicuity in Matt. v—vii. but only the mysteries relative to its progress among both Jews and Gentiles.

6. Lastly, the Jews were addressed in parables, because, as their wickedness and perverseness *indisposed* them to receive profit from his more plain discourses, Jesus Christ would not vouchsafe to them a clearer knowledge of these events. To “have ears and hear not,” is a proverbial expression, to describe men who are so wicked and slothful, that they either do not attend to, or will not follow, the clearest intimations and convictions of their duty. See instances of this expression in Jer. v. 21. and Ezek. xii. 2.† To this remark we may add, with reference to the quotations from Isaiah vi. 9, 10., that it is common for God to speak, by his prophets, of events that would happen, in a manner as if he had enjoined them‡. Whoever attentively considers the character of our Saviour, merely as a moral teacher and instructor of mankind, will clearly perceive his superiority to the most distinguished teachers of antiquity. Through the whole of his Gospel, he discovers a deep and thorough insight into human nature; and seems intimately acquainted with all the subtle malignities and latent corruptions of the human heart, as well as with all the illusions and refinements of self-idolatry, and the windings and intricacies of self-deceit. How admirably the manner, in which he conveyed his instructions, was adapted to answer the end and design of them, we have already seen: we might indeed almost venture to appeal to his parables alone, for the authenticity of our Lord’s mission as a divine teacher. “All are beautiful; the truest delineation of human manners, embellished with all

* Dr. Hales’s New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 773.

† Grotius and Whitby on Matt. xiii. 10. Dr. Whitby has collected passages showing the proverbial use of *having ears and hearing not*, from Philo, (Alleg. lib. ii. p. 72. D. and lib. iii. p. 850. E.) and from Demosthenes, (Orat. in Aristogeton, sect. 127).

‡ See Bishop Lowth’s Note on Isa. vi. 10.

those graces which an unaffected lovely simplicity of diction is able to bestow—graces beyond the reach of the most elaborate artifice of composition. But two of the number shine among the rest with unrivalled splendour; and we may safely challenge the genius of antiquity to produce, from all his stores of elegance and beauty, such specimens of pathetic unlaboured description, as the parables of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan.”*

* Monthly Review, O. S. vol. lvii. p. 196. Wakefield's Internal Evidences of Christianity, p. 36.

SECTION VI.

ON SCRIPTURE PROVERBS.

- I. *Nature of Proverbs;—Prevalence of this mode of instruction;—*
 II. *Different kinds of Proverbs;—* III. *The Proverbs occurring in the New Testament, how to be interpreted.*

I. **THE** inhabitants of Palestine, in common with other oriental nations, were much in the use of proverbs, or detached aphorisms; that is, concise and sententious common sayings, founded on a close observance of men and manners.

This method of instruction is of very remote antiquity, and was adopted by those, who, by genius and reflection, exercised in the school of experience, had accumulated a stock of knowledge; which they were desirous of reducing into the most compendious form, and comprising, in a few maxims, such observations as they apprehended to be most essential to human happiness. Proverbial expressions were peculiarly adapted to a rude state of society, and more likely to produce effect than any other: for they professed not to dispute, but to command—not to persuade, but to compel; they conducted men, not by circuitous argument, but led them immediately to the approbation and practice of integrity and virtue. That this kind of instruction, however, might not be altogether destitute of attraction, and lest it should disgust by an appearance of harshness and severity, the teachers of mankind added to their precepts the graces of harmony; and decorated them with metaphors, comparisons, allusions, and other embellishments of style.

Proverbial instruction was a favourite style of composition among the Jews, which continued to the latest ages of their literature; and obtained among them the appellation of *Mashalim* or parables, partly because it consisted of parables strictly so called, (the nature of which has been discussed in the preceding section), and partly because it possessed uncommon force and authority over the minds of the auditors. The Proverbs of the Old Testament are classed by Bishop Lowth among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews, of which many specimens are extant, particularly the Book of Proverbs, composed by Solomon, of which an account is given in the subsequent part of this work*. The royal sage has, in one of his Proverbs, himself explained the principal excellencies of this form of composition; exhibiting at once a complete definition of a proverb, and a very happy specimen of what he describes:

Apples of gold in a net-work of silver
Is a word seasonably spoken.

Prov. xxv. 11.

Thus intimating, that grave and profound sentiments should be set off by a smooth and well-turned phraseology; as the appearance of the most beautiful and exquisitely-coloured fruit, or the imitation of it perhaps in the most precious materials, is improved by the circumstance of its shining, (as through a veil), through the reticulations of a silver vessel exquisitely carved. In the above-cited passage he further insinuates, that it is not merely a neat turn and polished diction by which proverbs must be recommended; but that truth itself acquires additional beauty, when partially discovered through the veil of elegant fiction and imagery.

1. The first excellence of a proverb is *brevity*†, without which it can retain neither its name nor its nature. The discriminating sentiment should be expressed in a few words, not exceeding ten or at most twelve words, otherwise it is no longer a proverb, but a declamation; and it should force itself upon the mind by a single effort, not by a tedious process. Accordingly, the language must be strong and condensed, rather omitting some circumstances which may appear necessary, than admitting any thing superfluous. Horace himself insists on this as

* See vol. ii. book i. chap. v. sect. iii. *infra*.

† “The brevity of this kind of composition,” says an elegant critic of antient times, “and the condensing of much thought into a small compass, renders it more sententious, more sage, and expressive: as in a small seed, the whole power of vegetation, which is to produce a tree, is contained. And if any writer should amplify the sentence, it would no longer be a proverb, but a declamation.” DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, Περὶ Ἐρμηνείας, sect. ix.

one of the express rules of didactic poetry, and has assigned the reason on which it is founded :

Short be the precept, which with ease is gained
By docile minds, and faithfully retained. *

Solomon expresses the same sentiment in his own parabolic manner :

The words of the wise are like goads,
And like nails that are firmly fixed.

Eccles. xii. 11.

That is, they instantaneously stimulate or affect the mind; they penetrate deeply, and are firmly retained. Even the obscurity, which is generally attendant on excessive brevity, has its use; as it sharpens the understanding, keeps alive the attention, and exercises the genius by the labour of investigation, while no small gratification results from the acquisition of knowledge by our own efforts.

2. Another excellence, essential to a proverb, is *elegance*; which is neither inconsistent with brevity, nor with some degree of obscurity. Elegance in this connexion respects the sentiment, the imagery, and the diction: and those proverbs, which are the plainest, most obvious, and simple, or which contain nothing remarkable either in sentiment or style, are not to be considered as destitute of their peculiar elegance, if they possess only brevity, and that neat, compact form, and roundness of period, which alone are sufficient to constitute a proverb. Examples of this kind occur in the maxim of David, recorded in 1 Sam. xxiv. 13. and in that of Solomon, Prov. x. 12.†

II. Proverbs are divided into two classes, viz. 1. Entire sentences; and, 2. Proverbial phrases, which by common usage are admitted into a sentence.

1. Examples of *entire proverbial sentences* occur in Gen. x. 9. and xxii. 14. 1 Sam. x. 12. and xxiv. 13. 2 Sam. v. 8. and xx. 18. Ezek. xvi. 44. and xviii. 2. Luke iv. 23. John iv. 37. and 2 Pet. ii. 22. in which passages the inspired writers expressly state the sentences to have passed into proverbs.

2. Examples of *proverbial phrases*, which indeed cannot be correctly termed proverbs, but which have acquired their form and use, are to be found in Deut. xxv. 4. 1 Kings xx. 11. 2 Chron. xxv. 9. Job vi. 5. xiv. 19. and xxviii. 18. Psal. xlii. 7. and lxii. 9. Of this description also is that beautiful and memorable sentence, THE FEAR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING

* Art of Poetry by Francis, verse 455.

† Lowth. Prælect. xxiv. pp. 312—318. (edit. 1763), or vol. ii. pp. 162—173. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

OF WISDOM. Psal. cxi. 10. which is repeated in Prov. i. 7. ix. 10. and in Job xxviii. 28. The Book of *Proverbs* likewise contains very many similar sentences; from among which it may suffice to refer to Prov. i. 17. 32. iii. 12. vi. 6. 27. x. 5. 13. 19. 25. xi. 15. 22. 27. xii. 11. 15. xv. 2. 33. xvii. 1. 10. 19. 28. xix. 2. 24. xx. 4. 11. 14. 21. 25. xxii. 6. 13. xxv. 11. 16. 27. xxvi. 4. 10. 11. 14. 17. 28. xxvii. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. 17. 22. xxviii. 21. So in the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, ch. i. 15. 18. iv. 5. 12. v. 2. 6. 8, 9, 10. vi. 9. vii. 17. ix. 4. 18. x. 1, 2. 8. 15. 19, 20. xi. 3, 4. 6, 7. xii. 12. And in the *Prophets*, Jer. xiii. 23. xxiii. 28. Ezek. vii. 5. Micah vii. 5, 6. Habak. ii. 6. Mal. ii. 10. &c. And likewise in the New Testament, as in Matt. v. 13—15. vi. 3. 21. 34. vii. 2. 5. 16. ix. 12. 16. x. 10. 22. 24. 26. xii. 34. xiii. 12. 57. xv. 14. xxiii. 24. xxiv. 28. Mark ix. 50. Luke ix. 62. xii. 48. xxiii. 31. Acts ix. 5. xx. 35. 1 Cor. v. 6. x. 12. xv. 33. 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7. 2 Thess. iii. 10. Tit. i. 15.

III. The Proverbs occurring in the New Testament are to be explained, partly by the aid of similar passages from the Old Testament, and partly from the antient writings of the Jews, especially from the Talmud; whence it appears how much they were in use among that people, and that they were applied by Christ and his apostles, agreeably to common usage. The proverbs, contained in the Old and New Testaments, are collected and illustrated by Drusius, and Andreas Schottus; whose works are comprised in the ninth volume of the *Critica Sacra*, and also by Joachim Zehner, who has elucidated them by parallel passages from the fathers as well as from heathen writers, in a treatise published at Leipsic in 1601. The proverbs which are found in the New Testament have been illustrated by Vorstius* and Viser†, as well as by Lightfoot and Schoetgenius in their *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, and by Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*; from which last-mentioned works Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Dr. Whitby, Dr. A. Clarke, and other commentators, both British and foreign, have derived their illustrations of the Jewish parables.

* Vorstius's *Diatriba de Adagiis Novi Testamenti* is printed in Crenius's *Fasciculus Tertius Opusculorum quæ ad Historiam et Philologiam Sacram spectant*. 18mo. Rotterdam, pp. 475—576; and also in Fischer's second edition of Leusden, *De Dialectis N. T.* (8vo, Lipsiæ, 1792), pp. 168—252.

† Viser, *Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti*, pars ii. sect. ix. cap. 2. pp. 132—150.

SECTION VII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE
OF SCRIPTURE.I. *Synecdoche* — II. *Irony* — III. *Hyperbole*.

BESIDES the figures already discussed, and the right understanding of which is of the greatest importance for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, Glassius and other writers, who have treated expressly on the tropes and figures of the sacred writings, have enumerated a great variety of other figures which are to be found in them. As, however, many of these are merely rhetorical; and though they are admirably calculated to show how vastly superior the inspired volume is to all the productions of the human mind, for the beauty and sublimity of its composition; yet, as it would lead us into too wide a field of discussion, were we to introduce such figures at length, our attention must be directed to a few of those *principal figures* which have not been mentioned in the preceding pages.

The most important of these figures, which remain to be noticed, are, 1. *Synecdoche*; 2. *Irony*; and, 3. the *Hyperbole*.

I. *Synecdoche*.

A *Synecdoche* is a trope in which, 1. the *whole* is put for a *part*; 2. A *part* is put for the whole; 3. A certain number for an uncertain one; 4. A *general* name for a *particular* one; and, 5. *special* words for *general* ones. A very few examples will suffice to illustrate this figure.

1. *The whole is sometimes put for a part*: as the *world* for the *Roman empire*, which was but a small though very remarkable part of the world, in Acts xxiv. 5. and Rev. iii. 10. The *world* for the *earth*, which is a part of it, 2 Pet. iii. 6. John xii. 19. Rom. i. 8. 1 John v. 19. Thus the whole person is put for a part, as *man* for the *soul*, Luke xvi. 23. where the rich man, Abraham and Lazarus, are respectively put for their souls; *man*, for the *body*, John xix. 42. xx. 2. 13. with Luke xxiv. 3. in which passages Jesus is put for his dead body. *Time* for a *part* of time, as Dan. ii. 4. which simply means, we wish you a long life and reign. Gen. xvii. 19. where the words *everlasting covenant* denote while the Jewish polity subsists, that is, until Messiah come, (Gen. xlix. 10).—see also Exod. xxi. 6. where the expression *for ever* means the year of jubilee.

To this class of Synecdoche may be referred those instances, in which the *plural* number is sometimes put for the *singular*: as the mountains of Ararat, Gen. viii. 4. The cities where Lot dwelt, Gen. xix. 24.; the sides of the house, Amos vi. 10.; the sides of the ship, Jonah i. 5.; the ass and foal, on which Jesus Christ was set, Matt. xxi. 7. compared with Zech. ix. 9.; the prophets, Mark i. 2. John vi. 45. Acts xiii. 40.; in all which places only one of those things or persons mentioned is to be understood. So, children is put for child, Gen. xxi. 7. so daughters and sons' daughters, Gen. xlv. 7. when Jacob had but one daughter, (verse 15.) and one grand-daughter, (verse 17.) So the sons of Dan, (verse 23.) when he had but one. So the cities of Gilead are mentioned in Judg. xii. 7. whereas Jephthah was buried in one city in that region. In like manner, by the sons of Jehoiada is intended only Zechariah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. compared with verses 20. and 21.; and our Saviour speaks of himself in the plural number, John iii. 11.

2. Sometimes the part is put for the whole. Thus in Gen. i. 5. 8. 13. 19. 23. 31. the *evening and morning*, being the principal parts of the day, are put for the entire day. So the *soul* comprehends the entire man, Acts xxvii. 37. See similar expressions in Gen. xii. 5. 14. xvii. 14. Exod. xii. 19. Lev. ii. 1. Psal. iii. 2. xi. 1. xxv. 13. Isa. lviii. 5. Ezek. xviii. 4. Luke vi. 9. Acts ii. 41. &c.

So, the *singular* number is sometimes put for the *plural*: this chiefly takes place when the Scriptures speak of a multitude collectively, or of an entire species. Thus in Gen. iii. 8. tree in the Hebrew is put for trees. Gen. xlix. 6. *In their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they houghed an ox*, that is, *men and oxen*. Exod. xiv. 17. (Heb.) *I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen*, that is, the whole multitude of his chariots which are enumerated in verse 7. So in Exod. xv. 1. 21. the horse and his rider are put collectively for the horses and horsemen who were in the Egyptian army. So the Hivite, Canaanite, and Hittite, Exod. xxiii. 28. The ox and the ass, Isa. i. 3., the stork, the turtle, the crane, the swallow, Jer. viii. 7., the palmer-worm, Joel i. 4., street, Rev. xxi. 21., are respectively put for the Hivites, oxen, storks, &c. &c. It is proper to remark, that in very many instances the learned and pious translators of our authorized version have justly rendered these singular words in the plural number where the sense evidently required it.

3. *Very frequently a certain or definite number is put for an uncertain and indefinite number:* Thus, we find *double* for *much* or *sufficient*, in Isa. xl. 2. lxi. 7. Jer. xvi. 18. Zech. ix. 12. Rev. xviii. 6. *Twice* for *several times* in Psal. lxii. 11. *Five* for *a few*, 1 Cor. xiv. 19. in which verse ten thousand are put for *many*. *Ten* for *many*, Gen. xxxi. 7. and 1 Sam. i. 8. But most frequently we have *seven* for an indefinite number. See Gen. iv. 15. Lev. xxvi. 18. 21. 24. 28. Ruth iv. 15. 1 Sam. ii. 5. Psal. xii. 6. cxix. 164. Prov. xxiv. 16. xxvi. 25. Isa. iv. 1. Jer. xv. 9. Ezek. xxxix. 9. 12. Zech. iii. 9. Matt. xii. 45. *One hundred* for *many*, indefinitely, in Eccl. vi. 3. viii. 12. Prov. xvii. 10. Matt. xix. 29. Luke viii. 8. *A thousand* for *a great many*, Exod. xx. 6. xxxiv. 7. Deut. i. 11. 1 Sam. xviii. 7. Psal. cxix. 72. *Ten thousand* for an immense number, 1 Sam. xviii. 7. Psal. iii. 6.; and *ten thousand thousand* for a countless host, in Numb. x. 36. (Heb.) Dan. vii. 10. Rev. v. 11. &c.

4. *A general name is put for a particular one*, as in Mark xvi. 15. where every creature means all mankind; as *flesh* also does in Gen. vi. 12. Psal. cxv. 21. Isa. xl. 5, 6. lxvi. 23. Matt. xxiv. 22. Luke iii. 6. and Rom. iii. 20.

5. *Sometimes special words or particular names are put for such as are general:* Thus *Jehovah* is, in Psal. xlv. 9. said to *break the bow, and cut the spear in sunder, and to burn the chariot in the fire*; that is, God destroys all the weapons of war, and blesses the world with peace. Again, in Dan. xii. 2. we read, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt*. Here *many* is put for *all*. So *man*, generally, is put for all mankind, both male and female, Psal. i. 1. Mark xvi. 16. Numerous similar passages might be adduced. So, *father* is put for *any ancestor*, Psal. xxii. 4. xlv. 1. cvi. 6. *Father* for *grandfather*, 2 Sam. ix. 7. Dan. v. 11. 18. *Mother* for *grandmother*, 1 Kings xv. 10, 13. compared with verses 2. 8. *Brother* for *kinsman*, Gen. xiii. 8. and xiv. 14. with Gen. xii. 5. Matt. xii. 46. John vii. 3. 5. In the same manner, *son* is put for any of the posterity: thus *Laban* is said to be *Nahor's son*, in Gen. xxix. 5. when he was the son of *Bethuel*, and grandson or nephew of *Nahor*. Compare Gen. xxii. 20. 23. with xxiv. 29. So *Rebekah* is called *Abraham's brother's daughter*, Gen. xxiv. 47. *Father* and *mother* intend all superiors, Exod. xx. 12. In like manner, the *Greeks*, who are the most eminent of the heathen nations, are put for the whole Gentile world, in Rom. i. 16. 1 Cor. i. 22, 23. Gal. iii. 28. and

Col. iii. 11. So *bread* denotes all the necessities of life, in Matt. vi. 11. and numerous other places. The *fatherless* and *widows* are put for any who are in distress or affliction, Isa. i. 17. 23. James i. 27. &c.

II. Irony.

An irony is a figure, in which we speak one thing and design another, in order to give the greater force and vehemence to our meaning. An irony is distinguished from the real sentiments of the speaker or writer, by the accent, the air, the extravagance of the praise, the character of the person, or the nature of the discourse. Very numerous instances of irony are to be found in the Scripture. See Gen. iii. 22. Judg. x. 14. 2 Sam. vi. 20. 1 Kings xviii. 27. one of the finest specimens of this figure occurring in any language. See also Job xii. 2. Eccles. xi. 9. Jer. xxii. 23. Ezek. xx. 39. and xxviii. 3. Amos iv. 4. Matt. ii. 8. xxvi. 45. Mark vii. 9. John vii. 28. compared with John viii. 14. 1 Cor. iv. 8.

Under this figure we may include the Sarcasm, which may be defined to be an irony in its superlative keenness and asperity. As an instance of this kind, we may consider the soldiers' speech to our Lord; when, after they had arrayed him in mock majesty, they bowed the knee before him, and said, *Hail, King of the Jews*, Matt. xxvii. 29. So again, while our Redeemer was suspended on the cross, there were some who thus derided him, *Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe*, Mark xv. 32.

III. Hyperbole.

This figure, in its representation of things or objects, either magnifies or diminishes them beyond or below their proper limits: it is common in all languages, and is of frequent occurrence in the Scripture. Thus things, which are very lofty, are said to reach up to heaven, Gen. xi. 4. Deut. i. 28. ix. 1. Psal. cvii. 26. So, things, which are beyond the reach or capacity of man, are said to be in *heaven*, in the *deep*, or *beyond the sea*, Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7. So, a great quantity or number is commonly expressed by the *sand of the sea*, the *dust of the earth*, and the *stars of heaven*, Gen. xiii. 16. xli. 49. Judges vii. 12. 1 Sam. xiii. 5. 1 Kings iv. 29. 2 Chron. i. 9. Jer. xv. 8. Heb. xi. 12. In like manner we meet, in Numb. xiii. 33. with *smaller than grasshoppers*, to denote extreme diminutiveness: 2 Sam. i. 23. *swifter than eagles*, to intimate extreme celerity. Judges v. 4. the *earth trembled*, verse 5. the mountains *melted*. 1 Kings i. 40. the earth *rent*. Psal. vi. 6. *I make my bed to swim*.

Psal. cxix. 136. *rivers of tears run down mine eyes.* So we read of *angels' food*, Psal. lxxviii. 25. *The face of an angel* in Acts vi. 15.; *the tongue of an angel* in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. See also Gal. i. 8. and iv. 14. In Ezek. xxi. 6. we read *sigh with the breaking of thy loins*, that is, most deeply. So in Luke xix. 40. we read that *the stones would cry out*, and in verse 44. they shall not leave in thee *one stone upon another*; that is, there shall be a total desolation*.

* Glassii Phil. Sacr. tom. iii. pp. 55, 56. 897—916. 1243—1276. 1283—1294. Turretin de Interp. S. S. p. 206.

CHAPTER V.

ON RECONCILING THE APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS OCCURRING
IN THE SCRIPTURES.

ALTHOUGH the sacred writers, being divinely inspired, were necessarily exempted from error in the important truths which they were commissioned to reveal to mankind, yet it is not to be concealed, that, on comparing Scripture with itself, various detached passages are to be found *apparently* contradictory, and which in many instances have been represented as really inconsistent with each other, in order to support the ruined cause of infidelity. Wherever one text of Scriptures seems to contradict another, we should, by a serious consideration of them, endeavour to discover their harmony: for the only way, by which to judge rightly of particular passages in any book, is to consider its whole design, method, and style, and not to criticize some particular parts of it, without bestowing any attention upon the rest. Such is the method adopted by all who would investigate, with judgment, any difficult passages occurring in a profane author; and if a judicious and accurate writer is not to be lightly accused of contradicting himself for any seeming inconsistencies, but is to be reconciled with himself if possible—unquestionably the same equitable principle of interpretation ought to be applied in the investigation of Scripture difficulties. Some passages, indeed, are explained by the Scriptures themselves, which serve as a key to assist us in the elucidation of others. Thus, in one place it is said that *Jesus baptized*, and in another it is stated that *he baptized not*; the former passage is explained to be intended not of baptism performed by himself, but by his disciples, who baptized in his name. Compare John iii. 22. with iv. 1, 2.

The apparent contradictions, occurring in the Scriptures, may be referred to the following classes, viz.—seeming contradictions in the Mosaic Laws—in historical passages—in chronology—between prophecies and their fulfilment—in points of doctrine and morality—in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New—between the sacred writers themselves—between the sacred writers and profane authors—and, lastly, seeming contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things.

SECTION I.

OF APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN THE MOSAIC LAWS.

THE Mosaic economy has been so ably vindicated by Dr. Graves *, and the principles of the Mosaic laws have been examined with such ability and learning by the late Professor Michaelis †, that the biblical student, who is desirous of fully investigating the subject of this section, is necessarily referred to their elaborate works. One or two instances, however, shall be given from the Mosaic Laws, which, though *apparently* contradictory, are nevertheless *really* consistent.

Sometimes one law prohibits what is permitted by another.

Thus, in Levit. xvii. 1—7. the Israelites were prohibited from slaughtering any clean animal, which they were permitted to eat, in any other place except upon the altar at the door of the tabernacle, whither they were to bring it, and to immolate it. The reason assigned for this prohibition in verse 7. is, that they should no longer offer sacrifice unto idols. But in Deut. xii. 15. 20—22. the Israelites, just before they entered Palestine, were permitted to slaughter oxen, sheep, or other clean animals at pleasure, in any part of the country, provided they did not regard them as sacrifices, and abstained from their blood, which the heathens, in their sacrifices, were accustomed to drink. Now, between these two passages there is an apparent contradiction; but it may be readily accounted for, when we consider that the laws of Moses were necessarily regulated by the circumstances of the Israelites, and that they were not intended to be absolutely unalterable. The law in question might be observed in the wilderness, where the Israelites kept near together, and, from their poverty, ate but little animal food: but in Palestine, and when their circumstances were improved, it would have been an intolerable grievance, for many of them lived at the distance of several days journey from the sanctuary, at which alone offerings could be made; and they must, consequently, either have altogether denied themselves the use of the flesh of oxen, sheep, and goats, or else have travelled long journeys to present them at the altar before they could taste it. But, in fact, Moses

* Lectures on the Four last Books of the Pentateuch, 2 vols. 8vo. second edition, 1815.

† Commentaries on the Law of Moses, translated by the Rev. Dr. Smith, 4 vols. 8vo. 1814.

himself shows that Lev. xvii. 1—7. was a *temporary law*, intended only for their situation in the wilderness, by the phrase “without or within the camp.” And in the law last promulgated, (Deut. xii. 15. 20—22.) in the fortieth year of their pilgrimage, just before their entrance into Palestine, he explicitly declares it repealed, as soon as they should abide there, permitting them to kill and eat the flesh of oxen, sheep, &c. any where, as already noticed. He tells them, that they might then eat them even *as the hart and the roe*, that is, with as full liberty, and likewise without the smallest idea of offering them; for the hart and the roe were not allowed to be brought to the altar. *

Again, it has been asserted by some, that the law of Moses, (Levit. xxvii. 28.) concerning devoted things to be put to death, authorized human sacrifices: and Jephthah’s sacrificing his daughter, (Judg. xi. 34. &c.) Samuel’s hewing Agag in pieces before the Lord, (1 Sam. xv. 33.) and David’s delivering seven of Saul’s posterity to the Gibeonites to be put to death by them, (2 Sam. xxi. 2. &c.) have been represented as instances of human sacrifices according to that law. But as there are express prohibitions of sacrificing their children in Deut. xii. 30, 31. Psal. cvi. 37, 38. Jer. vii. 31. and Ezek. xvi. 20, 21.; so, there not only is no direction to sacrifice any other human creature, nor are there any rites appointed for such sacrifice, but also it would have rendered the priest unclean, by touching a dead body; and the sacrifice of a man is expressly declared to be abominable in Isa. lxvi. 3. As no devoted thing could be sacrificed at all, the law in question cannot possibly relate to sacrifice, and is capable of a very different meaning†. For, although Josephus, and many commentators after him, are of opinion that Jephthah did really immolate his daughter, the probability is that she was not sacrificed. And this will appear from the rendering of the conversive particle ׀ (*vau*), which the preceding considerations require to be taken disjunctively, and translated OR instead of AND, both in Levit. xxvii. 28. ‡ and also in Judges

* Michaelis’s Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii. pp. 414, 415. vol. i. pp. 28—33.

† Gerard’s Institutes, p. 446.

‡ That this passage should be so rendered, has been proved by Dr. Hales. It will then run thus:—*Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, which a man shall devote unto THE LORD, of all that he hath, [either] of man or of beast, or of land of his own property, shall be sold or redeemed. Every thing devoted is most holy unto the Lord.* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 320.

xi. 30, 31. * What further confirms this rendering, and consequently reconciles these two passages, is, that Jephthah's rashness had time to cool, as his daughter went two months to bewail her *virginity*, that is, her consecration to God, which obliged her to remain single, without posterity. It is further said, that she went to bewail her *virginity*, not her *sacrifice*. Besides, the Israelitish women went four times in every year to mourn or talk WITH (not for) the daughter of Jephthah, to lament her seclusion from the world, and the hardship of her situation, as cut off from every domestic enjoyment. Now, if in the course of two months no person could have suggested to Jephthah a ransom for his daughter, yet surely she must have been alive, though dead to him and his family (as his only child), and to the world by her seclusion, if the Israelitish women went to condole with her. It is further worthy of remark, that it is not afterwards said, that he actually *sacrificed* her, but that "*he did with her according to his vow.*" The sacred historian subjoins, *she knew no man*: if she were sacrificed, this remark is frivolous; but if she were devoted to perpetual virginity, this idea coincides with the visits of the Israelitish women. On the whole, we may safely conclude, that Jephthah's daughter was *not* sacrificed, but consecrated to a state of celibacy. †

With respect to the two other cases above mentioned, viz. the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and the delivery of seven of Saul's posterity to the Gibeonites, they have no reference whatever to sacrifices. Agag, in particular, was put to death as a *criminal*, and not as a sacrifice. ‡

* Which verses are to be translated thus:—"And Jephthah vowed a vow unto THE LORD, and said, If thou wilt surely give the children of Ammon into my hand, then it shall be that whatsoever cometh out of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall either be the Lord's, OR I will offer it up [for] a burnt-offering." New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 320.

† Ibid. pp. 320—323. Calmet's Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 158, &c. 4to edit. Additions to Calmet.

‡ Hales, vol. ii. p. 321.

SECTION II.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN HISTORICAL PASSAGES.

MOST of the seeming contradictions in Scripture are found in the historical parts, where their connexion with the great subject or scope is less considerable; and they may not unfrequently be traced to the errors of transcribers or of the press. The apparent contradictions, in the historical passages of Scripture, arise from the different circumstances related, — from things being related in a different order by the sacred writers, — from differences in numbers, — and from differences in the relation of events in one place, and references to those events in another.

§ 1. *Apparent contradictions in the different circumstances related.*

These arise from various causes, as, the sources whence the inspired writers drew their relations—the different designs of the sacred writers, erroneous readings, obscure or ambiguous expressions, transpositions in the order of narrating, and sometimes from several of these causes combined.

1. Apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arise *from the different sources whence the inspired writers drew their narratives.* For instance, in the brief accounts recorded by Matthew and Mark respecting the birth and childhood of Jesus Christ, from whom could they have derived their information? They could not have become acquainted with those circumstances, unless from the particulars communicated by his relatives according to the flesh; and, as it has been frequently remarked, it is highly probable that they received their information from Mary and Joseph, or others of the family of Jesus. How easy, then, is it for some trifling variations to creep into such accounts of infancy as are preserved by oral relation; all of which, though differing, are nevertheless perfectly consistent with the truth! Again, during our Lord's three years circuit in Palestine, Matthew and John were constantly his disciples and companions: the source of *their* narratives, therefore, was ocular testimony: while Luke and Mark, not having been Christ's disciples, related things as they were communicated to them by the apostles and others, who *from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*, as Saint Luke himself expressly states at the commence-

ment of his Gospel. Under such circumstances, how is it possible that some discrepancies should not appear in the writings of such persons? Yet these discrepancies, as we shall presently see, are so far from affecting their credibility as historians, that, on the contrary, they confirm their veracity and correctness. The same remark will apply to the history of our Lord's death and resurrection, as well as to the account of the sermon delivered on the mount and on the plain.

2. Seeming contradictions, in the different circumstances related, may also arise *from the different designs which the sacred writers had in the composition of their narratives*: for the difference of design will necessarily lead to a corresponding selection of circumstances. Thus, the design of the two books of Samuel, especially of the second book, is, to relate the various steps which conduced to the wonderful elevation of David from a low condition to the throne of Judah first, and after seven years and six months to that of Israel, together with the battles and occurrences which led to that great event, and secured to him the possession of his kingdom: and then at the close (2 Sam. xxxiii.) we have a catalogue to perpetuate the memory of those warriors, who had been particularly instrumental in promoting the success and establishing the glory of their royal master. But in the first book of Chronicles the history of David begins with him as king, and immediately mentions the heroes of his armies, and then proceeds to an abridgement of the events of his reign. This difference of design will account for the variations occurring in the two principal chapters containing the history of those heroes: for in 1 Chron. xi. they are recorded in the beginning of David's reign, with Joab introduced at their head, and the reason assigned for his being so particularly distinguished; but in the concluding chapter of Samuel, when the history of David's reign had already been given, *there* the name of Joab is omitted, since no one could forget that he was David's *chief mighty man*, when he had been mentioned, in almost every page, as *captain-general* of the armies of Israel.*

The difference of design also will satisfactorily explain the seeming difference between the genealogies of our Saviour, given by the evangelists Matthew and Luke, which comprize a period of four thousand years, from Adam to Joseph his

* Dr. Kennicott's First Dissertation, pp. 13—15. The subsequent part of this very learned volume is appropriated to an elaborate comparison of the discrepancies between 1 Chron. xi. and 2 Sam. v. and xxiii. to which the reader is referred.

reputed father, or to Mary his mother. The genealogy given by Saint Matthew was principally designed for the *Jews*; and therefore it traces the pedigree of Jesus Christ, as the promised seed, downwards from Abraham to David, and from him through Solomon's line to Jacob the father of Joseph, who was the reputed or *legal* father of Christ (Matt. i. 1—16.) That given by Saint Luke was intended for the *Gentiles*, and traces the pedigree upwards from Heli, the father of Mary, to David, through the line of his son Nathan, and from Nathan to Abraham, concurring with the former, and from Abraham up to Adam, who was the immediate "son of God," born without father or mother, (Luke iii. 23—38).

That Saint Luke gives the pedigree of Mary the real mother of Christ, may be collected from the following reasons:

"1. The angel Gabriel, at the annunciation, told the virgin, that "God would give her divine Son the throne of *his father David*," (Luke i. 32.); and this was necessary to be proved, by her genealogy, afterwards. 2. Mary is called by the Jews בַּת עֲלִי, "the daughter of Eli," Lightfoot on Luke iii. 23. and by the early Christian writers, "the daughter of Joakim and Anna." But Joakim and Eliakim (as being derived from the names of God, יְהוָה, Iahoh, and אֵל, Æl) are sometimes interchanged, (2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.) Eli therefore, or Heli, is the abridgment of Eliakim. Nor is it of any consequence that the Rabbins called him אֵלִי, instead of אֵלִיָּא, the aspirates Aleph and Ain being frequently interchanged. 3. A similar case in point occurs elsewhere in the genealogy. After the Babylonish captivity, the two lines of Solomon and Nathan, the sons of David, unite in the generations of Salathiel and Zorobabel, and thence diverge again in the sons of the latter, Abiud and Resa. Hence, as Salathiel in Matthew, was the son of Jechoniah, or Jehoiachin, who was carried away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, so in Luke, Salathiel must have been the grandson of Neri, by his mother's side. 4. The evangelist himself has critically distinguished the *real* from the *legal* genealogy, by a parenthetical remark: Ἰησοῦς—ὡς ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, [ἀλλ' οὕτως υἱὸς]) τοῦ Ἠλίου. "Jesus—being (as was reputed), the son of Joseph, [but in reality] the son of Heli," or his grandson by the *mother's* side; for so should the ellipsis involved in the parenthesis be supplied.*" This interpretation of

* Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 699, 700. In pp. 700—704 he has considered and accounted for particular seeming discrepancies between the evangelists Matthew and Luke. But the fullest discussion of the subject is to be found in Dr. Barrett's Preliminary Dissertation prefixed to his edition of the Fragments of Saint

the genealogy in Saint Luke's Gospel, if it be admitted, removes at once every difficulty; and (as Bishop Gleig has truly remarked) it is so natural and consistent with itself, that, we think, it can hardly be rejected, except by those who are determined, that "seeing they will not see, and hearing they will not understand."

But the difference in the circumstances related, arising from the difference in design of the sacred writers, is to be found chiefly in those cases, where the same event is narrated very briefly by one evangelist, and is described more copiously by another. An example of this kind we have in the account of our Lord's three-fold temptation in the wilderness, which is related more at length by Saint Matthew and Luke, while Mark has given a very brief epitome of that occurrence. But these variations, which arise from differences of design, do not present a *shadow* of contradiction or discrepancy: for it is well known that Saint Matthew wrote his Gospel a few years after our Lord's ascension, while the church wholly consisted of converts from Judaism. Saint Mark's Gospel, probably written at Rome, was adapted to the state of the church there, which consisted of a mixture of converts who had been Pagans and Jews. He inserts many direct or oblique explanations of passages in Saint Matthew's Gospel, in order to render them more intelligible to the converts from Paganism. The Gospel of Saint Luke was written for the immediate use of the converts from Heathenism: several parts of it appear to be particularly adapted to display the divine goodness to the Gentiles. Hence he traces up Christ's lineage to Adam, to signify that he was THE SEED of the woman promised to our first parents, and the Saviour of all their posterity. He marks the era of Christ's birth, and the time when John the Baptist began to announce the Gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors. Saint John, who wrote long after the other evangelists, appears to have designed his Gospel to be partly as a supplement to the others, in order to preserve several discourses of our Lord, or facts

Matthew's Gospel, from a Codex Rescriptus in Trinity College Library at Dublin, (*Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis juxta Dublin, &c.* 4to. Dublin, 1801.) In this dissertation he examines and notices the difficulties of the hypothesis proposed by Africanus, a father of the third century, preserved by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 7.) and translated by Dr. Lardner (Works, vol. i. pp. 436—438), and which Africanus professed to have received from some of our Lord's relatives. As Dr. Barrett's book is scarce, and comparatively little known, it may gratify the reader to learn that a copious and faithful abstract of it is given in the Eclectic Review for 1807, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 586—594, 678—698; and also with some additional observations by Dr. A. Clarke, at the end of his Commentary on Luke iii.

relating to him which had been omitted by the other evangelists; but chiefly to check the heresies which were beginning to appear in the church, and (as he himself declares xx. 31.) to establish the true doctrine concerning the divinity and mediatorial character of Christ. *

But the differences, thus subsisting in the respective narratives of the evangelists, do not in any degree whatever affect their credibility. The transactions related are still true and actual transactions, and capable of being readily comprehended, although there may be a trifling discrepancy in some particulars. We know, for instance, that a discourse was delivered by our Lord, so sublime, so replete with momentous instruction, as to extort the exclamation, *Never man spake like this man!* But whether this discourse was delivered on a mountain or on a plain, is a matter of no moment whatever. In like manner, although there are *circumstantial* differences in the accounts of our Lord's resurrection from the dead; the thing itself may be known, and its truth ascertained.† A narrative is not to be rejected, by reason of some *diversity* of circumstances with which it is related: for the character of human testimony is, *substantial* truth under circumstantial variety; but a close agreement induces suspicion of confederacy and fraud. Important variations, and even contradictions, are not always deemed sufficient to shake the credibility of a fact: and if this circumstance be allowed to operate in favour of profane historians, it ought at least to be admitted with equal weight in reference to the sacred writers. It were no difficult task to give numerous instances of differences between profane historians. Two or three may suffice. It is well known that Julius Cæsar wrote histories both of the civil war, and of the war in Gaul: the same events are related by Dion Cassius, as well as by Plutarch in his lives of Pompey and Cæsar. The transactions recorded by Suetonius are also related by Dion, and many of them by Livy and Polybius. What discrepancies are discoverable between these writers! Yet Livy and Polybius are not considered as liars on this account, but we endeavour by various ways to harmonize their discordant narratives, conscious that, even when we fail, these discordances do not affect

* The topic here briefly noticed is ably illustrated by the late Rev. Dr. Townson in his *Discourses on the Four Gospels, chiefly with regard to the peculiar design of each*, &c. (Works, vol. i. pp. 1—274.)

† It is foreign to the plan of this work to enter into a detail of the evidences of Christianity arising from the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. An able summary of them may be seen in Dr. Paley's *Evidences*, vol. ii. pp. 191—198, and in the larger treatises of Mr. West and Dr. Cook.

the general credibility of their histories. Again, the embassy of the Jews to the emperor Claudian is placed, by Philo in *harvest*, and by Josephus in *seed-time*: yet the existence of this embassy was never called in question. To come nearer to our own times: Lord Clarendon states that the Marquis of Argyle was condemned to be *hanged*, which sentence was executed on the same day: *four* other historians affirm that he was beheaded upon the *Monday*, having been condemned on the *preceding Saturday*; yet this contradiction never led any person to doubt, whether the marquis was executed or not.

Much of the discrepancy in the Gospels arises from omission, which is always an uncertain ground of objection. Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion Cassius, have all written an account of the reign of Tiberius; and each has omitted many things mentioned by the rest, yet their credit is not impeached. And these differences will be more numerous, when men do not write histories but *memoirs* (which, Dr. Paley thinks, is perhaps the true name of the Gospels), that is, when they do *not* undertake to deliver, in the order of time, a regular account of *all* things of importance which the subject of the history said and did, but only such passages as were suggested by their *particular design* at the time of writing.*

3. A third source of apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arises from *false readings*, or from *obscure and ambiguous expressions*, or from *transpositions in the order of relating*, and sometimes from several of these causes combined†. The only way, by which to reconcile these repugnances, is to call in the aid of sacred criticism; which, when judiciously applied, will in most instances, if not in every case, remove them.

Thus, in Gen. xxix. 1—8. we have a dialogue, in which no man is mentioned but Jacob, the only living creatures present being three flocks of sheep: yet these are represented as conversing, rolling away the stone, and watering the sheep. This appearance of contradiction probably originated, first, in some transcriber writing הֶעֱרִיִם, *flocks*, for הֶזְרִיעִים, *shepherds*, in three places; and, secondly, from verse 3. expressing what *customarily* happened, not what then had actually taken place‡; and this mistake, having obtained in some copy of

* Mori Acroases in Ernesti Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp. 26—30. Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 274—279.

† Gerard's Institutes, p. 426. § 1147. Jahnii Enchiridion Herm. Gen. cap. vi. De Compositione Εὐαγγελισμῶν, p. 137.

‡ The vulgate version so renders verse 3. *Morisque erat ut cunctis ovibus (lege pastoribus) congregatis devolverent lapidem, &c.*

high repute, has been transcribed into all the later manuscripts. That the above mistake has actually been made, appears from the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, from the Arabic version in the English Polyglott, (which has preserved the true reading in verses 3 and 8), and from the Greek version. The true reading therefore, as Houbigant and Dr. Kennicott contend, is *shepherds*, not *flocks*, and the third verse should be read parenthetically. *

Having thus stated the various causes of apparent contradictions in the different circumstances related by the inspired writers, we shall proceed to illustrate the preceding remarks.

I. *The names of persons and places are respectively liable to change.*

Thus, the name of one person is sometimes given to another, either as they are types of them,—so *Christ* is called *David*, (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.) and *Zerubbabel*, (Hag. ii. 23.)—or, on account of some resemblance between them, as in Isa. i. 10. Ezek. xvi. 3. 46. Mal. iv. 5. with Matt. xi. 14. and John i. 21. Rev. ii. 20. and xviii. 2. So *Hell* derives its name, in many languages, from the valley of the children of Hinnom, on account of the wickedness there committed, and the dreadful cries formerly heard in that place. In like manner, the place of the great slaughter (Rev. xvi. 16.) has its name from the place of the memorable battle where Josiah was slain, 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

II. *The name of the head of a tribe or nation is sometimes given to their posterity.*

Thus, Edom or Esau is put for the Edomites, who were the descendants of Esau, in Numb. xx. 18. Gen. xxxvi. 1. and Obadiah 1. 6. Some additional instances of this remark are given *supra* p. 379; and very numerous similar examples are to be found in the sacred writings, which it is unnecessary to specify.

III. *Sometimes names remain, after the reason for which they were given, or the thing whence they were taken, has ceased to exist.*

* Houbigant in loc. Dr. Kennicott's Dissertation i. on the Hebrew text, pp. 360—365. The proper version of the passage above referred to will be thus: "Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east: 2. And he looked, and behold a well in a field; and, lo, three *shepherds* were lying by it, for out of that well they watered their flocks; and a great stone was upon the well's mouth. (And there all the *shepherds* usually met together, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep; and put the stone again upon the well's mouth, in its place.) 4—7. And Jacob said, &c. &c. 8. And they said, We cannot, until all the *shepherds* shall be gathered together, and roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep."

Aaron's rod, for instance, retained its name when changed into a serpent, Exod. vii. 12. So Matthew is called a publican, because he had formerly followed that calling. Simon the leper is so termed because he had formerly been afflicted with the leprosy, Matt. xxvi. 6. So it is said in Matt. xi. 5. that the blind see, and the deaf hear, that is, those who had been blind and deaf. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xxi. 31. *The publicans and harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven*, that is, those who had been such, not those who continue so. (Compare 1 Cor. vi. 9.)

IV: *The same persons or places sometimes have several names.* Thus Esau's wife is called Bashemath in Gen. xxvi. 34. and Adah in Gen. xxxvi. 2. Gideon is called Jerubbaal in Judges vi. 32. and vii. 1. Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are the same person, Ezra i. 8. compared with Ezra v. 14. Almost numberless similar instances might be adduced from the Old Testament: nor are examples wanting in the New. Thus, he who was nominated for the apostleship, is called Joseph, Barsabas, and Justus, (Acts. i. 23.) Joses and Barnabas are the names of the same apostle. Simon, it is well known, was called Peter, and, Saint John excepted, all the other apostles had more names than one. In like manner, the same *places* are distinguished by several names: as Enmishphat and Kadesh, Gen. xiv. 7. Hermon, Sirion, Shenir, Deut. iii. 9. Magdala in Matt. xv. 39. is termed Dalmanutha in Mark viii. 10. and the country of the Gergesenes, in Matt. viii. 28., is in Mark v. 1. called that of the Gadarenes. *

V. *Many persons and places also have the same name.* There was one Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun, Josh. xix. 15. and another in the tribe of Judah, Matt. ii. 6. Luke ii. 4. There were two towns called Cana, Josh. xix. 28. John ii. 1. Several Cesareas, Matt. xvi. 13. Acts ix. 30. and xviii. 22. Several *Zechariahs*, as in 1 Chron. v. 7. xv. 20. xxiv. 25. &c. 2 Chron. xvii. 7. xx. 14. Zech. i. 1. Luke i. 5. Matt. xxiii. 35. The Zechariah in this last cited passage was probably the person mentioned in 2 Chron. xx. 14., and the name of the father has been added *since*, by some transcriber, who took it from the title of the prophecy. Several *Herods*, as, 1. *Herod the Great*, in whose reign our Redeemer was incarnate, Matt. ii. i. and by whom the infants at Bethlehem were massacred, Matt. ii. 16. 2. *Herod Antipas*, surnamed the Tetrarch, Matt. iv. 3. by whom John the Baptist was mur-

* See some additional examples, p. 104. *supra*.

dered, Matt. xiv. 10., and our Saviour was mocked and set at nought, Luke xxiii. 11. 3. *Herod Agrippa*, who slew the apostle James, Acts xii. 2, 3. and miserably perished, verse 23.* So, there are some names which appear to have been common to several, if not to all, the successive kings of a country. Thus, Pharaoh was the general name of the kings of Egypt, Gen. xii. 15. xxxix. 1. Exodus i—xv. *passim*. 1 Kings iii. 1. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Isa. xix. 11. Jer. xxv. 19. xlv. 30. and xlv. 17. and very frequently in the prophecy of Ezekiel: and that this was the constant title of the Egyptian kings, is further attested by Josephus † and Suidas ‡. Artaxerxes was the common name of the whole race of Persian kings; as Abimelech was of the Philistines, Gen. xx. 2. xxvi. 8. and xxxiv. 1. compared with 1 Sam. xxi. 11. and the title to Psal. xxxiv.; and Agag of the Amalekites, as may be inferred from Numb. xxiv. 7. compared with 1 Sam. xv. 8.

VI. *The differences in names, occurring in the Scriptures, are sometimes occasioned by false readings, and can only be reconciled by correcting these; but the true name may in such cases be distinguished from the erroneous one, by the usage of Scripture in other places, as well as from the Samaritan Pentateuch, the antient versions, and Josephus §.* The following instances will illustrate this remark. Hadarezer, 1 Chron. xviii. 3. ought to be Hadadezer, as in 2 Sam. viii. 3. a Resh being mistaken for a Daleth. *Achan* should be Achar, (a Resh being put for a Nun), Josh. vii. 18—26. 1 Chron. ii. 7. || Jashobbashebat, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. (marg. rend.) should be Jashobeam, as in 1 Chron. xi. 11. and xxvii. 2.** *Bathshua, the daughter of Amiel*, in 1 Chron. iii. 5. should be *Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam*, as in 2 Sam. xi. 3. the two last letters of the father's name being transposed, and the two first put last ††. *Azariah*, in 2 Kings xiv. 21. should be Uzziah, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 1. and elsewhere; which reading is adopted, or nearly so, by the Arabic and Syriac versions ‡‡. *Jehoahaz*, in 1 Chron. xxi. 17. should be Ahazihu, or Ahaziah, as in 2 Kings viii. 24. and elsewhere §§. The name of the great king Nebuchadnezzar is spelled seven different ways |||.

* See an account of the Herodian family, pp. 65—75. *supra*.

† Antiq. l. viii. c. 6. § 2.

‡ Suidas, in voce.

§ Gerard's Institutes, p. 427.

|| Kennicott, Dissert. i. pp. 89, 90.

** Ibid. pp. 70—78.

†† Ibid. p. 463.

‡‡ Ibid. pp. 478—480.

§§ Ibid. pp. 489, 490.

||| Ibid. Dissert. ii. pp. 503—505.

§ 2. *Apparent Contradictions, from things being related in a different order by the Sacred Writers.*

I. The Scriptures being as it were a compendious record of important events, we are not to infer that these took place exactly in the order narrated: for frequently things are related together, between which many things intervened while they were transacting. Neither are we to conclude that a thing is not done, because it is not related in the history of other things happening in the same age. Thus, in Numb. xxxiii. we have a particular account of the journeyings of the Israelites, which are not noticed in their proper place in the book of Exodus. In the Four Gospels especially, we find that each of the evangelists did not relate every word and thing; but one frequently omits what has been related by the rest, while that which has been briefly noticed by one, is recorded at length by the others; and two evangelists, when relating the same fact, do not always observe the order of time. Thus, in John xii. 1—3. Jesus Christ is said to have been anointed at Bethany *six days before the passover*; yet Saint Matthew, (xxvi. 2. 6. 7.) takes no notice of this remarkable circumstance till within two days of the feast. “The reason is manifest. It was at this time that Judas offered to the chief priests and elders to betray him: and the evangelist, intending to relate his treachery, returns to give an account of the event which prompted him to it. The rebuke which he received in the house of Simon, when he complained of the waste of ointment, had irritated his proud disaffected heart, and inspired him with sentiments of revenge. The mention of the unction of our Saviour, which was preparatory to his burial, reminds us of another observation, which is of use in removing difficulties, namely, that two facts may much resemble each other, and yet not be the same. Although they differ, therefore, in some circumstances, while they agree in others, it is through haste and inattention that, on this account, we charge the Scriptures with contradiction. The anointing of Christ, six days before the passover, is evidently different from the anointing recorded in the seventh chapter of Luke. The two incidents agree, as both happened at table, and in the house of a person named Simon: but, on considering the passages, they appear to have taken place at different times*.” Apparent contradictions of this kind are so numerous in the Gospels,

* Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, pp. 300, 301.

that it would almost require a harmony of them to be constructed, were we here to specify them: and from these discrepancies have originated harmonies, or connected histories, compiled from the writings of the evangelists, in the structure of which different theories of arrangement have been adopted, in order to reconcile their seeming discrepancies.

Other additional instances of things that are mentioned as having happened, but of which no notice is taken in the sacred histories, occur in Gen. xxxi. 7, 8. the changing of Jacob's wages *ten times*, that is, frequently; in Psal. cv. 18. Joseph's feet being hurt with fetters; in Hosea xii. 4. Jacob's weeping; in Acts vii. 23—30. several things concerning Moses; in Acts xx. 35. a saying of our Lord; in 1 Cor. xv. 7. an appearance of Christ to Saint James; in 2 Tim. iii. 8. Jannes withstanding Moses; in Heb. ix. 19. Moses sprinkling the book as well as the people with blood; and Heb. xii. 21. a saying of Moses. Jude 9. Michael's contending for the body of Moses; and verse 14. Enoch's prophecy; and in Rev. ii. 14. Balaam teaching Balak to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel: all which things might be known by revelation, or by personal communication, as in the case of Christ's appearance to James, who was evidently living when Paul mentioned it, or by tradition, or by the history of those times, as some of the circumstances above adverted to are mentioned by Josephus.

II. Things are not always recorded in the Scriptures exactly in the same method and order in which they were done; whence apparent contradictions arise, events being sometimes introduced by anticipation, and sometimes by *υστερωσις*, in which the natural order is inverted, and things are related first which ought to appear last.

Events introduced by anticipation. The creation of man in Gen. i. 27.; which, after several other things inserted, is related more at large, particularly the creation of Adam, in Gen. ii. 7. and of Eve, in verses 21—23. The death of Isaac, (Gen. xxxv. 29.) is anticipated, as several transactions, especially those in chapters xxxvii. and xxxviii. must have happened during his life: it was probably thus anticipated, that the history of Joseph might not be disturbed. Isaac is supposed to have lived at least twelve years after Joseph was sold into Egypt. In Exod. xvi. 33. we read of the keeping of the pot of manna, which was not done till many years after. In Matt. xxvi. 21. and Mark xiv. 18. our Saviour is recorded to have intimated by whom he was to be betrayed *while eat-*

ing the passover; which Saint Luke, (xxii. 21.) shows to have been *after* the institution of the Lord's Supper: the order of Luke therefore is the true one. The imprisonment of John is set down, in Luke iii. 19. *before* the baptism of Christ, whereas it happened *after* he had entered on his public ministry. The same occurrence is related by Saint Matthew and the other evangelists, *per υστερολογειαι*, on occasion of Herod's consternation.

Events related first which ought to have been placed last. The calling of Abraham to depart from Ur in Chaldæa, in Gen. xii. 1. for it preceded that departure which is related in ch. xi. 31. Compare Gen. xv. 7. with Acts vii. 3. The history of Judah in Gen. xxxviii. for most of the particulars related happened before the sale of Joseph. In Luke iv. 9. the carrying and placing of Christ on one of the battlements of the temple is related *after* his being transported to an exceeding high mountain; whereas it certainly preceded it, as appears from Matt. iv. 5. 8. who has distinctly noted the order of the temptations*.

III. A thing is sometimes attributed to one, who was formerly an example of any action. See an instance of this in Jude 11.

IV. Actions or things are sometimes said to be done, when they are not already done, but upon the point of being accomplished, or (as we usually say), "as good as done."

And in this language Christ ordinarily spoke a little before his death, as in Matt. xxvi. 24. the son of man *goeth*, &c. verse 45. the son of man *is* betrayed. So, Mark xiv. 41. Luke xxii. 19, 20. which *is* given, which *is* shed, and verse 37. the things concerning me *have* an end. A similar expression occurs in Isa. ix. 6. to us a child *is* born; to us a son *is* given, &c. and in Rev. xviii. 2. Babylon *is* fallen, *is* fallen.

So, actions or things are said to be done, which are only *declared* to be so, Gen. xxvii. 37. *I have made him thy Lord*, that is, foretold that he shall be so. Gen. xxxv. 12. *The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac*, that is, promised or foretold should be theirs. See like instances in Numb. xvi. 7. Job v. 3. Jer. i. 10. xv. 1. and xxv. 15.

So, actions or things are said to be done, which only *seem* or *are reputed* to be done: as in Josh. ii. 7. it is said, the men *pursued* after the spies, which they believed they were doing, at the very time when the spies were concealed. So, a thing is said

* Glassii Philologia Sacra, tom. i. pp. 668—671.

to be done by him who only *desires* or *endeavours* to accomplish it, or uses proper means for that purpose. See examples of this in Gen. xxxvii. 21. Esther viii. 5. Ezek. xxiv. 13. 1 Cor. x. 33. &c.

§ 3. *Apparent Contradictions, arising from Differences in Numbers.*

Apparent contradictions in the sacred writings, arising from the difference of numbers, proceed from the Scriptures speaking in whole or round numbers,—from numbers being taken sometimes exclusively and sometimes inclusively,—from various readings,—and from the writers of the New Testament sometimes quoting numbers from the Alexandrian version, not from the Hebrew text.

I. *The Scriptures sometimes speak in whole, or, as we usually term them, round numbers; though an odd or imperfect number would be more exact.*

Thus Stephen, (Acts vii. 6.) states that the children of Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred years, leaving out the odd tens. Moses, (Exod. xii. 40.) states their sojourning to be four hundred and thirty years, as also does Paul, Gal. iii. 17. and Josephus *. Though the Israelites themselves resided in Egypt only two hundred and some odd years, yet the full time of their peregrination was four hundred and thirty years, if we reckon from the calling of Abraham and his departure from Ur, until the Israelites quitted Egypt; and that this is the proper reckoning appears from the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch; which, in all its printed editions and manuscripts, as well as the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, reads the passage in Exod. xii. 40. thus: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, which they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years †.* In Numb. xiv. 33. it is denounced to the murmuring Israelites that they should wander forty years in the wilderness: but if we compare Numb. xxxiii. 3. with Josh. iv. 19. we shall find that some days, if not weeks, were wanting to complete the number: but, forty years being a round and entire number, and because in so many years a few days were inconsiderable, therefore Moses delivers it in this manner. The same remark applies to Judges xi. 26. relative to the sojourning of the Israelites in the land of the

* Antiq. l. iii. c. i. § 9. De Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 9. § 4.

† Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 396—398.

Amorites. The twelve apostles are also mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 5. though Judas was no more; and Abimelech is said to have slain seventy persons, though Jotham escaped. Compare Judges ix. 18. 56. with verse 5.

II. *Sometimes numbers are to be taken exclusively, and sometimes inclusively.*

So, that which is said to be after *six* days in Matt. xvii. 1. and Mark ix. 2. is said to be *eight* days after in Luke ix. 28. In the two former passages, the first and last days are excluded, and the intermediate days only are reckoned; but in the latter they are both included. So in John xx. 26. *eight days after* are probably to be understood inclusively; it being most likely on that day se'nnight on which Jesus Christ had before appeared to his disciples. It were unnecessary to subjoin additional examples of a mode of reckoning which obtains to this day in common speech, and in almost every writer, except those who professedly treat on chronology.

III. *Differences in numbers not unfrequently arise from false readings.*

As the Hebrews antiently used the letters of their alphabet to denote *numbers*, many of those numbers, which to us appear almost incredible in some places, and contradictory in others, are owing to mistakes in some of the similar letters. Thus, in 2 Kings viii. 26. we read that Ahaziah was *twenty-two* years old when he began to reign; but in 2 Chron. xxii. 2. he is said to have been *forty-two* years old; which is impossible, as he could not be born *two* years before Jehoram his father, who was only forty years old. *Twenty-two* years, therefore, is the proper reading, a Kaph, whose numeral power is twenty, being put for a Mem, whose numeral power is forty. In like manner, in 2 Sam. viii. 4. and x. 18. we read seven hundred, which in 1 Chron. xviii. 4. and xix. 18. is seven thousand, the proper number. *

As the Jews antiently appear to have expressed numbers by marks analogous to our common figures, the corruption (and consequently the seeming contradiction) may be accounted for, from the transcribers having carelessly added or omitted a single cipher. Thus, in 1 Sam. vi. 19. we read that the Lord smote fifty thousand and seventy Philistines for looking into the ark; which number, in the Arabic and Syriac versions, is five thousand and seventy†. In 1 Kings iv. 26. we are told that Solomon had forty thousand stalls for horses, which

* Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 96—99. 462, 463. Diss. ii. p. 209. Other similar remarks are interspersed in the same elaborate volumes.

† Ibid. Diss. i. p. 532. Diss. ii. p. 208.

number, in 2 Chron. ix. 25. is only four thousand, and is most probably correct, a cipher having been added *. In 2 Chron. xiii. 3. 18. we meet with the following numbers, four hundred thousand, eight hundred thousand, and five hundred thousand, which, in several of the old editions of the Vulgate Latin Bible, are forty thousand, eighty thousand, and fifty thousand: the latter are probably the true numbers †.

By the application of this rule, some critics have endeavoured to reconcile the difference relative to the hour of Christ's crucifixion, which by Mark (xv. 25.) is stated to be the *third*, and by Saint John (xix. 14.) the *sixth* hour: for, as in antient times all numbers were written in manuscripts, not at length, but with numeral letters, it was easy for Γ, three, to be taken for ς, six. Of this opinion are Griesbach, in his elaborate edition of the New Testament, Semler, Rosenmüller, Doddridge, Whitby, Bengel, Cocceius, Beza, Erasmus, and by far the greater part of the most eminent critics. What further renders this correction probable is, that besides the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Stephani (of the eighth century), there are four other manuscripts, which read τετρη, *the third*, in John xix. 14. as well as the Alexandrian Chronicle, which professes to cite accurate manuscripts—even the autograph copy of Saint John himself. Such also is the opinion of Severus Antiochenus, Ammonius, and some others, cited by Theophylact on the passage; to whom must be added Nonnus, a Greek poet of Panopolis in Egypt, who flourished in the fifth century, and wrote a poetical paraphrase of the Gospel of Saint John, and who also found τετρη in the manuscript used by him. ‡

IV. *Apparent contradictions in the numbers of the New Testament arise from the sacred writers sometimes quoting the numbers of the Septuagint or Alexandrian version, not those of the Hebrew text.*

This is evidently the case in Acts vii. 14. where Jacob's family is stated, at the time of his going into Egypt, to have consisted of *threescore and fifteen souls*; whereas Moses, in Gen. xlv. 27. fixes it at *threescore and ten souls*. What further confirms this remark is, that the Septuagint version of Gen. xlv. 20. enumerates *five persons* more than the Hebrew,

* Kennicott, Diss. i. p. 532. Diss. ii. p. 208.

† Ibid. Diss. i. p. 532—534. Diss. ii. pp. 196—218. Other examples occur in Diss. ii. pp. 219, *et seq.*

‡ See Griesbach, Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Doddridge, Whitby, Dr. A. Clarke, and other commentators on the passage in question.

which, being added to the threescore and ten mentioned by Moses, exhibits the exact number, seventy-five*. To this we may add (although it does not strictly belong to numbers) the well-known passage, Luke iii. 36. where, in giving the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the evangelist notices a Cainan, whose name does not occur in the pedigree recorded by Moses, but

* Various other solutions have been given, in order to reconcile this seeming difference between the numbers of Jacob's family, as related in the Old and New Testaments: the most *satisfactory* of all is the following one of Dr. Hales; which, by a critical comparison of Gen. xlv. 27. with Acts vii. 14. completely reconciles the apparent discrepancy.

"Moses," he remarks, "states that 'all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which issued from his loins (except his sons' wives) were sixty-six souls,' Gen. xlv. 26. and this number is thus collected:

Jacob's children, eleven sons and one daughter	-	-	12
Reuben's sons	-	-	4
Simeon's sons	-	-	6
Levi's sons	-	-	3
Judah's three sons and two grandsons	-	-	5
Issachar's sons	-	-	4
Zebulun's sons	-	-	3
Gad's sons	-	-	7
Asher's four sons and one daughter, and two grandsons	-	-	7
Dan's son	-	-	1
Naphthali's sons	-	-	4
Benjamin's sons	-	-	10
			<u>66</u>

"If to these sixty-six, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, we add Jacob himself, Joseph, and his two sons born in Egypt, or four more, the amount is seventy, the whole number of Jacob's family which settled in Egypt. In this statement the *wives* of Jacob's sons, who formed part of the household, are omitted, but they amounted to nine: for, of the twelve wives of the twelve sons, Judah's wife was dead, (Gen. xxxviii. 12.) and Simeon's also, as we may collect from his youngest son, Shaul, by a Canaanitess, (xlv. 10.) and Joseph's wife was already in Egypt. These nine wives therefore, added to the sixty-six, gave seventy-five souls, the whole amount of Jacob's household that went down with him to Egypt; *critically* corresponding with the statement in the New Testament, that "Joseph sent for his father Jacob and *all his kindred*, amounting to *seventy-five* souls:"—the expression, *all his kindred*, including the *wives* who were Joseph's kindred, not only by affinity, but also by consanguinity; being probably of the families of Esau, Ishmael, or Keturah. Thus does the New Testament furnish an admirable commentary on the Old."

From the preceding list, compared with that of the births of Jacob's sons, it appears that some of them married remarkably early. Thus Judah, Er, and Pharez, respectively married at the age of about fourteen years; Asher, and his fourth or youngest son (Beriah), under twenty; Benjamin, about fifteen; and Joseph's sons and grandsons could not have been much above twenty years old when they married, in order that he should have great-grandchildren in the course of seventy-three years. What further confirms this statement is, that they *must have necessarily* married at a very early age (as we know is practised to this day in the East), to have produced in the course of two hundred and fifteen years, at the time of their departure, no less than six hundred thousand men, above twenty years of age, exclusive of women and children; so that the whole population of the Israelites, who went out of Egypt, must have exceeded *two millions*. Dr. Hales's *New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 159—162.

which appears in the Septuagint version of Gen. x. 24. * On the subject of quotations from the Old Testament in the New, see Chapter VI. *infra*.

§ 4. *Apparent Contradictions in the Relation of Events in one Passage, and References to them in another.*

These contradictions are of two kinds.

1. *Sometimes events are referred to as having taken place, which are not noticed by the inspired historians:* these apparent contradictions have already been considered in § 2. Obs. 1. pp. 444, 445.

2. *Sometimes the reference appears contradictory to circumstances actually noticed in the history.* Thus, in Numb. xiv. 30. it is said that none of the Israelites should come into the land of Canaan, *save Caleb and Joshua*; and yet, in Josh. xiv. 1. and xxii. 13. we read, that Eleazar and others entered into that land. But this seeming repugnance will disappear when it is recollected that nothing is more common, in the most serious and considerate writers, than to speak of things by way of restriction and limitation, and yet to leave them to be understood with some latitude, which shall afterwards be expressed and explained when they treat of the same matter. So, here we read that none but Caleb and Joshua entered into the land of promise, this being spoken of *the chief leaders*, who had that privilege and honour: but, if we consult other passages where this subject is more particularly related, we shall find that a more comprehensive meaning was not excluded. It is not to be supposed that the tribe of Levi were denied entrance into Canaan; because it is evident from the history that *they* did not murmur; and it is equally evident that against the murmurers only was the denunciation made, *that they should not see the land which God swore unto their fathers*, (Numb. xiv. 22, 23.): therefore Eleazar and Phineas, being priests, are excepted. Again, the threatening cannot be intended to include those who were gone as spies into the land of Canaan, for they were not among the murmurers: and, consequently, the denunciation above mentioned could not apply to them. Thus, the statement in the book of Numbers is perfectly consistent with the facts recorded in the book of Joshua.

* Dr. Hales has proved this second Cainan to be an interpolation in the Septuagint. *New Analysis*, vol. i. pp. 90—94.

Further, between 1 Sam. xvi. 21—23. and xvii. 55. there is an apparent contradiction, which has called forth the sarcasms of infidels, but which may very easily be reconciled. In the former chapter we read, that David came to court, and stood before Saul, that is, waited upon him from time to time, played upon the harp before him during the paroxysms of his mental disease, was greatly beloved by him, and became his armour-bearer: but in the latter we read, that the Hebrew monarch asked, *Whose son is this youth?* whence it has been inferred that he did not know him. To remove this repugnancy, it should be observed that in ch. xvii. 15. it is said, that *David went and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem*; from this it is evident that his stay at the Hebrew court was not long, though the cause of his return is not recorded. Since then, at the time of his second appearance, David had been absent from Saul for some considerable space, during which he had been pursuing a pastoral life, and now probably appeared in his shepherd's dress, (1 Sam. xxii. 40.) it is no wonder that Saul, whose mind was diseased, should not know his person. It is probable also that his countenance was in some degree altered by the heroic impulse which the pious youth felt at his approaching combat with the Philistine champion. Thus the apparent contradiction is removed. After all, it is worthy of remark, as Lightfoot, Bishop Patrick, and others, after Abarbanel, have remarked, that Saul did not ask who David was, but *whose son he was*, in other words, who was his father? which circumstance he might easily forget, disturbed as he had been with melancholy, and with the unfavourable aspect of public affairs.

SECTION III.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is a branch of learning, which is most difficult to be exactly adjusted; because it depends upon so many circumstances, and comprehends so great a variety of events in all ages and nations, that, with whatever punctuality the accounts of time might have been set down in the original manuscripts, yet the slightest change in one word or letter may cause a material variation in copies. Besides, the difference of the æras adopted in the computations of different countries,

especially at great distances of time and place, is such, that the most exact chronology may easily be mistaken, and may be perplexed by those who endeavour to rectify what they conceive to be erroneous: for that which was exact at first is often made incorrect by him who thought it false before.* Chronological differences do undoubtedly exist in the Scriptures, as well as in profane historians: but these differences infer no uncertainty in the *matters of fact* themselves. It is a question yet undetermined, whether Rome was founded by Romulus or not, and it is a point equally litigated, in what year the building of that city commenced: yet, if the uncertainty of the time when any fact was done imply the uncertainty of the fact itself, the necessary inference must be, that it is uncertain whether Rome was built at all, or whether such a person as Romulus was ever in existence. Further, differences in chronology do not imply that the sacred historians were mistaken, but they arise from the mistakes of transcribers or expositors, which may be obviated by applying the various existing aids to the examination and reconciliation of the apparent contradictions in scriptural chronology.

I. *Seeming contradictions in chronology arise from not observing, that what had before been said in the general, is afterwards resumed in the particulars comprised under it.* For, the total sum of any term of years being set down first, before the particulars have been insisted on and explained, has led some into mistake, by supposing that the particulars subsequently mentioned were not to be comprehended in it, but were to be reckoned distinctly as if they had happened afterwards in order of time, because they are *last* related in the course of the history. Thus, in Gen xi. 26. it is said that *Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham*; and in verse 32. that *the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran*. But, in Gen. xii. 4. it is related that *Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran*: which is inconsistent, if we suppose Abram to have resided in Haran till the death of his father Terah. But, if we consider that the whole number of years, during which Terah lived, is set down in Gen. xi. 32. and that Abram's departure from Haran, which is related in Gen. xii. happened before his father's death, there will be no inconsistency: on the contrary, if Terah were

* Jenkin on the Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p.151. It would require too extensive an inquiry for the limits of this work, to enter into a detail of the various systems of chronology extant: the most recent is the elaborate *Analysis* of Dr. Hales, in 3 vols, 4to. to which we can confidently refer the reader.

only seventy years old when Abram was begotten, and if Abram were only seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran, it will be evident that Abram left his father Terah in Haran, where the latter lived after his son's departure, to the age of two hundred and ten years; although, during Terah's life, Abram occasionally returned to Haran, for his *final* removal did not take place until the death of his father, as we learn from Acts vii. 4. Now, if this way of relating the general first, which is afterwards particularly set forth, be attended to in the interpretation of the Scriptures, it will afford a natural and easy solution of many otherwise inexplicable difficulties. Another explanation has been offered for the above apparent chronological difference, viz. that Abram was Terah's youngest son, though first mentioned. What renders this solution probable is, that it is no unfrequent thing in Scripture, when any case of dignity or pre-eminence is to be distinguished, to place the *youngest* son before the eldest, though contrary to the usage of the Scriptures in other cases. Thus, Shem the second son of Noah is always placed first; Abram is placed before his two elder brothers Haran and Nahor; Isaac is placed before Ishmael; Jacob the youngest son of Isaac has the pre-eminence over Esau; and Moses is mentioned before his elder brother Aaron. Whatever chronological difficulties, therefore, arise upon this supposition, that the son first named must *necessarily* be the first-born, must consequently proceed from mistake.

II. Sometimes the principal number is set down, and the odd or smaller number is omitted; which, being added to the principal number in some other place, causes a difference not to be reconciled but by considering that it is customary in the best authors not always to mention the smaller numbers, where the matter does not require it. Of this we have evident proof in the Scriptures. Thus the Benjamites that were slain, are said in Judges xx. 35. to be 25,100, but in verse 46. they are reckoned only at 25,000. So the evangelist Mark says, xvi. 14. that Jesus Christ appeared to the *eleven* as they were sitting at meat, though Thomas was absent. The observation already made, on the use of round numbers in computations*, will apply in the present instance; to which we might add numerous similar examples from profane writers. Two or three however will suffice. One hundred acres of land were by the Romans called *centuria*; but in progress of time the same term was given to double that number of acres.† The *tribes*, into which the po-

* See § 3. Remark I. pp. 447, 448.

† *Centuriam* nunc dicimus (ut idem Varro ait) *ducentorum* jugerum modum: olim autem ab *centum* jugeribus vocabatur *centuria*; sed, mox duplicata, nomen retinuit:

pulation of Rome was divided, were so denominated, because they were originally *three* in number; but the same appellation was retained though they were afterwards augmented to thirty-five: and in like manner the judges, styled *centumviri*, were at first five more than one hundred, and afterwards were nearly double that number*, yet still they retained the same name. Since, then, it is evident that smaller numbers are sometimes omitted both in the Old and in the New Testament, as well as in profane writings, and the principal or great numbers only, whether more or less than the precise calculation, are set down, and at other times the smaller numbers are specified;—nay, that sometimes the original number multiplied retains the same denomination: therefore it is reasonable to make abatements, and not always to insist rigorously on precise numbers, in adjusting the accounts of scriptural chronology.†

III. *As sons frequently reigned with their fathers, during the Hebrew monarchy, the reigns of the former are not unfrequently made, in some instances, to commence from their partnership with their fathers in the throne, and in others from the commencement of their sole government after their fathers' decease: consequently the time of the reign is sometimes noticed as it respects the father, sometimes as it respects the son, and sometimes as it includes both.* Thus Jotham is said, (2 Kings xv. 33.) to have reigned *sixteen* years, yet in the preceding verse 30. mention is made of his *twentieth* year. This repugnance is reconcileable in the following manner: Jotham reigned alone sixteen years only, but with his father Uzziah (who, being a leper, was therefore unfit for the sole government) four years before, which makes twenty in the whole. In like manner we read (2 Kings xiii. 1.) that, “in the *three-and-twentieth* year of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years:” but in verse 10. of the same chapter it is related that, “in the *thirty-seventh* year of the same Joash began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel in Samaria.” “Now, if to the three-and-twenty years of Joash, mentioned in the first passage, we add the seventeen years of Jehoahaz, we come down to the thirty-ninth or fortieth year of Joash; when, on the death of

sicuti *tribus* dictæ primum a partibus populi *tripartito* divisi, quæ tamen nunc multiplicatæ pristinum nomen possident. Columella de Re Rust. lib. v. c. i. tom. ii. p. 199. ed. Bipont. Ernesti, in his *Index Latinitatis Ciceronianæ*, article *Tribus*, has adduced several similar instances.

* In Pliny's time they were *one hundred and eighty* in number. Ep. lib. vi. Ep. 33.

† Jenkin's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 157.

Jehoahaz, the reign of Jehoash may be supposed to have begun. Yet it is easy to assign the reason why the commencement of his reign is fixed two or three years earlier, in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, when his father must have been alive, by supposing that his father had admitted him as an associate in the government, two or three years before his death. This solution is the more probable, as we find from the case of Jehoshaphat and his son (2 Kings viii. 16.) that in those days such a practice was not uncommon.* The application of the rule above stated will also remove the apparent contradiction between 2 Kings xxiv. 8. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. Jehoiachim being eight years old when he was associated in the government with his father, and eighteen years old when he began to reign alone. The application of this rule will reconcile many other seeming contradictions in the books of Kings and Chronicles: and will also clear up the difficulty respecting the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius mentioned in Luke iii. 1. which has exercised the ingenuity of many eminent philologists, who have endeavoured to settle the chronology of the New Testament. Now, we learn from the Roman historians that the reign of Tiberius had *two* commencements; in the *first*, when he was admitted to a share in the empire in August of the year 764 from the foundation of the city of Rome, three years before the death of Augustus; and the *second*, when he began to reign *alone*, after that emperor's decease. It is from the *first* of these commencements that the *fifteenth* year mentioned by Saint Luke is to be computed; consequently it began in August 778. And if John the Baptist entered on his ministry in the spring following, in the year of Rome 779, in the same year of Tiberius, and, after he had preached about twelve months, baptized Jesus in the spring of 780, then Jesus (who was most probably born in September or October 749) would at his baptism be thirty-three years of age and some odd months, which perfectly agrees with what Saint Luke says of his being at that time *about thirty years old*.†

IV. *Seeming chronological contradictions arise from the sacred historians adopting different methods of computation, and assigning different dates to the same period.*

Thus, in Gen. xv. 13. it is announced to Abraham that his “seed should be a stranger in a land that was not theirs, and

* Dick's Essay on the Inspiration on the Scriptures, p. 299.

† Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. chap. iii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 339—382). Doddridge's Family Expositor, vol. i. sect. 15. note (b). Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. Chronological Dissertations, No. iii.

should serve them, and that they should afflict them four hundred years." But in Exod. xii. 40, 41. the sacred historian relates that "the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt, was *four hundred and thirty* years. And it came to pass at the end of the *four hundred and thirty* years, even the self-same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." Between these two passages there is an apparent contradiction: the truth is, that both are perfectly consistent, the computation being made from two different dates. In Gen. xv. 13. the time is calculated from the promise made to Abraham of a son, or from the birth of Isaac: and in Exod. xii. 40, 41. it is reckoned from his departure from "Ur of the Chaldees," his native country, in obedience to the command of Jehovah.

By the application of this rule many commentators reconcile the difference between Mark xv. 25. who says the hour of Christ's crucifixion was the *third*, and John xix. 14. who says it was about the *sixth* hour that he was brought forth. Notwithstanding the authorities above adduced *, they observe that *none* of the antient translators read the *third* hour in John: they therefore solve the difficulty (imperfectly it must be confessed) by considering the day as divided into four parts answering to the four watches of the night. These coincided with the hours of three, six, nine, and twelve, or, in our way of reckoning, nine, twelve, three, and six, which also suited the solemn times of sacrifice and prayer in the temple: in cases, they argue, in which the Jews did not think it of consequence to ascertain the time with great accuracy, they did not regard the intermediate hours, but only those more noted divisions which happened to come nearest the time of the event spoken of. Adopting this method of reconciliation, Dr. Campbell remarks, that Mark says *it was the third hour*, from which we have reason to conclude that the third hour was past. John says it was *about the sixth hour*, from which he thinks it probable that the sixth hour was not yet come. "On this supposition, though the evangelists may by a fastidious reader be accused of want of precision in regard to dates, they will not by any judicious and candid critic be charged with falsehood or misrepresentation. Who would accuse two modern historians with contradicting each other, because, in relating an event which had happened between ten and eleven in the forenoon, one had said it was past nine

* See p. 449, *supra*.

o'clock; the other, that it was drawing towards noon*?" From the evidence before him, we leave the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the reading which is preferably to be adopted. We apprehend that the weight of evidence will be found to preponderate in favour of the solution given in p.449, *supra*.

* Campbell on John xix. 14. vol. ii. pp. 572, 573. 3d edit. 1807.

SECTION IV.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN PROPHECIES AND THEIR FULFILMENT.

I. "*WHEN both a prediction and the event foretold in it are recorded in Scripture, there is sometimes an appearance of disagreement and inconsistency between them.*

This appearance generally arises from some difficulty in understanding the true meaning of the prediction; it may be occasioned by any of those causes which produce the peculiar difficulties of the prophetic writings; and it is to be removed by the same means which serve for clearing these difficulties. It may proceed from any sort of obscurity or ambiguity in the expression, or from any uncertainty in the structure of a sentence." *

Thus, there is a seeming difference in Matt. xii. 40.† between our Lord's prediction of the time he was to be in the grave, and the time during which his body was actually interred. Now this difference is naturally and easily obviated by considering, that it was the custom of the Orientals to reckon *any part* of a day of twenty-four hours for a whole day, and to say it was done after three or seven days, &c. if it were done on the third or seventh day from that last mentioned. Compare 1 Kings xx. 29. and Luke ii. 21. And, as the Hebrews had no word exactly answering to the Greek *νυχθημερον*, to signify a natural day of twenty-four hours, they used night and day, or day and night, for it: so that, to say a thing happened *after three days and three nights*, was the same as to say that it hap-

* Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 434.

† Doddridge, Macknight, &c. on Matt. xii. 40.

pened after three days, or on the third day. Compare Esther iv. 16. with verse 1. Gen. vii. 4. 12. 17. Exod. xxiv. 18. and xxxiv. 28. and Dan. viii. 14. *

II. *Apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment sometimes proceed from the figurative language of the prophets; which is taken, partly from the analogy between the world natural and an empire or kingdom considered as a world politic, and partly from sacred topics.* †

Hence it is that the prophets so frequently express what relates to the Christian dispensation and worship in terms borrowed from the Mosaic religion; of which instances may be seen in Isa. ii. 2, 3. xix. 19. and lvi. 7. Jer. iii. 17. Zech. viii. 22. and Mal. i. 11. ‡ For, the religion of Moses being introductory to that of Jesus, and there being consequently a mutual dependency between the two religions, “it is reasonable to suppose that, previous to such an important change of the economy, some intimations would be given of its approach. And yet, to have done this in a way, that would have led the Jews to look with irreverence on a system under which not only themselves but their posterity were to live, would not have harmonized with our notions of the divine wisdom. A method was therefore to be invented; which, while it kept the people sincerely attached to the law, would dispose them, when the time was come, for the reception of a *better covenant* that was to be established on *better promises*. Now the spirit of prophecy, together with the language in which that prophecy was conveyed, fully accomplished both these purposes. By a contrivance only to be suggested by divine prescience, the same expressions, which in their primary and literal meaning were used to denote the fortunes and deliverances of the Jews, for the present consolation of that people, were so ordered, as in a secondary and figurative sense to adumbrate the sufferings and victories of the Messiah, for the future instruction of the church of Christ. Had no expedient of this sort been employed, we should have wanted *one* proof of the connexion between the Mosaic and Christian religions; and, on the other hand, had the nature of the Messiah’s kingdom been *plainly* described, the design of the national separation would have been defeated. But, when spiritual blessings were promised under the veil of temporal blessings, and in terms familiar to the carnal expectations of the Jews, a proper degree of respect for

* See additional instances in p. 194, 195, *supra*.

† Newton on Daniel, p. 16. edit. 1733.

‡ Gerard’s Institutes, p. 435. On the Sources of the Metaphorical Language of Scripture, see chap. iv. sect iii. pp. 389–399.

the old system was preserved, at the same time that matters were gradually ripening for the introduction of the new: and the shadow of good things, held forth obscurely in the law, prepared them to look forward to that happier day, when the very image itself should be presented in full splendour, and distinctly defined by the Gospel." *

III. *Apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment* "may be occasioned by a prediction relating only to one part of a complex character or event, and on that account seeming to be inconsistent with other parts of it: and the appearance will be removed by taking in such predictions as relate to these other parts, and considering them all in connexion." †

Such seeming differences occur in the predictions relative to the exaltation and glory of the Messiah, compared with the prophecies concerning his previous sufferings. The late Rev. Mr. Gilpin has brought together, in an admirable manner, the various predictions relative to the life, sufferings, and exaltation of Jesus Christ ‡.

IV. *Seeming differences in the interpretation of prophecies* also proceed partly from the difficulty of fixing the precise time of their fulfilment, and partly from the variety of opinions adopted by expositors; who, being dissatisfied with the views taken by their predecessors, are each solicitous to bring forward some new interpretation of his own.

These differences however are no more an objection against prophecy, than they are against the truth of all history: and we may with equal propriety conclude that things never came to pass, because historians differ about the time when they were done, as that they were never predicted, because learned men vary in their modes of explaining the accomplishment of such predictions. Expositors may differ in the niceties of the chronological part, but in general circumstances they are agreed: hence, whoever will consult them may be greatly confirmed in the truth of the prophecies, upon this very consideration—that there is less difference in the explanation of the principal prophecies than there is in the comments upon most antient profane histories; and that those who differ in other matters,

* Bishop Hallifax's Sermons on the Prophecies, Sermon i.

† Gerard's Institutes, p. 435.

‡ See his Exposition of the New Testament, vol. i. pp. xlv—lxvi. The Rev. Dr. Hales has also given an elaborate methodized collection of prophecies relative to Jesus Christ in two series; the first describing him as the promised seed of the woman and his subsequent pedigree, sufferings, &c. The second describes his character and offices, human and divine, in the Appendix to his Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1374—1380.

must have the greater evidence for that in which they agree. Although there may be a difficulty in calculating the precise time when some predictions were fulfilled, because it is disputed where the *computation* is to begin, or how some other circumstance is to be understood, yet all interpreters and expositors are agreed, concerning these very prophecies, that they *are* fulfilled. For instance, in Gen. xlix. 10. it is certain that the sceptre is departed from Judah, whether that prophecy is to be understood of the tribe of Judah, or of the Jewish nation who were denominated from that tribe. Although the later Jewish writers deny its application to the times of the Messiah, yet the elder writers *invariably* refer it to him: and it is certain that the city and sanctuary are destroyed, and that the sacrifice and oblation are entirely done away, though interpreters do not agree about the precise time and manner of the accomplishment of *every* particular. In a similar manner, the prophecy of Daniel respecting the *seventy weeks* is equally plain, and its accomplishment in the destruction of Jerusalem is certain; notwithstanding the differences of opinion in assigning the precise epocha of time. Plain matter of fact shows that these memorable predictions are fulfilled; and the only difference is concerning a single circumstance. To doubt, therefore, (as some of our modern self-styled philosophers do) of the fulfilment of prophecies, merely because we do not certainly know the exact time when each particular was accomplished, though we certainly know that they must have long since been fulfilled, is as unreasonable, as if a man should question the truth of history on account of the uncertainties which are to be found in chronology. The existence of Homer is not denied, because it is uncertain when he lived; nor is the reality of the Trojan war the less certain because the time of the capture of Troy has been variously determined. History, it has been well remarked, relates what has happened, and prophecy foretells what shall come to pass; and an uncertainty in point of time no more affects the one than the other. We may be uncertain of the time foretold by the prophet, and as uncertain of the time mentioned by the historian: but, when all other circumstances agree, there is no reason why our uncertainty, as to the single circumstance of time, should be alleged against the credibility of either of them. *

V. *Some of the prophetic declarations are not predictions concerning things future, but simply commands relative to things*

* Jenkin on the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 178, 179.

which were to be performed, or they are conditional promises, and threatenings, not absolute predictions: so that, if it subsequently appear that these were not executed, such non-performance cannot create any difficulty or repugnancy between the supposed prophecy and its fulfilment.

We may illustrate this remark by reference to the fast observed by the Jews on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: these fasts, the prophet Zechariah (ch. vii. 8.) in the name of Jehovah declares, are to be abolished, and converted into a joyous festival; but, notwithstanding this declaration, we know that they continued afterwards to be observed. Another instance may be seen in 2 Kings viii. 10. Elisha's answer to Hazael: to which we may add the *seeming* assertion, that the last day was near, in Rom. xiii. 11, 12. 1 Cor. x. 11. 1 Thess. iv. 15. Heb. ix. 26. James v. 7, 8. 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13. and 1 John ii. 18.

VI. *Some of the prophetic promises appear to have been made to individuals, which however were not fulfilled in them.*

But between such prophecies and their fulfilment there is no real discordance: because they were accomplished in the posterity of the person to whom the promise was made. Thus, in Isaac's prophetic blessing of Jacob, it was announced (Gen. xxvii. 29.) that he should be lord over his brethren. Now we know from the sacred writings that this never took effect in the person of Jacob; but it was fully verified in his posterity.

SECTION V.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN DOCTRINE.

THESE arise from various causes, as contradictions from a mode of speaking which, to our apprehensions, is not sufficiently clear,—from the same term being used in different senses in different texts,—from the same word being used in apparently contradictory senses,—from the different designs of the sacred writers,—from the different ages in which the various sacred writers lived, and the different degrees of their knowledge respecting the coming of Messiah, and the religion to be instituted by him; and, lastly, from apparent contradictions to morality.

§ 1. *Seeming contradictions from a mode of speaking which, to OUR APPREHENSIONS, is not sufficiently clear.*

It has been the practice of some writers to assert that the apostles, Saint Paul in particular, have argued both illogically and inconclusively: this assertion, however, falls to the ground of itself, when we consider the violent dislocations, to which writers of the school alluded to have resorted, in order to disprove what is self-evident from the Bible—the divinity and atonement of the Messiah. At the same time it is not to be concealed, that apparent contradictions do sometimes arise from a mode of speaking *which, to OUR apprehensions, does not seem sufficiently clear.* For instance, salvation is in one passage ascribed to *grace through faith*, which we are assured *is not of ourselves*, but is *the gift of God*;—*not of works, lest any man should boast*, (Eph. ii. 8—10.); and in another Abraham is said to be *justified by faith without works*, (Rom. iv. 2—6); while in a third passage he is said to have been *justified by works*, (James ii. 21.) The apparent difference in these points of doctrine is occasioned by the fruits and effects being put for the cause. A little attention to the argument of the apostle removes all difficulty. Saint Paul's object in the Epistle to the Romans was, to show, in opposition to the objections of the Jews, that how much soever Abraham excelled other men in righteousness during the course of his life, he had no cause for glorying before God; who justified, accepted, and covenanted with him, not for obedience, but for faith in the divine promise. Abraham believed God's word, and God accepted his faith, dealt with him as righteous, and became his God: in like manner as he now conducts himself towards all who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his Gospel. Saint James, on the contrary, having encouraged the Christian converts to bear with patience the trials they should meet with, and improve them to the purposes of religion, presses upon them meekness and gentleness towards each other, as the *test of their sincerity*; and shows that *faith without love* is of no avail. Thus the doctrine asserted by each apostle is proved to be consistent, and the seeming repugnancy disappears. For the removal of difficulties arising from expressions not appearing sufficiently clear, the following observations will be found useful.

I. *A passage which is ambiguous, or which contains any unusual expression, must be interpreted agreeably to what is revealed more clearly and accurately in other parts of the Scriptures.*

Numerous instances might be adduced in illustration of this remark, in which bodily parts and passions are ascribed to God: which unusual modes of expression are to be explained in conformity with such other passages as remove the appearance of contradiction*. Another example we have in Luke xiv. 13, 14. *When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee; for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.* From this passage, some have inferred that the resurrection of the just *only* is intended, and consequently that the wicked shall certainly perish. There is, it is true, something unusual in this expression: but the doctrine of the resurrection of all mankind from the dead, which is so explicitly revealed in other parts of Scripture, being laid down and acknowledged, we readily perceive that our Saviour was speaking, in the passage under consideration, of acts of kindness done purely for the love of God, and on the recompense which He would bestow on them. But of the universal resurrection no notice is taken, nor is it denied that the wicked will receive *their* reward.

II. *A passage, in which a doctrine is slightly treated, must be explained by one where the subject is more largely discussed: and one single passage is not to be explained in contradiction to many others, but consistently with them.*

For instance, Jesus Christ in one place says, that he judges no man; in another, that he will judge all men; in one passage, that he is not come to judge the world; in another, that he is come for judgment. These seeming inconsistencies occur in the Gospel of Saint John: it becomes necessary, therefore, to find out some other passage that will reconcile them. Thus, in John xii. 47. he says, "I came not to judge the world;" and in ch. ix. 39. he says, "For judgment I am come into this world." In the latter passage, he adds the cause of his thus coming—namely, that they whose blindness proceeded from mere ignorance should be taught to see; while they who saw only through pride and prejudice should be left in their wilful blindness. Hence it appears, that our Lord was not speaking of the last judgment, from which we call God the judge of the living and of the dead; but that the tenor of his discourse was, to enable his hearers themselves to determine whether they were ignorant or not; for in the same chapter, (verse 16.) it is said that Jesus spoke these words to the Pha-

* On the subject of *anthropopathies*, as the modes of expression above referred to are usually termed, see pp. 391—393, *supra*.

risees, who would not perceive their own ignorance, nor judge themselves. In the other passage (John xii. 47.) we read, *I came not to judge* (rather, to *condemn*) the world, but to save the world,—not to make its inhabitants wretched, but to make them happy for time and for eternity, if they will be so wise as to listen to the proposals which I offer. Here the word *save* is plainly opposed to *condemn*: and that this is the proper meaning of the passage is evident from comparing chapter iii. verses 5—19.

The latter part of this rule the following passage will exemplify. In Gen. xvii. 10—14. the observance of circumcision is commanded; in Acts xv. the observance of that rite is affirmed not to be necessary. These propositions are apparently contradictory: Jesus Christ himself has determined them, Matt. xi. 13. “*All the prophets, and the law, until John, prophesied;*” intimating, as the context implies, that the observances of the law would thereafter cease.

III. *Between a general assertion in one text, and a restriction of it, or an exception to it, in another text, there is an appearance of contradiction which is sometimes removed by explaining the former with the proper limitations.**

Several general expressions, in all languages, not only admit of, but also require a limitation; without which the true sense and meaning of many passages will not be understood. And, as the eastern nations indulged themselves most freely in the use of strong and figurative expressions, the Scriptures require more limitations perhaps than any other book: as it respects the New Testament, Saint Paul mentions principles on which we may build our limitations: “I speak after the manner of men,” (Rom. vi. 19.) “It is manifest that he is excepted,” (1 Cor. xv. 27.)

Thus, in Mark x. 11, 12. and in Luke xvi. 18. divorce is absolutely forbidden: but, in Matt. v. 32. and xix. 9. it is allowed for adultery only. Yet, in 1 Cor. vii. 15. it seems to be allowed, though the apostle does not authorize a second marriage.

The precept, *Except we “become as little children,” we “shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,”* (Matt. xviii. 3.) cannot mean that we are not to speak distinctly, or to walk steadily; but obviously refers to the docility, and freedom from ambition and worldly thoughts, which characterise children.

* Gerard's Institutes, p. 436.

The observations already offered * on the figures of speech, termed synecdoche, and hyperbole, may be applied in illustration of the preceding remark.

§ 2. *Apparent Contradictions from the same Terms being used in different and even contradictory Senses.*

I. *Sometimes an apparent contradiction, in points of doctrine, arises from the same term or word being used in different senses in different texts.*

In this case the seeming repugnancy is to be removed by restricting the term properly in each text.

Thus, in some passages of the New Testament, we read that the kingdom of Christ is *eternal*: but in 1 Cor. xv. 24. it is said to have an *end*: in the latter passage, the *kingdom of Christ* means his mediatorial kingdom, which includes all the displays of his grace in saving sinners, and all his spiritual influence in governing the church visible on earth. By the eternal kingdom of Christ is intended the future state of eternal blessedness, which is so beautifully described as *an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven, &c.* (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.)

In like manner, *It is appointed unto men once to die*, (Heb. ix. 27.) that is, a temporal death: yet if any man keep Christ's sayings he *shall never see death*, (John viii. 51.) that is, eternal death. *Hatred* of others is very sinful and odious, (Tit. iii. 3.) and yet to *hate* our nearest relations, that is, to love them *less* than we love Christ, is a duty, (Luke xiv. 26. compared with Matt. x. 37.) John the Baptist was *not Elias*, (John i. 21.) that is, not the prophet who lived under Ahab; but he was *the Elias* predicted by Malachi, (Mal. iv. 5, 6.) that is, one in the spirit and power of the antient Elijah, (Matt. xi. 11, 12. 14. 18. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 17.)

So, we cannot stand before God in the righteousness of our own *persons*, (Psal. cxliii. 2.) but we may appeal to him for the righteousness of our *cause*, in matters of difference between ourselves and others, (Psal. xviii. 20. xxxv. 27. Heb.)

II. *Apparent contradictions, in points of doctrine, sometimes arise from the same word being used not only in different but also in contradictory senses.*

* See pp. 426, 427, 429, 430.

Thus, in Joshua xxiii. 5. the same Hebrew verb יָרַשׁ, (*yarash*), which usually signifies to inherit or possess, also means to dispossess or disinherit: *He shall expel them* (from their inheritance) *from before you, and ye shall possess their land*, succeed to their inheritance. In like manner, the word *sin*, as already observed, also denotes a sin-offering*. The Hebrew verb בָּרַךְ, (*barak*), to *bless*, has been supposed also to mean *curse*; and, contrary to the authority of antient versions, the lexicons (as the late eminently learned Mr. Parkhurst has proved) have given it the sense of cursing in the six following passages; 1 Kings xxi. 10. 13. Job i. 5. 11. and especially Job ii. 5. 9. The rendering of which last passage, he observes, should be thus:

Then said his wife unto him,
Dost thou yet retain thine integrity,
Blessing the Aleim (*God*) and dying, or even unto death?†

The Greek language presents numerous similar examples of the same words having different senses. Thus Εἰδωλον, in its primitive acceptation, bears a good sense, and simply means any representation or likeness of a thing; but it also most frequently denotes, in the New Testament, an image to which religious worship is given, whether it be intended of the *true* God, as in Acts vii. 41. or of a *false* deity, as in Acts xv. 20. 1 Cor. xii. 2. and Rev. ix. 20. So περιεργος, which simply means *curious*, and its derivative περιεργαζομαι, are used in a worse sense, and denote impertinent curiosity in other persons affairs, as in 1 Tim. v. 13. and 2 Thess. iii. 11. So πλεονεκτειν, which primarily signifies to have more than another, also means to have more than one ought to possess, *to defraud and circumvent*. See 2 Cor. vii. 2. xii. 17, 18. and 1 Thess. iv. 6. (which last text denotes to defraud and injure by adultery, as numerous commentators, antient and modern, have already observed.) And μεθειν, which (like the Hebrew verb יָרַךְ, Gen. xliii. 34.)‡ in its good sense denotes merely to *drink freely and to cheerfulness*, but not to intoxication, (as in John ii. 10.) is often taken in an ill sense, and means to be *drunken*. Compare Matt. xxiv. 49. Acts ii. 15. and 1 Thess. v. 7. with Rev. xvii. 2. 6. §

* See p. 383. *supra*.

† Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, p. 84. 5th edition. Mr. Mason Good, in his accurate and elegant version of the book of Job, has adopted Mr. P.'s rendering, and confirmed its propriety by various examples; see particularly his notes, pp. 5—9.

‡ They drank and were *merry* (literally *drank largely*) with him.

§ The Latin language presents us with many examples of the same words which have different meanings. It will suffice to specify two or three. *Sacer*, it is well

§ 3. *Apparent Contradictions, in Points of Doctrine, arising from the different Designs of the Sacred Writers.*

A kind of repugnancy sometimes arises from the different designs which the sacred writers had in view: and this can only be removed by interpreting each passage agreeably to the writer's design. It is obvious that the same person may express himself in various ways concerning one and the same thing: and in this case regard must be had to his intention. In Saint Paul's Epistles, for instance, we find the apostle frequently arguing, but more or less severely, with those who rigorously urged a compliance with the Mosaic rites and ceremonies; in some passages, he expresses himself more gently towards his opponents; in others, with greater severity, calling the opinions thus asserted "doctrines of devils," and "profane and old wives' fables," (1 Tim. iv. 1, 7.) To understand these passages aright, then, it is necessary that we distinguish the three-fold design of the apostle, according to the three different classes of advocates for the observance of the Mosaic ritual. 1. Against those who maintained the rites prescribed by Moses from *weakness of mind*, and could not persuade themselves that these ought to be abandoned, the apostle argues with great lenity: compare Rom. xiv. throughout. 2. There were others, however, who, while they contended for and urged the external observance of the Mosaic law, expressed the utmost *contempt for the Christian religion*, which they either affirmed not to be true, or to be insufficient unless the observance of the law of Moses were superadded. Against this class of opponents, Saint Paul argues with much more severity, denying altogether the necessity of such observance: compare the Epistle to the Galatians. 3. There was another class of persons, who, to the external observance of the Mosaic ritual, joined certain philosophical notions borrowed from the Alexandrian school of philosophers, and which were received among the Therapeutæ. According to these, the highest wisdom consisted in a state of celibacy, mortification, and abstinence from animal food: against these crude opinions the

known, signifies not only that which is holy, but also that which is most cursed and detestable. Thus we have in Virgil (*Æn.* iii. 57.) the well known words *auri sacra fames*. In our old English common law writers, *villanus*, (villain), denotes a rustic of servile condition, but is now exclusively a term of infamy. So *missa*, the mass, was at first an innocent word, signifying merely the service of the church, but has long since degenerated into a widely different meaning, and is given exclusively to the worship of the church of Rome. Edwards on the Style of the Scriptures, p. 344.

apostle argues vehemently, terming them profane and old wives' fables, and diabolical, that is, the most pestilent, doctrines. The perusal of Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ will shew what pretensions that sect made to wisdom and piety which consisted in mortification and abstinence, and with what sovereign contempt they regarded all other persons. To this class of Saint Paul's atagonists are to be referred 1 Tim. iv. throughout, and also Col. ii. verse 8. to the end.

On the best mode of ascertaining the design of any book or passage in the sacred writings, see chapter iii. section viii. pp. 346—353. *supra*.

§ 4. *Apparent Contradictions, arising from the different Ages in which the Sacred Writers lived, and the different Degrees of Knowledge which they possessed.*

There is another class of doctrinal points, in which a species of repugnancy is produced by the *different ages in which the sacred writers lived*.

All expositors of the Scriptures are agreed in the summary of religious truths revealed in them, and that, from the Book of Genesis to the Revelation of Saint John, this doctrine is constantly and unanimously delivered, viz. that there is one infinitely wise, gracious, just, and eternal God; and that our salvation is of God through the atonement of the Messiah, &c. &c. But this doctrine is variously expressed, according as the ages, in which the writers lived, were more or less remote from the time when the Son of God was manifested in the flesh. Further, in the Old Testament, there are many very severe precepts relative to revenging of injuries on enemies, as well as many imprecations against the foes of David: no such precepts are to be found in the New Testament. Again, the law of revenge and retaliation, in the Mosaic system, is extremely severe, requiring eye for eye, hand for hand, tooth for tooth, &c. Widely different from this is the spirit of the Christian doctrine.

An apparent contradiction likewise is caused by the *different degrees of knowledge possessed by the sacred writers* relative to the happiness to be procured for man by Jesus Christ. In the Old Testament this happiness is almost constantly described as being *external*: but in the New Testament all external considerations are dismissed, and it is affirmed to be *spiritual* or *internal*. Hence also it happens, that although the same wor-

ship of the same Jehovah is treated of in the books of the Old and New Testament, external worship is chiefly, though not exclusively, insisted upon in the former, but internal in the latter; in the Old Testament it is the *spirit of bondage*, but in the New it is the *spirit of adoption*. In this gradual revelation of the divine will we see the wisdom and goodness of God; who graciously proportioned it to the capacities of men, and the disposition of their minds, to receive those intimations which he was pleased to communicate. And, as the sacred writers accommodated themselves to the imperfect or more improved degrees of knowledge which existed at the times they wrote, so it appears that they adapted their precepts to the religious, civil, and domestic or private customs of their countrymen. Hence it happens that though religion in itself was always one and the same thing, yet the *manner* in which it was made known acquired some tinge,—

1. *From religious customs*: for as all the more antient people were accustomed to worship their own gods, agreeably to their own peculiar rites, so the Jews after their manner worshipped the only true God.

2. *Civil customs* also imparted some degree of peculiarity to religion. For while one nation was separated from intercourse with others by its own customs, many things were spoken of God, as a national deity, more peculiarly appropriated to that nation: but, if that separation be removed, Jehovah is described as the common parent of all mankind.

3. Lastly, in the *domestic or private institutes* contained in the Mosaic law, there are many things derived from the manners and customs of their forefathers; this fact has been shewn by the late Professor Michaelis in his elaborate work on the Law of Moses *. In like manner, the apostles accommodated themselves to the peculiar customs that obtained in different countries in their own age. How differently do they express themselves towards Jews and Heathens! Not only do they attend to religious, civil, and domestic or private manners and customs, but, in proportion as these underwent gradual changes, they explain many things more copiously as well as more clearly, rejecting the veil of types, and despising those ceremonies in which the Jewish nation formerly delighted. An attentive consideration of these circumstances will contribute to clear up many apparent contradictions, as well as to

* Commentaries on the Law of Moses, 4 vols. 8vo. translated by the Rev. Dr. Smith, to whom the student is deeply indebted for this valuable accession to biblical literature.

solve very many of the objections brought by infidels against the sacred writings. Let times and seasons be accurately distinguished, and perfect harmony will be found to subsist in the different books of Scripture.

SECTION VI.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS TO MORALITY.

NOTWITHSTANDING it is generally admitted that the Holy Scriptures breathe a spirit of the purest and most diffusively benevolent morality; yet there are some passages which have been represented as giving countenance to immorality. Such of these as more immediately refer to the law of Moses have already been incidentally noticed *: it now remains to mention a few characters, facts, and precepts, which, though apparently repugnant to, are perfectly reconcileable with, morality. †

1. The characters and conduct of men, whom we find in all other respects commended in the Scriptures, are in some respects faulty: but these are, in such instances, by no means proposed for our imitation, and consequently give no sanction whatever to immorality: for several of these faults are either expressly condemned, or are briefly related or mentioned as matter of fact, without any intimation that they are either to be commended or imitated. Besides, the *mere* narration of any action, implies neither the approbation nor the censure of it, but only declares that such a thing was done, and in such a manner, and the not concealing of these shews the simplicity and impartiality of the sacred writers; who spare no person whomsoever, even when they themselves are concerned, even though the thing related should redound to their own disgrace; as in Peter's denial of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 69, &c. and parallel passages); Paul's dispute with Peter, (Gal. ii. 11—14.); and Paul's excuse of himself, (Acts xxiii. 5).

2. In the Old Testament, David is called the *Man after God's own heart*: does the Scripture then authorize adultery and murder? By no means. For these crimes the monarch

* See sect. I. of this chapter, pp. 432—434. *supra*.

† The instances given in this section are necessarily few, as Dr. Gerard has compressed, in a short compass, a variety of important examples in his "*Institutes of Biblical Criticism*," pp. 442—451. Many other examples, for which we have not room, are likewise noticed in Dr. Doddridge's *Lectures on Divinity*, &c. vol. ii. Lectures 147—149. (Works, vol. v. pp. 129—144. Leeds edit.)

was punished: he was dear to Jehovah, because he forwarded the interests of pure religion, notwithstanding all temptations to idolatry and superstition: this was what God chiefly intended, for the principal conduct in the governors of his chosen people *. In the New Testament, we meet with no encouragement to immorality. Our Saviour commended the conduct of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1—12.): but did he thereby countenance injustice? By no means: he favoured prudence and uniformity of conduct: the commendation was bestowed on the steward because he had done wisely, and spiritual prudence ought to keep pace with temporal prudence †.

3. Again, visiting the sins of the fathers' upon their children, (Exod. xx. 5, 6.) has been charged as injustice: but this objection disappears, the moment we are convinced that the reward and punishment, here intended, are confined to the outward circumstances of prosperity and distress in the *present* life; because, if (as was the case) such a sanction were necessary in the particular system by which God thought fit to govern the Jewish people, it is evident, that any inequality as to individuals, would be certainly and easily remedied in a future life, (as in the particular instances recorded in Numb. xvi. 27—33. and Josh. vii. 24.); so that each should receive his final reward, exactly according to his true appearance in the sight of God, and “thus the Judge of all the earth do right. ‡”

4. The objection that God's commanding of the Israelites (Exod. iii. 22. xii. 35.) to borrow from the Egyptians what they never intended to restore, is not only an act of injustice, but favours theft, is obviated by rendering the Hebrew verb שָׁאַל (*shaal*) *asked* or *demanded*, agreeably to its proper and literal meaning, which is given to it in all the antient versions, as well as in every modern translation, *our own excepted*.

5. The extirpation of the Canaanites by the Jews, according to the divine command, is urged as an act of the greatest cruelty and injustice: but this objection falls to the ground when it is considered — *First*, That Palestine had, from time immemorial, been a land occupied by Hebrew herdsmen, without being in subjection to any one, or acknowledging the Canaanites as their masters, (who certainly were *not* the original possessors of the land, but dwelt on the Red Sea); and that the Israelites, who had never abandoned their right to it, claimed it again of

* See Bishop Porteus's Discourse on the character of David, Sermons, vol. ii. No. 5.

† Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures in Divinity, vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 172—185. See also Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. pp. 45—47.

the Canaanites as unlawful possessors. *—But, *Secondly*, it is a notorious fact, that these latter were an abominably wicked people. “It is needless to enter into any proof of the depraved state of their morals; they were a wicked people in the time of Abraham; and even then were devoted to destruction by God; but their iniquity was not then full. In the time of Moses they were idolaters; sacrificers of their own crying and smiling infants; devourers of human flesh; addicted to unnatural lusts; immersed in the filthiness of all manner of vice. Now, it will be impossible to prove, that it was a proceeding contrary to God’s moral justice to exterminate so wicked a people. He made the Israelites the executors of his vengeance: and, in doing this, he gave such an evident and terrible proof of his abomination of vice, as could not fail to strike the surrounding nations with astonishment and terror, and to impress on the minds of the Israelites what they were to expect, if they followed the example of the nations whom he commanded them to cut off. “*Ye shall not commit any of these abominations, that the land spew not you out also, as it spewed out the nations that were before you.*” (Lev. xviii. 28.) How strong and descriptive this language! the vices of the inhabitants were so abominable, that the very land was sick of them, and forced to vomit them forth, as the stomach disgorges a deadly poison.” †

6. It is said, that many passages of the Old Testament ascribe to God vicious passions and actions: but, these objections cease, when such passages are interpreted *figuratively*, as they ought to be, and when all those other passages of the Bible are duly considered, which most evidently convey the sublimest ideas of the Divine Majesty.

7. It has also been said that the Song of Solomon, and the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters of Ezekiel’s prophecy, contain passages offensive to common decency; but this objection will fall, by interpreting those parts allegorically, as almost all the commentators, from the earliest times, have unanimously done: and likewise, by considering that the simplicity of the eastern nations made these phrases less offensive to them than they appear to us.

* Prof. Michaelis has fully proved this, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, vol. i. pp. 153—169.

† Bp. Watson’s *Apology for the Bible*, in reply to the *Age of Reason*, Letter i. pp. 173, 174. (edit. 1806.) The late Dr. Paley has some admirable observations on the same topic, in his *Sermons on several subjects*, Serm. xxix. pp. 429—443. And Dr. Graves has treated it at great length, and with his wonted accuracy. *Lect. on Pentateuch*, vol. ii. pp. 4—64.

8. Lastly, it is asserted, that the imprecations contained in some of the prophetic parts of Scripture, and especially in the book of Psalms, are highly inconsistent with humanity; these, however, are to be considered not as prayers, but as simple predictions; the imperative mood being put for the future tense agreeably to the idiom of the Hebrew language. * The Hebrew texts express no kind of wish, but are only so many denunciations of the displeasure of God against those who either were, or should be guilty of the sins therein mentioned, and of the judgements which they must expect to be inflicted upon them, unless prevented by a timely and sincere repentance. And, agreeably to this view, the sacred texts should have been rendered “cursed they,” or, “cursed *are* they,” and not “cursed *be* they,” in the sense of *Let them be* cursed; the word *be*, though inserted in our translation, having nothing answerable to it in the Hebrew. It is further worthy of remark, that the imprecations in the hundred and ninth Psalm, are not the imprecations of David against his enemies, but of his enemies against him. †

* Dr. Doddridge’s Lectures, No. 149. (Works, vol. v. p. 140.) Several instances, in which the imperative mood is used for the future tense of the indicative mood, are given by Glassius, *Philologia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 286, 287. ed. Dathii.

† Williams’s Dissertation on Scripture Imprecations, prefixed to “The Book of Psalms as translated, paraphrased, or imitated by some of the most eminent English Poets.” 8vo. 1781. Green’s note on Psalm 109. (Translation of the Psalms, 8vo. 1762.) The late Bishop Horsley also renders these imprecations as prophetic maledictions; though he considers that Psalm as denounced by Messiah against the Jewish nation.

SECTION VII.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SACRED WRITERS.

THERE are some facts recorded in one part of the sacred writings, which seem to be repugnant to the statements contained in other parts of the Scriptures; and these apparent contradictions are to be found between different writers of the Old Testament, and also between the Old and the New Testament.

I. *In the Old Testament, the following passages are objected to as contradictory.*

1. Exodus vii. 19—21. is apparently contradicted by Exodus vii. 22. both are reconciled by comparing verse 24. The Egyptians *digged round about the river for water to drink*: and

it seems that the water *thus obtained* was not bloody like that in the river; on this water, therefore, the magicians might operate. Again, though Moses was commissioned to turn into blood, not only the waters of the river Nile, but also those of their streams, rivers, ponds, and pools: yet, it seems evident from verse 20, that he did not proceed thus far, at least in the *first instance*, for it is there stated, that only the waters of the river were turned into blood. Afterwards, doubtless, the plague became *general*. At the commencement, therefore, of this plague, the magicians might obtain other water to imitate the miracle; and it would not be difficult for them, by juggling tricks, to impart to it a bloody appearance, a fetid smell, and a bad taste. On either of these grounds, there is no contradiction in the Mosaic account.*

2. DEUTERONOMY x. 8. is apparently contradicted by Numb. xx. 23—29. and xxxiii. 30. 37, 38. The repugnancy Dr. Kennicott has shewn, may be removed, by supposing v. 6—9. of Deut. x. to be an interpolation, and to have their proper place after ch. ii. 11. In Deut. x. there are several things omitted which are preserved in the Samaritan copy, and remove the difficulty we otherwise find respecting the time and place of Aaron's death. The Samaritan copy is as follows:—"Thence
" they journeyed and pitched their camp in Gudgodah; thence
" they journeyed, and pitched in Jotbatha, a land of springs
" of water. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Abarnea.
" Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Eziongeber. Thence
" they journeyed, and pitched in the Desert of Sin, which is
" Kadesh. Thence they journeyed, and pitched in Mount
" Hor; and there Aaron died, &c." †

3. JOSHUA x. 15. is apparently contradicted by verse 43. of the same chapter: in the former place, he is said to "have returned, and all Israel with him to Gilgal;" which he certainly did not, until the end of the expedition, verse 43. where it is properly introduced. It is, therefore, either an interpolation, or must signify that Joshua *intended* ‡ to have returned, &c., but changed his resolution when he heard that the five kings had fled and hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah. ||

4. EZRA, ch. ii. is apparently at variance with Nehemiah vii. 6. &c. On the discrepancies occurring throughout these two

* Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. vii. 22.

† Kennicott's Diss. ii. p. 314, 315, and Remarks on Select Passages of the Old Testament, p. 74.

‡ So Balak, king of Moab, *warred* against Israel, Josh. xxiv. 9. that is, *intended* to war against them. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 291. || Ibid.

chapters, the commentators must be consulted: it may suffice here to remark that the account contained in Ezra was taken in Chaldæa *before* the Jews commenced their return; and that, which is related in Nehemiah vii., *after* their arrival in Jerusalem. Some of them altering their minds and staying behind after they had given in their names to go, and others dying on the way, lessened part of the numbers in Nehemiah; as, on the contrary, some of them coming to them afterwards, made the numbers mentioned in the latter appear the greater.

5. But the principal and most numerous contradictions are to be found in the Old Testament between the books of Kings and Chronicles; and chiefly relate to numbers, dates, names, and genealogies. The means by which some of these repugnances may be reconciled have already been indicated*; in addition to which we may remark that although the commentators generally present satisfactory solutions, yet many of the seeming differences may be easily reconciled on the principle that the books of Chronicles are *supplementary* to those of Kings; and hence they are termed in the Septuagint Παράλειπόμενα or things omitted. Besides, the language was slightly changed, after the captivity, from what it had previously been. “The various places had received new names, or undergone sundry vicissitudes; certain things were now better known to the returned Jews, under other appellations than those by which they had formerly been distinguished; and from the materials before him, which often were not the same as those used by the abridgers of the histories of the kings, the author [of the books of Chronicles] takes those passages which seemed best adapted to his purpose and most suitable to the time in which he wrote. It must also be considered, that he often elucidates obsolete and ambiguous words, in former books, by a different mode of spelling them, or by a different order of the words employed even when he does not use a distinct phraseology of narration, which he sometimes adopts.”†

II. The differences between the various historical writings of the Old Testament having already been accounted for, it remains to notice a few passages in which the Old and New Testaments apparently disagree. Thus,

1. MATTHEW xxvii. 9, 10. disagrees with ZECHARIAH xi. 13.

Both may be reconciled by supposing the *name* of the prophet to have been originally omitted by the evangelist, and

* See pp. 435. *et seq.*

† Robinson's Theological and Biblical Dictionary, article *Chronicles*.

that the name of Jeremiah was inserted by some subsequent copyist. Jeremiah is *omitted* in two manuscripts of the twelfth century, in the Syriac, the later Persian, and modern Greek versions, and some latter copies. What renders it likely that the original reading was *δια του προφητου* by the prophet, is, that Saint Matthew frequently omits the name of the prophet in his quotations. *

On the difference between Matt. xxiii. 34. and 2 Chron. xx. 14. relative to Zechariah, see p. 442. *supra*.

2. MARK ii. 26. is at variance with 1 Sam. xxi. 1. Abiathar was not high priest at that time: but the expression may easily signify, *in the days of Abiathar*, who was afterwards high priest. Or, probably, both Ahimelech and Abiathar might officiate in the high priesthood, and the name of the office be indifferently applied to either. †

4. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, ix. 4. is apparently contradictory to 1 Kings viii. 9. It appears from the text of the former book that the *ark* contained the several things therein specified; whereas we learn from the latter that it contained only the two tables of stone. *Εν ᾗ, in which, (wherein Engl. transl.)*, therefore refers to the tabernacle, and not to the ark: and thus the difference is removed. ‡

5. Some of the differences between the Old and New Testaments arise from numbers and dates, and may therefore be explained on the principles already laid down §: and others arise from the variances occurring in the quotations from the former in the New Testament; but as these require a distinct consideration, the discussion of them is referred to the next chapter. ||

* Griesbach, in Matt. xxvii. 9. Dr. A. Clarke, in loc. Mr. Valpy, in his edition of the Greek Testament with philological notes (vol i. p. 204.) supposes after Jerome that these words were taken from some apocryphal book of Jeremiah's. Jerome's words are: Legi nuper in quodam Hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Hieremiæ apocryphum, *in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi*; but it is highly probable that this prophecy was inserted there, only to support its insertion in Matt. xxvii. 9.

† Gilpin's Exposition of the New Testament, vol. i. p. 136. Dr Clarke in loc.

‡ Gilpin, vol. ii. p. 337. Purver's note in Loc.

§ See pp. 447--450. 454, 455.

|| See chapter vi. *infra*.

SECTION VIII.

SEEMING INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN SACRED AND PROFANE WRITERS.

IT is not to be denied that the sacred Scriptures contain facts, which appear to be contradictory to the relations of the same facts by profane historians. But the objections which some would derive from these seeming inconsistencies, lose all their force, when the uncertainty and want of credibility in heathen historians are considered, as well as their want of authentic records of the times. * It may further be added, that the silence of the latter, concerning facts related by the inspired writers, cannot be regarded as contradicting them; because many of these facts are either too antient to come within the limits of profane histories, or are of such a description that they could not take notice of them. The silence or omission even of many historians ought not to overturn the testimony of any one author, who positively relates a matter of fact. †

If therefore a fact related in the Scripture be contradicted by an historian, who lived many centuries after the time when it took place, such contradiction ought to have no weight.

1. Justin, the abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, who wrote at least eighteen hundred years after the time of Moses, relates that the Israelites were expelled from Egypt, because they had communicated the itch and leprosy to the Egyptians, who were apprehensive lest the contagion should spread; and that the Israelites, having clandestinely carried away the sacred mysteries of the Egyptians, were pursued by the latter; who were compelled to return home by tempests. ‡ It is scarcely necessary to remark, how contrary this statement of the Roman historian is to that of the Jewish legislator; and when his credulity and want of information are properly weighed, the contradiction falls entirely to the ground.

2. It has been thought impossible to raise so vast an empire as that of Assyria is described to have been by Herodotus and Ctesias (whose accounts contradict the relation of Moses), so early as within one hundred and fifty years after Noah. But

* Bishop Stillingfleet has largely proved this point in the first book of his *Origines Sacrae*, pp. 1—65. (edit. 1709, folio.)

† Gerard's *Institutes*, p. 452. § 1227.

‡ Justin. *Hist. Philipp. lib. xxxvi. c. 2. p. 308.* ed. Bipont.

their accounts are, probably, exaggerated, and in many instances fictitious: and, according to the chronology of the LXX. as well as of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the origin of the Assyrian empire is carried to a much greater distance from the flood. *

3. Joseph's division of the land of Egypt, which is recorded by Moses (Gen. xlvii.) has been represented as contradictory to the account of that country by Diodorus Siculus: but on comparing the two narratives together, it will be found that the latter fully *supports* the sacred historian. Diodorus † expressly affirms that *the lands were divided between the king, the priests, and the soldiery*: and Moses as expressly says, that *they were divided between the king, the priests, and the people*. “Moses tells us that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the priests and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property and brought the whole possessions of the people into the king's hands; which must needs make a prodigious accession of power to the crown. But Joseph, in whom the office of high priest and patriot supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public service, prevented for some time the ill effects of this accession by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors on very easy conditions. We may well suppose this wise disposition to have continued, till that *new king arose that knew not Joseph* (Exod. i. 8.); that is, would obliterate his memory, as averse to his system of policy. He, as it appears from Scripture, greatly affected a despotic government; to support which he first established a standing militia, and endowed it with the lands formerly belonging to the people, who now became a kind of villeins to this order, and were obliged to personal service; this and the priesthood being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and so considerable were they, that out of them, indifferently, their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable that from this time and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a standing militia, and of the king's six hundred chosen chariots, &c.” ‡

4. The destruction of Sennacherib's army, which is ascribed to divine agency by the sacred historian, (2 Kings xix. 35. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. and Isaiah xxxvii. 36.) was probably the

* Doddridge's Lectures, vol. ii. Lect. 146, sect. x. (Works, vol. v. p. 127.) See also Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 48—52.

† Bibl. Historic. l. i. c. 73.

‡ Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation, book iv. Sect. 3. in fine. (Works, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116.)

blast or hot pestilential south wind called the *Simoom*, so well described by Mr. Bruce.* The destruction of the same army before Pelusium, in the reign of Sethos king of Egypt, is attributed by Herodotus † to an immense number of mice, that infested the Assyrian camp by *night*, so that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms were gnawed in pieces. It is particularly to be remarked that Herodotus calls the Assyrian king Sennacherib, as the Scriptures do; and that the time referred to in both, is perfectly accordant. Hence it appears that it is the same fact to which Herodotus alludes, although much disguised in the relation; and thus the seeming contradiction between the sacred and profane historians is easily removed. The difference between them may be readily explained, when it is considered that Herodotus derived his information from the Egyptian priests, who cherished the greatest aversion both from the nation and religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such a manner as would give reputation to either. ‡

5. There are many, apparently considerable, contradictions of the Scriptures in the writings of Josephus: but these, as well as his *omissions* §, may be accounted for by his peculiar situation. His country was now in great distress; its constitution was overturned, and his countrymen in danger of extirpation, from the circumstance of their being confounded with the Christians, who were reputed to be a sect of the Jews, and at that time were suffering persecution. Josephus's deviations from Scripture, therefore, were made in order to accommodate his work to the taste of the Greeks and Romans ||.

The preceding are the most material instances of apparent contradictions between the writers of the *Old Testament* and profane historians. The New Testament presents also a few examples of similar discrepancies, which we shall now adduce, but which also admit of equally easy solutions.

* Travels, vol. v. pp. 80, 295, 322, 323, 350—353.

† Book ii. c. 141.

‡ Prideaux's Connection, book i. sub anno 710. (part i. p. 25. edit. 1720.) It is remarkable that the blast, which destroyed the Assyrians, happened at night; whereas the *Simoom* usually blows in the daytime, and mostly about noon, being raised by the intense heat of the sun. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 467.

§ Josephus's silence concerning the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem has been already accounted for, see pp. 67, 68. *supra*. Ottius has compiled a curious treatise, entitled *Prætermissa a Josepho*: it is a collection of sixty-eight articles, of which, in all probability, the Jewish historian could not be ignorant; but which he chose to omit for the reason above assigned. This treatise is appended to Ottius's very valuable *Spicilegium sive Excerpta et Flavio Josepho*, pp. 527—612.

|| Divine Legation of Moses, book v. sect. 4. (Warburton's Works, vol. v. pp. 126—128.) The Bishop has given several instances at length, which we have not room to insert, see pp. 130—132.

1. Luke ii. 2. is said to be contrary to historical fact, Saturninus and Volumnius being at that time the Roman presidents of Syria, and Cyrenius not being governor of that province until eleven years after the birth of Christ. A slight attention to the situation of Judea at that time, and a more correct rendering of the passage than is to be found in our English version, will easily reconcile the seeming difference between the Sacred Historian and Josephus.

Towards the close of his reign, Herod the Great, having incurred the displeasure of Augustus Cæsar, (to whom his conduct had been misrepresented), the Roman emperor issued a decree reducing Judea to a Roman province, and *commanding* an enrolment, or register, to be made of every person's estate, dignity, age, employment, and office. The making of this enrolment was confided to Cyrenius or Quirinius, a Roman senator, who was collector of the imperial revenue: but Herod having sent his trusty minister, Nicholas of Damascus, to Rome, the latter found means to undeceive the emperor, and soften his anger, in consequence of which the actual operation of the decree was suspended. *Eleven* years afterwards, however, it was carried into effect, on the deposition and banishment of Archelaus, (Herod's son and successor), for mal-administration, by Augustus, upon the complaint of the Jews; who, weary of the tyranny of the Herodian family, requested that Judea might be made a Roman province. Cyrenius was now sent, as president of Syria, with an armed force, to confiscate the property of Archelaus, and to complete the census, to which the Jewish people submitted. It was *this* establishment of the assessment or taxing under Cyrenius, which was necessary to complete the Roman census, to which the evangelist alludes in the parenthetical remark occurring in Luke ii. 2., which may be more correctly written and translated thus: "*It came to pass in those days,*" that is, a few days before our Saviour's birth, "*that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the land*" [of Judea and Galilee under Herod's dominion] "*should be enrolled* *," preparatory to a census or taxing; "*(The taxing itself was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria †:)*" And all went to be enrolled, every one into his own city, (Luke ii. 1—3).

* Απογραφεσθαι την ΟΙΚΟΤΜΗΝΗΝ, Luke ii. i. That ΟΙΚΟΤΜΗΝΗ signifies the land of Judea, and not the whole Roman empire, see p. 8, *supra*.

† (Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο ἡγεμονευόντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.) In all the printed editions of the New Testament the first word in this verse is aspirated αὕτη, *this*, as if it were the feminine of οὗτος. "But this," says Dr. Hales, to whom we are indebted

By the preceding construction, supported by the emendation in the note, the evangelist is critically reconciled with the varying accounts of Josephus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, and an historical difficulty is solved, which has hitherto been considered as irreconcilable. *

Two other solutions, however, have been offered; which deserve to be noticed on account of their ingenuity.

1. The first is that of Mr. Charles Thomson, late Secretary to the Congress of the United States, the learned translator of the Old and New Testaments from the Greek. He renders Luke ii. 1, 2. in the following manner: "Now it happened in those days that an edict came forth from Cæsar Augustus that this whole inhabited land should be enrolled. *This was the first enrolment; it was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.*" In a note on the passage in question, he observes, "There were two enrolments, the first merely for the purpose of *numbering* the inhabitants, and the second for assessing them. The first here spoken of, was in the reign of Herod the Great, when Cyrenius was deputy-governor of Syria. It was done according to communities and families; and all were obliged to repair to their respective cities or towns, to be enrolled in their several families, according to their genealogies. The second, which was after the death of Herod, was for the sake of *assessment*, and was made indiscriminately. This was

for the above elucidation, "materially injures the sense, as if the *enrolment* decreed in the first verse was the same as *this taxing* in the second; whereas there was an interval of eleven years between the two. But in the most antient manuscripts, written in uncials or in capitals, without points or accents, the word is ambiguous, and may also be, unspirited, *αυτη*, *self*, the feminine of *αυτος*; and both occur together in this same chapter, where the evangelist, speaking of Anna the prophetess, says, *και αυτη, αυτη τη ωρα επιστασα.* "And *this* [woman] coming in at *the instant itself*," or at "*the self-same hour*," &c. The ordinal *πρωτη*, first, is here understood adverbially, (see Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 304, 305.), and connected with the verb *εγενετο*, "*was made*," or "*took effect*," signifying that the taxing itself *first took effect*, or was carried into execution, under the presidency of Cyrenius or Quirinius; which had been suspended from the time of his procuratorship." Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 705—710.

* Dr. Campbell (Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 140, 422—425.) renders Luke ii. 2. in the following manner:—"This first register took effect when Cyrenius was president of Syria." But, as we have seen in the preceding note that *πρωτη* is here used adverbially, this version will not hold good. In confirmation of his rendering *εγενετο* "*took effect*," (which is adopted by Dr. Hales) Campbell refers to Matt. v. 18. vi. 10. xviii. 19. xxii. 42. and 1 Cor. xv. 54. Dr. Lardner has proposed another solution of the above difference, (Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. i. Works, vol. i. pp. 248—329.) which deserves to be noticed, because it has been adopted by Archdeacon Paley, (Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178.) It is as follows:—"This was the first enrolment of Cyrenius governor of Syria, that is, who was afterwards governor of Syria, and best known among the Jews by that title;" which title, belonging to him at the time of writing the account, was naturally subjoined to his name, although acquired after the transaction which the account describes.

the enrolment which offended the Jews, and excited tumults and insurrections, and brought on the war which terminated in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter dispersion of the Jews." From the rendering, thus supported, the praise of learning and ingenuity must not be withheld. Mr. Thomson evidently considers the word η , (which all other translators consider as an indefinite article prefixed to $\alpha\pi\omicron\gamma\epsilon\alpha\phi\eta$, enrolment), as the third person singular of $\eta\iota$, the imperfect tense in the indicative mood of the verb $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$, I am. It is well known that the profane writers use η or $\eta\iota$ indifferently as the third person singular; and if we could find a single parallel construction in the New Testament, we should unquestionably give the preference to Mr. T.'s rendering.

2. The other solution is that offered by the learned editor of Calmet's Dictionary; who conjectures, that, for the purposes of enrolment, Cyrenius, though not probably governor of Syria at the time of Christ's birth, might be associated with Saturninus; or, though now sent into Syria as an extraordinary officer, yet being afterwards governor of Syria, he might be called governor of Syria, as we call an officer during his life by the title he has borne, even after he has given up his commission. On a medal of Antioch appear the names of Saturninus and Volumnius, who were the emperor's chief officers in Syria. It would seem, therefore, that Volumnius was the colleague of Saturninus in the government of Syria, and procurator of the province; and that while Saturninus kept his court at Antioch, where he remained stationary, his associate Volumnius was engaged in other districts of the province as circumstances required. What we suppose of Volumnius, we may also suppose of Cyrenius, who, after him, held the same office. Thus, the medal vindicates Josephus, who described Saturninus and Volumnius as governors of Syria; and it may justify both Saint Luke and Tertullian, of whom the former affirmed that Cyrenius, and the latter that Saturninus executed the enrolment. It may also justify the evangelist, whose words the editor of Calmet thinks may be thus understood. "This was the first enrolment of Cyrenius, he being then governor of Syria, associated with Saturninus; and it should be distinguished from that which he made eleven years after, when he was the chief, the presidential governor of the same province *".

* Calmet's Dictionary, vol. i. article *Cyrenius*. Fragments Supplementary to Calmet, No. cxxiii. p. 37; Geographical Index and Sacred Geography, by the same editor, voce *Antioch*.

The reader will adopt which of the preceding solutions he may prefer: either of them affords a sufficient explanation of the *seeming* contradiction between the Evangelist and Josephus, though, upon the whole, we think the rendering of Dr. Hales presents the most satisfactory elucidation.

2. In Luke iii. 19. Herod the tetrarch is said to have been reproved by John the Baptist for Herodias, his brother *Philip's* wife, whom he had forcibly taken away from her husband, and married. Now this is irreconcilable with profane history, which asserts his brother's name to have been *Herod*. Hence it is probable that the name of *Philip* has crept into the text through the copyist's negligence, and ought to be omitted: Griesbach has omitted it in his text, but has inserted the word *Φιλιππος* in the margin, with the mark of doubtful genuineness.

3. Acts v. 36. *For before these days rose up Theudas, &c.* Josephus's account of Theudas (Antiq. l. xx. c. 5. § 1.) referred to a transaction that occurred seven years *after* Gamaliel's speech, of which this text is a part. The contradiction is removed by the probability that there might be *two* impostors of the same name: for there were four persons of the name of Simon within forty years, and three of *Judas* within ten years, all of whom were leaders of insurrections *.

* Dr. Lardner has collected the passages in question relative to these impostors. Works, vol. i. pp. 409—413. See also Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 179—181.

SECTION IX.

SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS TO PHILOSOPHY AND THE NATURE OF THINGS.

THE Scriptures often refer to matters of fact, which appear contradictory to philosophy and to the nature of things. A little consideration, however, will reconcile these seeming repugnancies: for it has been well observed by different writers, who have treated on this subject, that the Scriptures were not written with the design of teaching us natural philosophy, but to make known the revealed will of God to man, and to teach us our duties and obligations to our great Creator and Redeemer. Therefore the sacred penmen might make use of popular expressions and forms of speech, neither affirming nor denying their philosophical truth. All proverbial sayings

and metaphorical expressions, introduced by way of illustration or ornament, must be taken from received notions: but they are not *therefore* asserted in the philosophical sense by him who uses them, any more than the historical truth of parables and similitudes is supposed to be asserted. Further, to have employed philosophical terms and notions only, and to have rectified the vulgar conceptions of men concerning all the phenomena incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large system of philosophy, which would have rendered the Scriptures a book unfit for ordinary capacities, and the greater part of those for whom it is designed. Besides, this theory of nature would have seemed as strange and incredible to most men, as miracles do: for there is scarcely any thing which more surprizes men, unacquainted with philosophy, than philosophical discoveries. How incredible do the *motion* of the earth and the *rest* of the sun appear to all but philosophers, who are now fully convinced of the reality of these phenomena, while the rising and setting of the sun are terms as much in use with those, who hold the doctrine of the earth's motion, as with others. In fact, if we would be understood, we must continue to make use of this expression: but, excepting this one instance, which is and ever will be in use, according to the vulgar conceptions of all nations and languages, (notwithstanding any philosophical discoveries to the contrary), there is nothing in the Scriptures that is not strictly consistent with the present notions of philosophy.* A few examples will illustrate this observation.

1. It has been asserted that the narrative of the deluge, contained in Gen. vii. is contrary to philosophy, and that the deluge could not be universal, because no stock of water could be found sufficient to overflow the earth to the degree represented by Moses. The sacred historian, however, expressly asserts that it was universal, and his relation is confirmed by the fossilized remains of animals belonging to a former world, which are found in every quarter of the globe. Thus, the highest eminences of the earth, as the Alps, the Apennines, the Pyrenees, Libanus, Atlas, and Ararat, in short, all the mountains of every region under heaven, where search has been made, conspire in one uniform and universal proof that the sea was spread over their highest summits: for they are found to contain shells, skeletons of fish and sea-monsters of every kind. The moose-deer, a native of America, has

* Jenkin's Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p. 232.

been found in Ireland; skeletons of the elephant and rhinoceros, natives of Africa and Asia, have been dug up on the steppes or table-lands of Tartary and Siberia; crocodiles, chiefly of the Asiatic species, have been discovered in various parts of Europe; the gigantic mammoth, an animal exclusively belonging to the antediluvian world, has been found in the most northern parts of Russia, and also in North America and in Ireland: to which we may add trees of vast dimensions with their roots and tops, and some also with leaves and fruit, discovered at the bottom of mines and marle-pits, not only in regions where no tree of such kind was ever known to grow, but also where it is demonstrably impossible that they should grow: which effect could only be produced by the fountains of the great deep being broken up. Further, the drifting of the ark northwards, from Noah's settlement to mount Ararat, leads us to infer that the main current of the waters of the deluge came from the south: and that this was the case is most evident from the present appearances of the great continents of the terraqueous globe; whose deep southern indentations and bold projecting capes on the north, together with the chaotic subversions of the ghauts of Hindūstan, as well as of the mountains of Abyssinia and Caffraria, and of those in the neighbourhood of the streights of Maghellan,—all conspire to prove that such tremendous disruptions were originally caused by the waters of the "great deep;" which rushed northwards with considerable fury at first, though they afterwards grew less violent towards the end of their progress. There are also traces of prodigious disruptions of the earth, in high northern regions, as if on purpose to absorb the redundant waters from the south: and in some parts, as in Norway, whole countries have been uplifted on one side, and half buried on the other in vast gulphs which opened to receive them*.

But the fact of the *universality* of the deluge does not rest on the evidence, arising from the organic remains of the former world which have been discovered: nor is its history confined to the Scriptures. Civil history likewise affords many evidences which support the Mosaic account of the deluge. Thus, 1. The paucity of mankind, and the vast tracts of uninhabited land, which are mentioned in the accounts of the first ages, show that mankind are sprung lately from a small stock, and even suit the time assigned by Moses before the flood. 2. The

* That the Mosaic history, particularly of the deluge, is not inconsistent with geological discoveries, is clearly proved by Mr. Sumner in his 'Treatise on the Records of the Creation,' vol. i. pp. 267—285.

great number of small kingdoms and petty states in the first ages concur to the same purpose. 3. The invention and progress of arts and sciences, also concur; and this favours the Mosaic history of the antediluvians: for, as the Jewish legislator mentions little of their arts, so it appears from the late invention of these after the flood, that those who were preserved from it were possessed but of few arts *. And, 4. but principally, we find from pagan authors that the tradition of a flood universally obtained. It is indeed a very remarkable fact concerning the deluge, that the memory of almost all nations ends in the history of it, even of those nations which were unknown until they were discovered by enterprising voyagers and travellers; and that the traditions of the deluge were kept up in all the rites and ceremonies of the Gentile world. And it is observable, that, the further we go back, the more vivid the traces appear, especially in those countries which were nearest to the scene of action. The reverse of this would happen, if the whole were originally a fable. The history would not only be less widely diffused; but, the more remote our researches, the less light we should obtain; and, however we might strain our sight, the objects would by degrees grow faint, and the scene would terminate in clouds and darkness. Besides, there would not have been that correspondence and harmony in the traditions of different nations, which so plainly subsisted among them: now this could not be the result of chance, but must necessarily have arisen from the same history being universally acknowledged. These evidences are derived to us from people who were of different ages and countries, and, in consequence, widely separated from each other: and, what is extraordinary, they did not know, in many instances, the purport of the data which they transmitted, nor the value and consequence of their intelligence. In their mythology they adhered to the letter, without considering the meaning; and acquiesced in the hieroglyphic, though they were strangers to the purport. With respect to ourselves, it is a happy circumstance, not only that these histories have been transmitted to us, but also that, after an interval of so long a date, we should be able to see into the hidden mystery, and from these crude materials to obtain such satisfactory truths. †

* Hartley on Man, vol. ii. p. 108. Le Clerc's Notes on Grotius de Veritate, l. i. c. 16.

† Burton's Oriental Researches, vol. i. p. 272. This work contains a comprehensive digest of the geological, historical, and mythological evidences, proving the universality of the deluge. See pp. 184—272. Dr. Hales has likewise concentrated the more

In what manner the deluge was effected, it becomes us to inquire with reverence. It was undoubtedly miraculous, and therefore no more to be accounted for, to a certainty, by any philosophical hypothesis, than the creation itself. But, if it were caused, as some have endeavoured to prove, by the influence of a comet passing very near the earth *; or, if by the divine power the centre of gravitation was removed for a time towards the middle of the then inhabited parts of the world,—a change of its place, but the two thousandth part of the radius of this globe, would have been sufficient to bury the tops of the highest hills under water †. This is as far as philosophy can go,—to say; thus it may have been, if it pleased God to bring the deluge upon the earth by this means, rather than by an infinitude of others, which are all equally within his power. And thus far philosophy bears testimony to the word of God. ‡

important facts. *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. pp. 327—337. The reader, however, who is desirous of investigating this subject fully, is referred to Mr. Howard's *History of the Earth and Mankind*, 4to; Mr. Kirwan's *Memoirs*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vols. v. vi. and viii; to Mr. Townsend's elaborate work on the *Character of Moses as an Historian*, 4to; or to Mr. Parkinson's *Organic Remains of a Former World*, 4 vols. 4to. Some very acute remarks and proofs on the subject of the deluge are also to be found in Mr. Nares's *Bampton Lectures*, serm. vi. pp. 293, *et seq.*

* Whiston's *Theory of the Earth*, pp. 376—400. Hartley on *Man*, vol. ii. p. 106.

† Dr. Halley, in a *Discourse concerning Gravity*, in *Miscellanea Curiosa*, vol. i.

‡ Jenkin's *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*, vol. ii. p. 237. Sir Henry Englefield endeavours to account for the extraordinary phenomena of the deluge from natural causes, in the following plausible hypothesis.—“The diameter of the earth being taken at 8,000 miles, and the highest mountain being supposed four miles high above the level of the sea, the quantity of water requisite to cover them will be a hollow sphere of 8,008 miles diameter and four miles thick; the content of which, in round numbers, is 800,000,000 cubic miles. Let us now suppose the globe of the earth to consist of a crust of solid matter 1000 miles thick, inclosing a sea or body of water 2,000 miles deep; within which is a central nucleus of 2,000 miles in diameter: the content of that body of water will be 109,200,000,000 cubic miles, or about 137 times the quantity of water required to cover the surface of the earth as above stated. Now water, by experiment, expands about 1-25th of its whole magnitude, from freezing to boiling; or 100th of its magnitude for 45 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Suppose, then, that the heat of the globe, previously to the deluge, was about 60 degrees of Fahrenheit's, a temperature very near that of this climate; and that a sudden change took place in the interior of the globe, which raised its heat to 83 degrees; a heat no greater than the marine animals live in, in the shallow seas between the tropics; those 23 degrees of augmented heat would so expand the internal sea, as to cause it to more than cover the surface of the globe, according to the conditions abovementioned; and if the cause of heat ceased, the waters would of course, in cooling, retire into their former places. If the central nucleus be supposed three thousand miles, and the internal sea only 1,500 miles deep, its content will then be 99,200,000 cubic miles, or 125 times the water required; and, in that case, an additional heat of 36 degrees to the previous temperature of the earth will be sufficient to produce the above described effect. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the perfect regularity here supposed to exist in the form of the interior parts of the globe, is of no consequence to the pro-

2. The Mosaic history of the deluge has been objected to, as contrary to matter of fact, on the ground that the ark (Gen. vi. 15, 16.) could not contain all the animals now found upon the earth, together with the proper provisions for them during the time of the deluge: but this, on accurate computation has been proved to be otherwise; * so that what was thought an objection, becomes even an evidence for the truth of the Mosaic history. †

3. It has further been objected, that, as Moses supposes all mankind to have sprung from Noah, it is impossible to account for the origin of the *Blacks*, if the patriarch and his wife were *White*. But this difference of colour does not invalidate the sacred history: for it has been ascertained by actual observation, that climate and local circumstances are sufficient to account for every dissimilarity, which is discovered in the appearance of different nations. ‡ “The supposed difficulties of emigration are likewise obviated by recent discoveries in geography; for these demonstrate a much greater proximity in countries, between which no communication was conceived to exist in the earlier ages of the world, than obtains between those from which early emigrations have confessedly been made, and those to which they have been directed. It is now determined by positive examination, that the north-east part of Asia is con-

posed hypothesis; which will be equally just, if the above given quantity of waters be any how disposed within the earth. Neither is it here proposed to discuss the reality of a central fire, which many philosophers maintain, and many deny. It may not be unworthy of remark, that the above hypothesis, which does not in any way contradict any law of nature, singularly accords with the Mosaic narrative of the deluge: for the sudden expansion of the internal waters would, of course, force them up through the chasms of the exterior crust in dreadful jets and torrents; while their heat would cause such vapours to ascend into the atmosphere, as, when condensed, would produce torrents of rain beyond our conception.”

* The cubit mentioned by Moses is nearly equal to twenty-two English inches, according to which measure, the ark must have been about 547 English feet in length by 91 in breadth, and about 54 in height, containing 72,625 tons. And these dimensions, Bishop Wilkins has shewn (*Real Charact.* part ii. c. 5. § 6. pp. 162—168.) were fully sufficient for all the purposes for which the ark was designed. *Zoologists usually reckon only one hundred and seventy species of animals, in all; from which number are to be excepted all such animals as can live in the water. And the same author has also shewn that only seventy-two of the quadruped kind needed a place in the ark.* See further Calmet's, Robinson's, or Jones's Dictionaries of the Bible, article *Ark*, and Taylor's Scripture Illustrated, Expository Index, p. 18.

† Hartley, on Man, vol. ii. p. 106.

‡ See Dr. Mitchell's Paper, in the Philosophical Transaction, vol. xliii. p. 102. Professor Zimmermann's “*Histoire Geographique de l'Homme*, 4to. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith's “*Essay on the causes of the variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*,” 8vo. An abstract of the arguments adduced in these works may be seen in Dr. Rees's Cyclopaedia, vol. ix. article *Complexion*. The descent of mankind from a single pair is clearly proved by Mr. Sumner in his *Treatise on the Records of the Creation*, vol. i. pp. 286—317.

nected with the north-west part of America, or separated from it by a very inconsiderable distance; though, indeed, this discovery was not necessary to prove, that the savage nations of the western continent must have derived their origin from the same common source as the eastern nations; since, not to insist on the arguments for their recent establishment, which might be drawn from their uncivilized state and their rude ignorance of the useful arts, they retained the vestige, opinions, and customs, which were so remarkably similar to those that prevailed in the East, as evidently to point out a former connexion. A reverence for the sabbath, and an acquaintance with many appointments of the Mosaic institution, were observed to exist in America, by the first discoverers of that country, too numerous indeed to be the result of accident or casual resemblance;—all the Americans had some traditionary acquaintance with the particulars of the Mosaic history; as of the flood, of one family preserved, and of the confusion of tongues. The Americans also had a custom of tinging the threshold of the door with blood, possibly in allusion to the circumstances that distinguished the institution of the Passover, and the Canadians had even some idea of the Messiah.” *

4. It has been affirmed that the circumstance of the sun and moon standing still, which is recorded in Joshua x. 12. is contrary to philosophy. Let it however be recollected that the sacred historian expressly relates it as a *miracle*: it is therefore impossible to account for it on philosophical principles; it must be resolved wholly into the power of God, who hearkened to the voice of a man, to stop the luminaries in their *diurnal* courses, or perhaps the earth's rotation, and by prolonging the day of battle to make them fight for Israel. From the circumstances of the narrative we may collect the time of the day and of the month when it happened, viz. soon after sun-rise, and when the moon was rather past the full.

“Joshua, when summoned by the Gibeonites to come to their succour against the confederate kings, went up from Gilgal *all night*, and came suddenly, (we may conclude *about day-break*) upon the enemy, whom he discomfited with great slaughter, and chased along the way from Gibeon to Beth-horon, in a westerly direction, the LORD co-operating in their destruction by a tremendous shower of great hail-stones, which slew

* Dr. Gray's Key to the Old Testament, p.86. note, and the authorities there cited; to which may be added the researches of Dr. Robinson in his History of America, vol. ii. pp. 25—49. and the Abbé Clavigero in his History of Mexico, translated by Mr. Cullen, vol. ii. Diss. i.

more than the sword of the Israelites, but did not touch the latter. In this situation the sun appeared to rise over Gibeon eastward, and the moon to set over Ajalon westward, near the Mediterranean Sea, in the tribe of Dan; when Joshua, moved by a divine impulse, uttered this invocation in the sight of Israel:—"Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon." "So the sun stood still in the hemisphere [at its rising], and hasted not to go down [at its setting] about a whole day: which, in that climate, and shortly after the vernal equinox, might have been about thirteen hours long, thus giving him day-light for the destruction of his enemies for twenty-six hours, during which he took the city of Makkedah, and slew the five kings who hid themselves in a cave near it, (Josh. x. 1—28)." *

5. It is said that such a number of inhabitants, as are stated to have dwelt in the land of Canaan, could not possibly have been supported there, viz. a million and a half of fighting men, (2 Sam. xxiv. 19. 1 Chron. xxi. 5); nor could such a stock of cattle be supplied there, as are said to have been sacrificed, especially by Solomon at the dedication of the temple, viz. one hundred and twenty thousand sheep, and twenty thousand oxen (1 Kings viii. 63.) To this it is to be answered that if there be no mistake in the numbers (which probably are incorrect, as the Syriac version reads eight hundred thousand in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. and 1 Chron. xxi. 5.) this vast population is to be ascribed to the extraordinary fertility of the soil: to which we may further add, that, as there were probably some neighbouring princes, who paid their tribute in cattle, they might supply the extraordinary sacrifice above referred to. See 2 Kings iii. 4. † Another solution of this apparent contradiction has been offered by a late writer ‡, which is both ingenious and probable. "It appears," he observes, "from Chronicles, that there were twelve divisions of generals, who commanded monthly, and whose duty it was to keep guard near the king's person, each having a body of troops consisting of twenty-four thousand men, which, jointly formed a grand army of two hundred and eighty thousand: and, as a separate body of

* Dr. Hales's New Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 290. The reader, who is desirous of reading the different opinions of learned men, on the subject of this miracle, is referred to Mr. Hewlett's note on Josh. x. 12. (Comment on the Bible, vol. i.) and to an original and elaborate note of Dr. A. Clarke on the same passage.

† Doddridge's Lectures, vol. ii. No. 146. (Works, vol. v. p. 128.)

‡ The editor of the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. See Fragments, No. xxxvii. pp. 62, 63.

twelve thousand men naturally attended on the twelve princes of the twelve tribes, mentioned in the same chapter, the whole will be three hundred thousand ; which is the difference between the two last accounts of eight hundred thousand and of one million one hundred thousand [vide *Alichot Holam*, p. 18.] Whence may be deduced this natural solution as to the number of Israel. As to the men of Israel, the author of Samuel does not take notice of the three hundred thousand, because they were in the actual service of the king as a standing army, and therefore there was no need to number them : but the author of Chronicles joins them to the rest, saying expressly, *כל ישראל*, “all those of Israel were one million one hundred thousand ;” whereas the author of Samuel, who reckons only the eight hundred thousand, does not say *כל ישראל* ‘all those of Israel’, but barely *וּתְחִי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, ‘and Israel were,’ &c. It must also be observed that exclusively of the troops before mentioned, there was an army of observation on the frontiers of the Philistines’ country, composed of thirty thousand men, as appears by 2 Sam. vi. 1. ; which, it seems, were included in the number of five hundred thousand of the people of Judah, by the author of Samuel ; but the author of Chronicles, who mentions only four hundred and seventy thousand, gives the number of that tribe exclusively of those thirty thousand men, because they were not all of the tribe of Judah : and therefore he does not say, *כל יהודה*, ‘all those of Judah,’ as he had said *כל ישראל*, ‘all those of Israel,’ but only *וְיְהוּדָה*, ‘and those of Judah.’ Thus, both accounts may be reconciled, by only having recourse to other parts of Scripture, treating on the same subject ; which will ever be found the best method of explaining difficult passages.”

6. It is urged that the treasures, mentioned in 1 Chron. xxix. 4. 7. as amassed by David for the purpose of erecting a temple, are incredible ; and that it was impossible that he could collect such a sum, which has been computed by M. le Clerc at eight hundred millions sterling, and which is thought to exceed all the gold of all the princes now upon earth put together. But it is possible that there may be a corruption in the numbers : we are not so well acquainted with the weights mentioned, as to be able to ascertain with precision the then comparative value of the precious metals, nor what resources for obtaining them (now lost) there were at that time *.

7. There is no contradiction between Job xxvi. 7. and Psal. xxiv. 2. and civ. 5. In the first cited passage, Job says that

* Doddridge’s Lectures, No. 147. sect. xii. (Works, vol. v. pp. 128, 129.) and the authorities there cited.

God *hangeth the earth upon nothing*: and in Psal. xxiv. 2. it is said that Jehovah *hath founded the earth upon the seas, and established it upon the floods*: and, in Psal. civ. 5. that he hath *laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever*. All which expressions are philosophically correct: for the foundation of a pendulous globe can be nothing but its centre, upon which all the parts lean and are supported by it; and the waters continually flowing through the bowels and concavities of the earth from the depths of the sea, by a constant course and circulation, constitute an abyss in the lowermost parts of the earth. *All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again*. Eccles. i. 7. So that, with great propriety of speech, the terraqueous globe is said to hang upon nothing, and the earth to be founded upon the seas, and established upon the floods, and Psal. cxxxvi. 6. *to be stretched out above the waters*. *

8. The circumstance of Jonah being in the belly of a *whale* (Jonah i. 17. Matt. xii. 40. and Luke xi. 32.) has been affirmed to be contrary to matter of fact; as the throat of a whale, it is well known, is capable of admitting little more than the arm of an ordinary man; and these fish are never found in the Mediterranean Sea. But Bochart has long since proved that a great fish of the *shark* kind is here intended: and it is a well attested fact that many of the shark species are not only of such a size and form as to be able, without any miracle, to swallow a man whole, but also that men have been found entire in their stomachs. Bochart is further of opinion that the particular species of shark which swallowed the prophet Jonah, was the *squalus carcharias* or white shark, for its voracity termed *lamia* by some naturalists, and which is a native of the seas in hot climates, where it is the terror of navigators. †

The preceding are the passages of Scripture, which have been principally excepted against, as being contrary to philosophy and the nature of things: and yet there is nothing in them which may not be accounted for on the principles of modern philosophy.

* Jenkin's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. p. 236.

† Bocharti Opera, tom. iii. col. 742, *et seq.* Bochart's opinion has been adopted by Mr. Parkhurst (Greek Lexicon, article *Κητος*, p. 361.) and is now generally received. See also *Scripture illustrated by Natural History*, &c. Expository Index, p. 52. and the *Fragments* annexed to the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cxlv. p. 103.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW
—QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE APOCRY-
PHAL WRITERS AND FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

IT is obvious, even on the most cursory perusal of the Holy Scriptures, that some passages are cited in other subsequent passages; and, in particular, that numerous quotations from the Old Testament are made in the New. In these references, there is frequently an apparent contradiction or difference between the original and the quotation; of which, as in the apparent contradictions, solved in the preceding chapter, infidelity and scepticism have sedulously availed themselves. These seeming discrepancies, however, when brought to the touchstone of criticism, instantly disappear: and thus the entire harmony of the Bible becomes fully evident. The appearance of contradiction, in the quotations from the Old Testament that are found in the New, is to be considered in two points of view, namely, 1. As to the *external form*, or the words in which the quotation is made; and, 2. As to the *internal form*, or the manner or purpose to which it is applied by the sacred writers.

SECTION I.

ON THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

1. QUOTATIONS FROM THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. — I. Quotations *exactly agreeing with the Hebrew*. — II. Quotations *nearly agreeing with the Hebrew*. — III. Quotations *agreeing with the Hebrew in sense, but not in words*. — IV. Quotations *that give the general sense, but abridge or add to it*. — V. Quotations *taken from several passages of Scripture*. — VI. Quotations *differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint*. — VII. Quotations *in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in the Hebrew*. — VIII. Passages *in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted*. — IX. Passages *which are mere references or allusions*. — 2. QUOTATIONS FROM THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. — I. Quotations *agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint, or only changing the person, number, &c.* — II. Quotations *taken from the Septuagint, but with some variation*. — III. Quotations *agreeing with the Septuagint in sense, but not in words*. — IV. Quotations *differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly or nearly with the Hebrew*. — V. Quotations *that differ both from the Septuagint and Hebrew*. — Considerations on the probable causes of the seeming discrepancies in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New.

A CONSIDERABLE difference of opinion exists among some learned men, whether the Evangelists and other writers of the New Testament quoted the Old Testament from the Hebrew, or from the venerable Greek version, usually called the Septuagint. Others, however, are of opinion, that they did not confine themselves exclusively to either; and this appears most probable. The only way by which to determine this important question, is to compare and arrange the texts actually quoted. Drusius, Junius, Glassius, Cappel, Eichorn, Michaelis, and many other eminent Biblical critics on the Continent, have ably illustrated this topic; in our own country, indeed, it has been but little discussed. The only writers on this subject, known to the author, are, Dr. Thomas Randolph*,

* “The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Testament, compared with the Hebrew original, and with the Septuagint version. To which are added Notes by Thomas Randolph, DD. 4to. Oxford, 1782.” In this valuable and beautifully printed work, now of extreme rarity, the student is presented at one view with the original text in the Hebrew, the quotation of it in the New Testament, and the translation of it in the Septuagint version: these are placed in opposite columns on the same page, so as to enable him to make, with great facility, a just comparison between the one and the other.

Dr. Henry Owen *, and the Rev. Thomas Scott †: but they have treated it with so much ability and accuracy, that he has to acknowledge himself indebted to their labours for great part of his materials ‡; having only classified what they have noticed in the order of the sacred books: an arduous undertaking, from which, however, the author has himself derived equal pleasure and benefit. And, in the hope that it may contribute to elucidate some very difficult passages, he offers the result of his labours in the following tables.

As it respects, then, the *external form* of the quotations, or the words in which the citations are actually made in the New Testament, the passages adduced from the Old Testament may be arranged under the two following classes, viz. 1. Quotations made from the Hebrew Scriptures; and, 2. Quotations made from the Septuagint version of them.

§ 1. *Quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures in the New Testament.*

These may be considered under the nine following classes, viz. 1. Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew;—2. Those which agree *nearly* with the Hebrew;—3. Quotations, agreeing with the Hebrew in *sense*, but not in words;—4. Such as give the *general* sense;—5. Quotations, which are taken from *several* passages of Scripture;—6. Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint;—7. Quotations, in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in the Hebrew, or that the Apostles understood the words in

* “The Modes of Quotation, used by the Evangelical Writers, explained and vindicated. By the Rev. Dr. Henry Owen, 4to. London, 1789.” The design of this elaborate work is, 1. To compare the quotations of the evangelists with each other, and with the passages referred to in the Old Testament, in order to ascertain the real differences: 2. To account for such differences; and to reconcile the Evangelists with the Prophets, and with each other;—and, 3. To shew the just application of such quotations, and that they fully prove the points which they were brought to establish.

† In a collation of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, with the Septuagint. This valuable comparison is inserted in the 9th and 10th volumes of the *Christian Observer* for the years 1810 and 1811; and is simply designated by the initials of the learned author’s name.

‡ Besides the works mentioned in the preceding notes, the author has constantly availed himself of the researches of Drusius, (*Parallela Sacra*), in the 8th volume of the *Critica Sacri*;—of Cappel’s *Critica Sacra*, lib. ii. (in vol. i. pp. 136—172. of Prof. Vogel’s edition);—of Glassius’s *Philologia Sacra*, part ii. pp. 1387, *et seq.* (ed. Dathii.) Michaelis’s Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Bishop Marsh, (vol. i. pp. 200—246, 470—493.) De Gerard’s *Institutes of Biblical Criticism* have also been occasionally referred to, as well as Schlegelius’s Dissertation *De Agro sanguinis et Prophetiâ circa eum allegatâ*, in *Thesaurus Dissertationum Exegeticarum ad Nov. Test.* tom. ii. pp. 309—340.

a sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons;—
 8. Passages, in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted;—and
 9. Passages, which are not properly citations, but mere references or allusions.

I. Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew.

1. Hosea xi. 1.	agrees with	Matt. ii. 15.
2. Deut. viii. 3.	-	Matt. iv. 4. and Luke iv. 4.
3. Deut. vi. 16.	-	Matt. iv. 7.
4. Isa. liii. 4.	-	Matt. viii. 17.
5. Hosea vi. 6.	-	Matt. ix. 13. and xii. 7.
6. Lev. xix. 18.	-	Matt. xix. 19. and xxii. 39.
7. Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.	-	{ Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. and Acts iv. 11.
8. Psal. cx. 1.	-	{ Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. and Luke xx. 42.
9. Psal. xxii. 19.	-	Matt. xxvii. 35.
10. Psal. xxii. 2.	-	Matt. 27. 46.
11. Isa. liii. 12.	-	Mark xv. 28. and Luke xxii. 37.
12. Levit. xii. 8.	-	Luke ii. 24.
13. Psal. lxix. 10.	-	John ii. 17.
14. Psal. lxxxii. 6.	-	John x. 34.
15. Isa. liii. 1.	-	John xii. 38. (and see Rom. x. 16.)
16. Psal. xxii. 19.	-	John xix. 24.
17. Psal. cix. 8.	-	Acts i. 20.
18. Gen. xxii. 18.	-	Acts iii. 25.
19. Psal. ii. 1, 2.	-	Acts iv. 25, 26.
20. Psal. ii. 7.	-	Acts xiii. 33.
21. Exod. xxii. 27.	-	Acts xxiii. 5.
22. Psal. v. 10.	-	Rom. iii. 13.
23. Psal. cxl. 4.	-	Rom. iii. 13.
24. Psal. xxxvi. 2.	-	Rom. iii. 18.
25. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.	-	Rom. iv. 7, 8.
26. Gen. xvii. 5.	-	Rom. iv. 17.
27. Gen. xv. 5.	-	Rom. iv. 18.
28. Psal. xliv. 22.	-	Rom. viii. 36.
29. Gen. xxi. 12.	-	Rom. ix. 7.
30. Gen. xxv. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 12.
31. Malachi i. 2, 3.	-	Rom. ix. 13.
32. Exod. xxxiii. 19.	-	Rom. ix. 15.
33. Exod. ix. 16.	-	Rom. ix. 17.
34. Levit. xviii. 5.	-	Rom. x. 5.
35. Psal. lxix. 10.	-	Rom. xv. 3.
36. Psal. xviii. 50.	-	Rom. xv. 9.
37. Psal. cxvii. 1.	-	Rom. xv. 11.
38. Isa. lii. 15.	-	Rom. xv. 21.
39. Job v. 13.	-	1 Cor. iii. 19.
40. Deut. xxv. 4.	-	1 Cor. ix. 9.
41. Exod. xxxii. 6.	-	1 Cor. x. 7.

42. Psal. xxiv. 1.	agrees with	1 Cor. x. 26.
43. Psal. viii. 6.	-	1 Cor. xv. 27.
44. Isa. xxii. 13.	-	1 Cor. xv. 32.
45. Isa. xxv. 8.	-	1 Cor. xv. 54.
46. Psal. cxvi. 10.	-	2 Cor. iv. 13.
47. Isa. xlix. 8.	-	2 Cor. vi. 2.
48. Exod. xvi. 18.	-	2 Cor. viii. 15.
49. Psal. cxii. 9.	-	2 Cor. ix. 9.
50. Isa. liv. 1.	-	Gal. iv. 27.
51. 2 Sam. vii. 14.	-	Heb. i. 5.
52. Psal. civ. 4.	-	Heb. i. 7.
53. Psal. xlv. 7, 8.	-	Heb. i. 8, 9.
54. Psal. viii. 5, &c.	-	Heb. ii. 6—8.
55. Psal. xxii. 23.	-	Heb. ii. 12.
56. Isa. viii. 17, 18.	-	Heb. ii. 13.
57. Gen. ii. 3.	-	Heb. iv. 4.
58. Gen. xxii. 16, 17.	-	Heb. vi. 13, 14.
59. Deut. xxxii. 35.	-	Heb. x. 30.
60. Gen. xlvii. 31.	-	Heb. xi. 21.
61. Prov. iii. 11.	-	Heb. xii. 5.
62. Joshua i. 5. (and see Deut. xxxi. 8.)	-	} Heb. xiii. 5.
63. Levit. xi. 44.	-	1 Pet. i. 16.

II. *Quotations nearly agreeing with the Hebrew.*

These correspond nearly with the Hebrew, though not so literally as those in the preceding class, to which they are equal in number: Thus,

1. Isa. vii. 14.	nearly agrees with	Matt. i. 23.
2. Jer. xxxi. 15.	-	Matt. ii. 18.
3. Psal. xci. 11, 12	-	Matt. iv. 6.
4. Deut. vi. 13.	-	Matt. iv. 10.
5. Isa. ix. 1, 2.	-	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
6. Isa. vi. 9, &c.	-	{ Matt. xiii. 14, &c. Acts xxviii. 26. Mark iv. 12. and Luke viii. 10.
7. Gen. ii. 24.	-	Matt. xix. v.
8. Exod. xx. 12, &c.	-	Matt. xix. 18, 19.
9. Exod. iii. 6.	-	{ Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37.
10. Deut. vi. 5.	-	{ Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30. and Luke x. 27.
11. Zech. xiii. 7.	-	Matt. xxvi. 31.
12. Psal. lxxviii. 24.	-	John vi. 31.
13. Isa. liv. 13.	-	John vi. 45.
14. Psal. xli. 9.	-	John xiii. 18.
15. Psal. cix. 3. (and see Psal. xxxv. 19.)	-	} John xv. 25.
16. Exod. xii. 46.	-	John xix. 36.
17. Zech. xii. 7.	-	John xix. 37.

18. Joel iii. 1, &c.	} nearly agrees with	{ Acts ii. 17—21. (and see Rom. x. 11.)
19. Gen. xii. 1.		
20. Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.	-	Acts vii. 3.
21. Isa. xlix. 6.	-	Acts vii. 49, 50.
22. Hab. ii. 4.	-	Acts xiii. 47.
23. Isa. lii. 5.	-	Rom. i. 17.
24. Psal. li. 6.	-	Rom. ii. 24.
25. Gen. xv. 6.	-	Rom. iii. 4.
26. Hos. ii. 1.	-	Rom. iv. 3.
27. Isa. i. 9.	-	Rom. ix. 26.
28. Isa. viii. 14.	-	Rom. ix. 29.
29. Isa. lii. 7.	-	{ Rom. ix. 33. (see Rom. x. 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7).
30. Psal. xix. 5.	-	Rom. x. 15.
31. Isa. lxv. 1, 2.	-	Rom. x. 18.
32. 1 Kings xix. 14.	-	Rom. x. 20, 21.
33. 1 Kings xix. 18.	-	Rom. xi. 3.
34. Deut. xxxii. 35.	-	Rom. xi. 4.
35. Prov. xxv. 21, 22.	-	Rom. xii. 19. (and see Heb. x. 30).
36. Deut. xxxii. 42.	-	Rom. xii. 20.
37. Isa. xxix. 14.	-	Rom. xv. 10.
38. Isa. xl. 13.	-	1 Cor. i. 19.
39. Psal. xciv. 11.	-	{ 1 Cor. ii. 16. (and see Rom. xi. 34.)
40. Deut. xxxii. 17.	-	1 Cor. iii. 20.
41. Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.	-	1 Cor. x. 20.
42. Gen. ii. 7.	-	1 Cor. xiv. 21.
43. Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.	-	1 Cor. xv. 45.
44. Deut. xix. 15.	-	2 Cor. vi. 16.
45. Gen. xxi. 10.	-	2 Cor. xiii. 1.
46. Psal. lxviii. 19.	-	Gal. iv. 30.
47. Exod. xx. 12. (and see Deut. v. 16).	-	Eph. iv. 8.
48. Psal. xcvi. 7.	-	{ Eph. vi. 2, 3.
49. Psal. cii. 25, &c.	-	Heb. i. 6.
50. Psal. xcv. 7, &c.	-	Heb. i. 10—12.
51. Exod. xxv. 40.	-	Heb. iii. 7—11.
52. Jer. xxxi. 31, &c.	-	Heb. viii. 5.
53. Exod. xxiv. 8.	-	Heb. viii. 8—12.
54. Psal. cxviii. 6.	-	Heb. ix. 20.
55. Isa. xl. 6, &c.	-	Heb. xiii. 6.
56. Exod. xix. 6.	-	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
57. Isa. liii. 9.	-	1 Pet. ii. 9.
58. Isa. liii. 5.	-	1 Pet. ii. 22.
59. Psal. xxxiv. 13, &c.	-	1 Pet. ii. 24.
60. Isa. viii. 12, 13.	-	1 Pet. iii. 10.
61. Prov. x. 12.	-	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
62. Psal. ii. 9.	-	1 Pet. iv. 8.
		Rev. ii. 27.

III. Quotations, agreeing with the Hebrew in sense, but not in words.

Thus,

1. Isa. xl. 3, &c. agrees in sense, though not in words, with	{	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. iii. and Luke iii. 4—6.
2. Isa. xlii. 1—4.	-	Matt. xii. 18—21.
3. Psal. lxxviii. 2.	-	Matt. xiii. 35.
4. Zech. ix. 6. (see Isa. lxii. 11.)	-	Matt. xxi. 5.
5. Psal. viii. 3.	-	Matt. xxi. 16.
6. Zech. xi. 13.	-	Matt. xxvii. 9.
7. Exod. xiii. 2.	-	Luke ii. 23.
8. Isa. vi. 9, &c.	-	John xii. 40.
9. Psal. lxix. 26.	-	Acts i. 20.
10. Deut. xviii. 15. 19.	-	Acts iii. 22, 23.
11. Psal. xiv. 1—3.	-	Rom. iii. 10—12.
12. Isa. lix. 7, 8.	-	Rom. iii. 15—17.
13. Gen. xviii. 10.	-	Rom. ix. 9.
14. Hosea ii. 25.	-	Rom. ix. 25.
15. Isa. x. 22, 23.	-	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
16. Psal. lxix. 23, 24.	-	Rom. xi. 9, 10.
17. Isa. xlv. 23.	-	Rom. xiv. 11.
18. Isa. xi. 10.	-	Rom. xv. 12.
19. Isa. lii. 11, 12.	-	2 Cor. vi. 17.
20. Gen. xii. 3. (and see xviii. 18.)	-	Gal. iii. 8.
21. Deut. xxvii. 26.	-	Gal. iii. 10.
22. Haggai ii. 6.	-	Heb. xii. 26.

IV. Quotations that give the general sense, but which abridge or add to it.

1. (Isa. lii, liii ?) compared with	Matt. ii. 23. *
2. Zech. xi. 13.	Matt. xxvii. 9.
3. Zech. ix. 9. (see Isa. lxii. 11.)	John xii. 15.
4. Isa. vi. 9, &c.	{ John xii. 40. (and see Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10).
5. Gen. xv. 13, 14.	Acts vii. 6, 7.
6. Gen. xlv. 27.	Acts vii. 14.
7. Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 16, 17.
8. Isa. xxix. 10. (and see Isa. vi. 9. and Ezekiel xii. 2.)	{ Rom. xi. 8.
9. (Gen. vi. 3. 5 ?)	James iv. 5. †

* As the Evangelist cites *the Prophets* in the plural number, it is highly probable that this passage is not a quotation from any particular prophet, but a citation denoting the humble and despised condition of the Messiah, as described by the prophets in general, and especially by the two to whose writings we have referred. See Dr. Hunt's Sermon on Matt. ii. 23. at the end of his "Observations on several Passages in the Book of Proverbs," pp. 170—193.; and also Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, and other Commentators on this text.

† This, Dr. Randolph has observed, is a difficult passage. The Apostle is generally thought to refer to Gen. vi. 3. 5. where we have the like in sense; but, in expression,

V. Quotations that are taken from several passages of Scripture.

Sometimes there is such a change made in the quotation, that it is not easy to ascertain from what particular passage of the Old Testament it is taken. The instances of this description, however, in which the citation is made from *several* passages of Scripture, are very few. Dr. Randolph has mentioned only three, to which we have added (perhaps erroneously) seven others.

1. (See Psal. lxxxix. 20. and 1 Sam. xiii. 14.) compared with	} Acts xiii. 22.
2. Isa. xxviii. 16. and viii. 14.	{ Rom. ix. 33. (and See Rom. x. 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7.
3. Isa. xxix. 10. and see Isa. vi. 9. and Ezek. xii. 2. - -	} Rom. xi. 8.
4. Isa. lxii. 11. Zech. ix. 9. -	Matt. xxi. 5.
5. Isa. lvi. 7. and Jer. vii. 11. -	Matt. xxi. 13.
6. Mal. iii. 1. and Isa. xl. 3. -	Mark i. 23.
7. Psal. lxix. 25, 26. and Psal. cix. 7. - - -	} Acts i. 20.
8. Isa. lix. 20. or xxvii. 9. or iv. 4. or Jer. xxxi. 4. -	} Rom. xi. 26.
9. Isa. xxvi. 19. and lx. 1. -	Eph. v. 14.
10. Psal. cxviii. 22. and Isa. viii. 14. - - -	} 1 Pet. ii. 7.

Where two or three passages are combined in one quotation, it is not unusual for the sacred writers to cite *the prophet* in the singular number, to denote the harmony subsisting between the prophets. Of this practice numbers 5 and 6 in the preceding quotations are examples. * Perhaps, the quotation IV. No. 1. relative to the Messiah being called a Nazarene, may also be classed under this head.

VI. Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint.

1. Isa. xxix. 13.	cited in	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
2. Psal. xvi. 8—11. - -	- -	Acts ii. 25.
3. Amos v. 25. - -	- -	Acts vii. 42, 43.
4. Isa. lv. 3. - -	- -	Acts xiii. 34.
5. Psal. xix. 5. - -	- -	Rom. x. 18.
6. Prov. iii. 34. - -	- -	James iv. 6.

the apostle differs widely both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Dr. Randolph and Mr. Scott, after some expositors, think it a general reference to the doctrine of Scripture, and not a direct quotation; as much as to say, it is the constant doctrine of Scripture, that *the spirit which dwelleth in us lusteth to envy, and is prone to all evil*. It ought however to be observed that many eminent critics, as Whitby, Griesbach, Mac-knight, &c. divide this verse into two members, which they read and point *interrogatively* thus, *Do ye think that the Scripture speaketh in vain? Doth the Spirit, which dwelleth in us, lust unto envy?* Which mode of pointing removes the difficulty at once.

* Glassii Phil. Sacr. lib. ii. p. 1398. Schlegelius, in *Thesaurus Dissertationum Exegeticarum*, tom. ii. p. 323.

VII. *Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in the Hebrew; or that the apostles understood the words in a sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons.*

1. Micah v. 2.	cited in	Matt. ii. 6.
2. Mal. iii. 1.	-	Matt. xi. 10.
3. Isa. xxix. 13.	-	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
4. Zech. xiii. 7.	-	Matt. xxvi. 31.
5. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.	-	Luke iv. 8.
6. Zech. xii. 10.	-	John xix. 37.
7. Isa. liii. 7, 8.	-	Acts viii. 32, 33.
8. Hab. i. 5.	-	Acts xiii. 41.
9. Amos ix. 11, 12.	-	Acts xv. 16, 17.
10. Psal. x. 7.	-	Rom. iii. 14.
11. Isa. viii. 14. and xxviii. 16.		{ Rom. ix. 33. (and see Rom. x. 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7.)
12. Psal. xix. 5.	-	Rom. x. 18.
13. Isa. lix. 20, 21. and xxvii. 9.		Rom. xi. 26, 27.
14. Deut. xxxii. 35.	-	{ Rom. xii. 19. and see Heb. x. 30.
15. Deut. xxxii. 42.	-	Rom. xv. 10.
16. Isa. lxiv. 3.	-	1 Cor. ii. 9.
17. Hosea xiii. 14.	-	1 Cor. xv. 55.
18. Psal. lxxviii. 19.	-	Eph. iv. 8.
19. Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	-	Heb. viii. 8—12.
20. Hab. ii. 3, 4.	-	{ Heb. x. 37, 38. (and see Rom. i. 17. and Gal. iii. 11.)
21. Isa. xxviii. 16.	-	{ 1 Pet. ii. 6. and see Rom. ix. 33.

VIII. *Passages in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted.*

1. Micah v. 2.	cited in	Matt. ii. 6.
2. Mal. iii. 1.	-	{ Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
3. Psal. xvi. 8—11.	-	Acts ii. 25.
4. Amos ix. 11, 12.	-	{ Acts xv. 16, 17. (The apostle has adopted the Septuagint reading, which is evidently the best.)
5. Deut. xxxii. 42.	-	Rom. xv. 10.
6. Hos. xiii. 14.	-	1 Cor. xv. 55.
7. Deut. xxi. 23.	-	Gal. iii. 13.
8. Psal. cx. 4.	-	Heb. v. 6.
9. Psal. xl. 7, &c.	-	Heb. x. 5—7.

IX. *Passages which are not properly citations, but mere references or allusions.*

1. Isa. xii. 3.	alluded to in	John vii. 38.
2. Deut. xxx. 12—14.	-	Rom. xi. 6—8.
3. Hosea xiv. 3.	-	Heb. xiii. 15.

To these passages may be added 2 Cor. vi. 18. which seems to be a general statement of the substance of several Scriptures, and not a quotation. Dr. Randolph thinks that it is most probably a reference to 2 Sam. vii. 14. where the very words are spoken of Solomon, *I will be his father, and he shall be my son*: and this promise to David is introduced in verse 8. with *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts*, and is by the apostle applied to Christians in general. But Mr. Scott is of opinion that the apostle seems rather to apply to Christians the general declarations made by Jehovah concerning Israel, (Exod. iv. 22, 23. Jer. xxxi. 1. 9. and Hosea i. 9, 10.) *

§ 2. *Quotations from the Septuagint version in the New Testament.*

Although the sacred authors of the New Testament have in many instances quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures, as the preceding tables have shown; yet it is equally certain that they have very frequently made their citations from the Greek version usually denominated the Septuagint, even where this translation from the Hebrew is inaccurate, but where the errors are of such a nature as not to weaken the proofs for which they were alleged. In fact, as the apostles wrote for the use of communities who were ignorant of Hebrew, it was necessary that they should refer to the Greek version, which was generally known and read. Had they given a new and more accurate translation according to the Hebrew, citing as they often did from memory, the reader would not have known what passage they intended to quote: and if, on the other hand, while they retained the words of the Septuagint, they had taken notice of each inaccuracy, they would have diverted the reader's attention from the main object to the consideration of trifles. † It must however be remarked, that the writers of the New Testament appear to have been so careful to give the true sense of the Old Testament, that they forsook the Septuagint version, whenever it did not give that sense, so far as they had occasion to cite it, and these citations often correspond with the present Hebrew text. The quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament may be classed under the five following heads:—1. Such as agree verbatim with the Septuagint, or

* Dr. Randolph on the Prophecies, p. 41. Mr. Scott's Collation of the Septuagint with the New Testament, in the Christian Observer, vol. 10. p. 235.

† Marsh's Michaelis, vol. 1. pp. 215—218. Owen on the Modes of Quotation, pp. 4—12.

only change the person ;—2. Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some variation ;—3. Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in sense, but not in words ;—4. Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly or nearly with the Hebrew ;—and, 5. Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other translation or paraphrase. The edition of the Septuagint here referred to, is that termed the Vatican : and where there are any material variations in the Alexandrine edition, they are briefly noticed.

I. Quotations agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint, or only changing the person, number, &c.

1. Deut viii. 3.	agrees with	Matt. iv. 4. and Luke iv. 4.
2. Deut. vi. 16.	- -	Matt. iv. 7. and Luke iv. 12.
3. Hosea vi. 6.	- -	Matt. ix. 13. and xii. 7.
4. Exod. xx. 12—16.	- -	Matt. xix. 18, 19.
5. Levit. xix. 18.	- -	Matt. xix. 19. xxii. 39.
6. Psal. viii. 2.	- -	Matt. xxi. 16.
7. Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.	- -	{ Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. and Acts iv. 11.
8. Exod. iii. 6.	- -	{ Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37.
9. Psal. cx. 1.	- -	{ Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. and Luke xx. 42.
10. Zech. xiii. 7. (Alexandr. edit.)		Matt. xxvi. 31.
11. Psal. xxii. 18.	- -	Matt. xxvii. 35.
12. Psal. lxix. 9.	- -	John ii. 17.
13. Psal. lxxxii. 6.	- -	John x. 34.
14. Isa. liii. 1.	- -	John xii. 38. and see Rom. x. 16.
15. Psal. cix. 8.	- -	Acts i. 20.
16. Psal. xvi. 8—11.	- -	Acts ii. 25.
17. Psal. ii. 1, 2.	- -	Acts iv. 25, 26.
18. Psal. ii. 7.	- -	Acts xiii. 33.
19. Isa. xlix. 6.	- -	Acts xii. 47.
20. Exod. xxii. 28.	- -	Acts xxiii. 5.
21. Psal. li. 4.	- -	Rom. iii. 4.
22. Psal. v. 9.	- -	Rom. iii. 13.
23. Psal. cxi. 3.	- -	Rom. iii. 13.
24. Psal. x. 7.	- -	Rom. iii. 14.
25. Psal. xxxvi. 1.	- -	Rom. iii. 18.
26. Gen. xv. 6.	- -	Rom. iv. 3.
27. Psal. xxii. 1, 2.	- -	Rom. iv. 7, 8.
28. Gen. xvii. 5.	- -	Rom. iv. 17.
29. Gen. xv. 5.	- -	Rom. iv. 18.
30. Psal. xlv. 22.	- -	Rom. viii. 36.
31. Gen. xxi. 12.	- -	Rom. ix. 7.
32. Gen. xxv. 23.	- -	Rom. ix. 12.

33. Mal. i. 2, 3.	agrees with	Rom. ix. 13.
34. Exod. xxxiii. 19.	- -	Rom. ix. 15.
35. Hosea i. 10.	- -	Rom. ix. 26.
36. Isa. i. 9.	- -	Rom. ix. 29.
37. Levit. xviii. 5.	- -	Rom. x. 5.
38. Psal. xix. 4.	- -	Rom. x. 18.
39. Deut. xxxii. 21.	- -	Rom. x. 19.
40. Isa. lxxv. 1, 2.	- -	Rom. x. 20, 21.
41. Prov. xxv. 21, 22.	- -	Rom. xii. 20.
42. Psal. lxix. 9.	- -	Rom. xv. 3.
43. Psal. xviii. 49.	- -	Rom. xv. 9.
44. Deut. xxxii. 43.	- -	Rom. xv. 10.
45. Psal. cxvii. 1.	- -	Rom. xv. 11.
46. Isa. lii. 15.	- -	Rom. xv. 21.
47. Deut. xxv. 4.	- -	1 Cor. ix. 9.
48. Exod. xxxii. 6.	- -	1 Cor. x. 7.
49. Psal. xxiv. 1.	- -	1 Cor. x. 26.
50. Psal. viii. 6.	- -	1 Cor. xv. 47.
51. Isa. xxii. 13.	- -	1 Cor. xv. 32.
52. Psal. cxvi. 10.	- -	2 Cor. iv. 13.
53. Isa. xlix. 8.	- -	2 Cor. vi. 2.
54. Psal. cxii. 9.	- -	2 Cor. ix. 9.
55. Isa. liv. 1.	- -	Gal. iv. 27.
56. 2 Sam. vii. 14.	- -	Heb. i. 5.
57. Psal. xcvi. 7. Deut. xxxii. 43.	- -	Heb. i. 6.
58. Psal. civ. 4.	- -	Heb. i. 7.
59. Psal. xlv. 6, 7.	- -	Heb. i. 8, 9.
60. Psal. cii. 25—27.	- -	Heb. i. 10—12.
61. Psal. viii. 4.	- -	Heb. ii. 6—8.
62. Gen. ii. 3.	- -	Heb. iv. 4.
63. Psal. cx. 4.	- -	Heb. v. 6.
64. Gen. xxii. 16, 17.	- -	Heb. vi. 13, 14.
65. Deut. xxxii. 36.	- -	Heb. x. 30.
66. Gen. xlvii. 31.	- -	Heb. xi. 21. *
67. Prov. iii. 11.	- -	Heb. xii. 5.
68. Deut. xxxi. 8.	- -	Heb. xiii. 5.
69. Psal. cxviii. 6.	- -	Heb. xiii. 6.
70. Exod. xix. 6.	- -	1 Pet. ii. 9.
71. Isa. liii. v.	- -	1 Pet. ii. 24.
72. Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.	- -	1 Pet. iii. 10.

* Heb. xi. 21. This quotation is taken from the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 31. omitting only the word Israel. The variation from the Hebrew is merely in the vowel points: for *הַמִּטָּה*, a *bed*, the Septuagint read *הַמִּטָּה*, a *staff*. And that this is the true reading seems probable, because it does not appear that Jacob was then confined to his bed, and because it is not easy to understand what can be meant by *worshipping* or *bowing himself on the head of his bed*. In the other reading the sense is plain: *Jacob worshipped God*, and, being old and feeble, supported himself by *leaning on the top of his staff*. Randolph on Quotations, p. 45.

II. Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some variation.

These variations, however, are immaterial, consisting occasionally, 1. Of additions of words, to render the sense more explicit to the Gentiles;—2. Of omissions of words, where the insertion of them was not necessary to prove the point for which they were adduced;—3. Of synonymous changes, substituting other words of the same import for the exact words of the Septuagint,—which might easily be done, citing, as the Apostles sometimes did, from memory;—4. Of transpositions of words;—5. Of changes of proper names into appellatives;—and, 6. Of occasional alterations in the divisions of sentences. But in all these sentences the sense is invariably given.

1. Isa. vii. 14.	-	cited in	Matt. i. 23.
2. Psal. xci. 11, 12.	-	-	Matt. iv. 6.
3. Deut. vi. 13.	-	-	Matt. iv. 10.
4. Isa. vi. 9, 10.	-	-	{ Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.
5. Isa. xxix. 13.	-	-	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
6. Gen. ii. 24.	-	-	Matt. xix. 5.
7. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.	-	-	Luke iv. 18. 19.
8. Psal. lxxviii. 24.	-	-	John vi. 31.
9. Psal. xxii. 18.	-	-	John xix. 24.
10. Joel ii. 28—32.	-	-	Acts ii. 17—21. see Rom. x. 11.
11. Gen. xxii. 18.	-	-	Acts iii. 25.
12. Gen. xii. 1.	-	-	Acts vii. 3.
13. Amos v. 25—27.	-	-	Acts vii. 42, 43.
14. Isa. liii. 7.	-	-	Acts viii. 32, 33.
15. Isa. lv. 3.	-	-	Acts xiii. 34.
16. Hab. ii. 4.	-	-	Rom. i. 17.
17. Isa. lii. 5.	-	-	Rom. ii. 24.
18. Psal. xiv. 1—3.	-	-	Rom. iii. 10—12.
19. Exod. ix. 16.	-	-	Rom. ix. 17.
20. Isa. viii. 14.	-	-	{ Rom. ix. 33. x. 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7.
21. Psal. lxix. 22, 23.	-	-	Rom. xi. 9, 10.
22. Isa. lix. 20, 21. (and see Isa. xxvii. 9.)	-	-	Rom. xi. 26, 27.
23. Isa. xi. 10.	-	-	Rom. xv. 2.
24. Isa. xxix. 14.	-	-	1 Cor. i. 19.
25. Isa. xl. 3.	-	-	1 Cor. ii. 16. and see Rom. xi. 34.
26. Psal. xciv. 11.	-	-	1 Cor. iii. 20.
27. Deut. xxxii. 17.	-	-	1 Cor. x. 20.
28. Gen. ii. 7.	-	-	1 Cor. xv. 45.
29. Hosea 13, 14.	-	-	1 Cor. xv. 55.
30. Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.	-	-	2 Cor. vi. 16.

31. (See 2 Sam. vii. 14.)	cited in	2 Cor. vi. 18.
32. Exod. xvi. 18.	- -	2 Cor. viii. 15.
33. Deut. xix. 15.	- -	2 Cor. xiii. 1.
34. Gen. xii. 3. and see xviii. 18.		Gal. iii. 8.
35. Gen. xxi. 10.	- -	Gal. iv. 30.
36. Exod. xx. 12. (see Deut. } v. 16. - - - }		Eph. vi. 2, 3.
37. Psal. xxii. 22.	- -	Heb. ii. 12.
38. Isa. viii. 17, 18.	- -	Heb. ii. 13.
39. Psal. xcv. 7—11.	- -	Heb. iii. 7—11.
40. Exod. xxv. 40.	- -	Heb. viii. 5.
41. Psal. xl. 6—8.	- -	Heb. x. 5—7.
42. Hab. ii. 3, 4.	- -	{ Heb. x. 37, 38. (and see Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11.
43. Prov. iii. 34.	- -	James iv. 6.
44. Isa. xl. 6, 7, 8.	- -	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
45. Isa. xxviii. 16.	- -	1 Pet. ii. 6. Rom. ix. 33.
46. Isa. liii. 9.	- -	1 Pet. ii. 22.
47. Isa. viii. 12, 13.	- -	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

III. *Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in sense, but not in words.*

1. Jer. xxxi. 15.	cited in	Matt. ii. 18.
2. Isa. xl. 3—5.	- -	{ Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
3. Psal. lxxviii. 2.	- -	Matt. xiii. 35.
4. Deut. vi. 5.	- -	{ Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xii. 30 Luke x. 27.
5. Isa. liii. 12.	- -	Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
6. Exod. xiii. 2.	- -	Luke ii. 23.
7. Levit. xii. 8.	- -	Luke ii. 24.
8. Isa. liv. 13.	- -	John vi. 45.
9. Zech. ix. 9.	- -	{ John xii. 15. and see Matt. xxi. 5.
10. Psal. xli. 9.	- -	John xiii. 18.
11. Psal. cix. 3.	- -	John xv. 25.
12. Psal. lxix. 25.	- -	Acts i. 20.
13. Deut. xviii. 15. 19.	- -	Acts iii. 22, 23.
14. Isa. lvi. 1, 2.	- -	Acts vii. 49, 50.
15. Amos ix. 11, 12.	- -	Acts xv. 16, 17.
16. Isa. lix. 7, 8.	- -	Rom. iii. 15—17.
17. Gen. xviii. 10.	- -	Rom. ix. 9.
18. Hosea ii. 23.	- -	Rom. ix. 25.
19. Isa. x. 22, 23.	- -	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
20. 1 Kings xix. 14.	- -	Rom. xi. 3.
21. Isa. xlv. 23.	- -	Rom. xiv. 11.
22. Job v. 13.	- -	1 Cor. iii. 19.
23. Hosea xiii. 14.	- -	1 Cor. xv. 55.
24. Isa. lii. 11, 12.	- -	2 Cor. vi. 17.
25. Deut. xxvii. 26.	- -	Gal. iii. 10.

26. Deut. xxi. 23.	-	cited in Gal. iii. 13.
27. Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	-	Heb. viii. 8—12.
28. Exod. xxiv. 8.	-	Heb. ix. 20.
29. Haggai ii. 6.	-	Heb. xii. 26.
30. Psal. ii. 9.	-	Rev. ii. 27.

IV. *Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly, or nearly, with the Hebrew.*

There are several instances of an evidently *intentional* renouncing of the Septuagint version, in order to adhere to the Hebrew original: these instances occur when the Septuagint so materially differs from the Hebrew, as to render the passage unsuitable to the purpose for which the sacred writer produced the quotation, or where it is palpably erroneous. The number of these departures from the Septuagint is thirteen; viz.

1. Hosea xi. 1.	-	cited in Matt. ii. 15.
2. Jer. xxxi. 15.	-	Matt. ii. 18.
3. Isa. liii. 4.	-	Matt. viii. 17.
4. Zech. ix. 9.	-	Matt. xxi. 5.
5. Psal. xxii. 1.	-	Matt. xxvii. 46.
6. Zech. xii. 10.	-	John xix. 37.
7. Isa. viii. 14.	-	{ Rom. ix. 33. see x. 11. and 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7.
8. Isa. lii. 7.	-	Rom. x. 15.
9. 1 Kings xix. 18.	-	Rom. xi. 4.
10. Job v. 13.	-	1 Cor. iii. 19.
11. Isa. xxv. 8.	-	1 Cor. xv. 54.
12. Lev. xi. 44.	-	1 Pet. i. 16.
13. Prov. x. 12.	-	2 Pet. iv. 8.

V. *Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other translation, or paraphrase, or were so rendered by the sacred writers themselves.*

1. Micah v. 2.	-	cited in Matt. ii. 6.
2. Isa. xl. 3—5.	-	{ Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
3. Isa. ix. 1, 2.	-	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
4. Mal. iii. 1.	-	{ Matt. xi. 10. Mark. i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
5. Isa. xlii. 1—4.	-	Matt. xii. 18—21.
6. Isa. liv. 13.	-	John vi. 45.
7. Zech. ix. 9.	-	John xii. 15.
8. Deut. xviii. 15. 19.	-	Acts iii. 22, 23.
9. Hab. i. 5.	-	Acts xiii. 34.
10. Gen. xviii. 10.	-	Rom. ix. 9.
11. Hosea ii. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 25.
12. Isa. x. 22. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 27, 28.

15. 1 Kings xix. 14.	-	cited in	Rom. xi. 3.
14. Deut. xxii. 35.	-	-	Rom. xii. 9. see Heb. x. 30.
15. Isa. lxiv. 4.	-	-	1 Cor. ii. 9.
16. Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.	-	-	1 Cor. xiv. 21.
17. Deut. xxvii. 26.	-	-	2 Cor. iii. 10.
18. Psal. lxviii. 18.	-	-	Eph. iv. 8.
19. Exod. xxiv. 8.	-	-	Heb. ix. 20.

On a comparison of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, it is obvious that in the *Epistles*, which were addressed generally to churches consisting of converted Hellenists, or Gentiles, or of both, the quotations are uniformly made from the Septuagint version, or with express reference to it, except where some important reason induced the sacred writer to deviate from it: for the Septuagint was the only version generally known in those churches, whose members were mostly strangers to the Hebrew. There are however some apparent contradictions in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, the reconciliation of which has much engaged the attention of learned men; who have assigned various causes to account for, or explain, such discrepancies. These it may be useful briefly to consider, before we discuss the mode in which the sacred writers of the New Testament apply their quotations from the Old Testament. The causes of the differences in these quotations may be reduced to three, viz. 1. Sophistications or corruptions of the Hebrew text;—2. Various readings, or differences in copies:—and, 3. Our ignorance of the correct meaning of particular texts.

1. The instances of *Sophistication*, or corruption of the Hebrew text, are comparatively few, and are only nine in number, as we have already seen*: the comparison of manuscripts and versions alone can enable the critic to determine the true reading.

2. *Various Readings* in the manuscript copies of the Greek Bible, used by the sacred writers of the New Testament, are another cause of the apparent contradictions in the quotations made in it from the Old Testament; and these manuscripts might differ from those which we have at present. Professor Michaelis likewise thinks it possible that, in those cases, where the quotations are materially different, another translation might have been added in the Septuagint as a marginal note, in the same manner as we find in the Hexapla of Origen under the name of *αλλος*. The Proverbs of Solomon, he observes,

* See § 1. No. viii. p. 502, *supra*.

present instances where the same Hebrew words are twice translated; which can be explained on no other supposition, than that one of them was originally a marginal note, which has insensibly crept into the text itself. And he adduces the following instance in which the Septuagint version is false, Prov. x. 12. *παντας τους μη φιλονικουντας καλυφει φιλια*, a passage which is twice quoted in the New Testament, and both times with a more accurate translation: James v. 20. *καλυφει πληθος αμαρτιων*, and 1 Pet. iv. 8. *οτι η αγαπη καλυφει πληθος αμαρτιων*. The question may be asked, whether the Apostles found this reading in their Greek Bibles?—But, before we can speak with decision relative to the quotations from the Old Testament, we must wait for a more perfect edition of the Septuagint, collated from the best manuscripts; for, in the editions which we have at present, too little attention has been paid to the accuracy of the text; and the manuscripts which have been used are not only inconsiderable in number, but, though antient, precisely those which are least correct. *

3. Another cause of the apparent discrepancy occurring in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New may arise from our not understanding particular Hebrew texts or words: a few such instances have already been noticed †. But this is only a temporary cause—the researches of commentators and critics (which the preceding tables have tended to confirm) have shown that the writers of the New Testament express the true sense, though not the sense generally attributed to the Hebrew: and in proportion as such researches are more diligently prosecuted, and our knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures is increased, these difficulties will gradually and certainly diminish.

Upon the whole, then, as it respects the external form of quotations from the Old Testament, it may be observed, that the writers of the New Testament did not make it a *constant* rule to cite from the Greek version, because there are many places in which their quotations differ from that version, and agree with the Hebrew ‡. And as their quotations now correspond with the Hebrew, very frequently in express words §, and generally in the sense ||; so it is highly probable that they uniformly agreed at first, and that, where the Hebrew was

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i. p. 235. The question above noticed will, most probably, be fully solved when the elaborate edition of the Septuagint, now printing at Oxford, shall be completed. See an account of it, p.

† See § 1. No. 7. p. 502, *supra*.

‡ See § 2. No. 4. p. 508, *supra*.

§ See § 1. Nos. 1. and 2. pp. 497, 498, *supra*.

|| See § 1. Nos. 3—5. pp. 500, 501, *supra*.

properly expressed in the Greek version, they used the words of that version. But where it materially varied from the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, they either gave the sense of the passage cited in their own words ; or took as much of the Septuagint as suited their purpose, introducing the requisite alterations. Hence several passages are neither direct quotations from the Hebrew text, nor quotations from the Septuagint * : and some, as we have already seen, agree with the latter even where it varies from the former, but only where the deviation does not so affect the meaning of the passage, as to interfere with the pertinency of the quotation for the purpose intended. “ All this accords to what ordinary writers, in similar circumstances, would have done, and in fact have been authorized to do : but the sacred penmen, being themselves divinely inspired, might take liberties which we must not ; because their comments were equally the *Word of God* with the texts commented on.” †

* See No. 5. p. 508, *supra*.

† The Rev. T. Scott, on the authority of the Septuagint, in the *Christian Observer* for 1810, vol. ix. p. 102.

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS, OR THE MODE IN WHICH CITATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE APPLIED IN THE NEW.

General observations on the Rabbinical and other modes of quoting the Old Testament — classification of the quotations in the New Testament ; — I. Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the predictions are literally accomplished ; — II. Quotations, in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have not spoken in a literal, but in a spiritual sense ; — III. Quotations that are accommodated by the sacred writers to particular events or facts ; — IV. Quotations and other passages from the Old Testament which are alluded to in the New.

IN considering the passages of the Old Testament, which have been introduced by the Apostles and Evangelists into the writings of the New, “ there is often a difficulty with respect to the *application* of such quotations ; when they are applied to a purpose to which they *seem* to have no relation, according

to their original design. This difficulty arises from the writers of the New Testament making quotations from the Old with very different views: and it can be removed only by attending to their real view in a particular quotation." An accurate distinction therefore must be made between such quotations as, being merely borrowed, are used as the words of the writer himself, and such as are quoted in proof of a doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy.

Michaelis * has remarked, that whenever a book is the subject of our daily reading, it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing—sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places whence they are taken, and at other times when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus, the lawyer quotes the maxims of the law; the scholar, his favourite classics; and the divine, the precepts of the Gospel. It is no wonder, therefore, if the same has happened to the writers of the New Testament; who being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, and especially of the Greek Septuagint, which they have borrowed, and applied to their own use in various ways and for various purposes.

The quotations from the Old Testament in the New are generally introduced by certain formulæ, such as, *That it might be fulfilled—As it is written—Isaiah prophesied, &c.*; and various rules have been framed, in order to account for their application. It has been observed by the same great philologist, that the writers of the New Testament quote in general like the Rabbins, without mentioning the place whence the quotation is taken; as they presuppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the Old Testament, as to be able to find it without particular direction. The Rabbins select some principal word out of each section, and apply that name to the section itself, in the same manner as the Mohammedans distinguish the *suras* or chapters of their Koran, saying, in Eli, in Solomon, when they intend to signify the sections where the names are mentioned. For instance, Rashi, in his remarks on Hosea ix. 9. (*They have deeply corrupted themselves, as in the days of Gibeah*), says—"Some are of opinion that this is Gibeah of Benjamin *in the concubine*," that is, mentioned in the chapter of the concubine, or Judges xix. And in this manner quotations are sometimes made in the New Testament. Thus, in Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλῆως, (*in or at*

* Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 200—203.

the bush) signifies, “in the section relating to the burning bush,” which, according to the modern division, is the third chapter of Exodus. Again, in Rom. xi. 2. *ἐν Ηλίας*, (in Elias) signifies “in the section in which the actions of Elias are recorded;” which at present forms the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the first book of Kings. *

Another very frequent practice of the Rabbins was, to produce only the initial words of a quoted passage, while those are omitted in which the force of the argument consists, or the absence of which destroys the connexion. Of this description are the quotations in Rom. vii. 7. and xiii. 9. (Thou shalt not covet), in which the Apostle leaves us to supply the following words contained in Exod. xx. 17. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, &c.* Similar instances are to be found in Rom. xi. 27. and Heb. ii. 13. †

The formulæ, (*as it is written, that it might be fulfilled, it hath been said, &c. &c.*) with which the quotations in the New Testament are generally introduced, have been supposed by Surenhusius ‡ (to whose learned researches Bible students are most deeply indebted) to be the indications of the *modes* in which they are expressed: so that, by attending to these formulæ, we may easily know why the Evangelists allege the subsequent words in one certain manner rather than in another; and why they depart more or less from the Hebrew text. Agreeably to this hypothesis, Surenhusius has, with infinite labour and industry, collected a great variety of rules § out of

* Ibid. pp. 243, 244. 133, 134. 492. Upon the same rule, Michaelis thinks the apparent contradiction between Mark ii. 26. and 1 Sam. xxi. 1. (see pp. *supra.*) may be explained “in the chapter of Abiathar,” or, in that part of the books of Samuel in which the history of Abiathar is related. This explanation, Rosenmüller very justly remarks, would be preferable to any other, if Mark had added the expression, *it is written, or the Scripture saith.* Scholia in N. T. tom. i. p. 573. edit. 1801. See also Kuinöel on Mark ii. 26. Comm. in Libros N. T. Historicos, tom. ii. p. 32.

† Ibid. pp. 244—246.

‡ In the preface to his “*Βιβλος Καταλλαγης*: in quo, secundum veterum Theologorum Hebræorum Formulas allegandi et modos interpretandi, conciliantur loca ex Veteri in Novo Testamento allegata.” 4to. Amst. 1713. The words of Professor Surenhusius are as follow: “*Etenim omni in loco ex V. T. in N. allegato recte conciliando, videndum est prius, quâ allegandi formulâ utantur Apostoli; ex qua statim dignoscere licet, quare sequentia verba hoc, et non alio modo, allegaverint, atque ad veterem Scripturam Hebræam plusve minusve attenderint. Sic alium sensum involvit illa allegandi formula Εγενθη; alium, Γεραπται; alium, Ινα πληρωθη το γεθεν; alium, Επληρωθη η γραφη, &c.*”

§ The following are the principal *theses* or rules laid down by Surenhusius, whose work, it may be proper to remark, deserves a place in the library of every biblical student, on account of its learned illustration of many passages of Scripture not immediately connected with the quotations from the Old Testament.

I. Sometimes the words are read, not according to the regular vowel points, but agreeably to others substituted for them. Instances of this sort, Surenhusius is of opi-

the Talmud and the Rabbinical writings, and has illustrated them with numerous extracts, in order to explain and justify all the quotations made from the Old Testament in the New. But what militates against this hypothesis is, that we find, that the very *same quotations*, expressed in the same words, and brought to prove the very same points, are introduced by *different formulæ* in different gospels. A further objection to the rules adduced by Surenhusius, is their number and their complexity, which render it difficult to refer all the quotations accurately to them. It is therefore not only more convenient, but more intrinsically useful, to refer the citations from the Old Testament in the New to the four following classes, which have been adopted, with some alteration, from Rosenmüller*, after Gusset and Wolfius. According to these, the phrases, *that it might be fulfilled, as it is written, &c. &c.* may be properly applied in the New Testament;—

I. When the thing predicted is literally accomplished.

nion, are to be found in Acts iii. 22, 23. and vii. 42, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 54. and 2 Cor. viii. 15.

2. Sometimes letters are changed, as in Rom. ix. 33. 1 Cor. ix. 9, &c. Heb. viii. 9. and x. 5.

3. Sometimes both letters and vowel points are changed, as in Acts xiii. 40, 41. and 2 Cor. viii. 15.

4. Sometimes words are added from a parallel passage, or are changed in the quotation, which words appear as if the whole occurred in the cited text, as in Rom. xi. 3. xv. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 45. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 14. and Heb. xii. 12, 13.

5. Sometimes additional words are inserted to complete the sense, as in Matt. iv. 10. xxi. 5. John vi. 49. xii. 38. and Rom. x. 6.

6. Sometimes several passages are abridged together, in order to make the subject more clear: As in Matt. xxi. 5. Luke iv. 18, 19. John viii. 5, &c.

7. Sometimes the beginnings of verses are only added for the sake of brevity, although the sacred writer refers to the whole passage, which he paraphrases. Instances of this sort occur in Acts i. 20. Rom. xi. 27. Heb. iii. iv. and x.

8. Some passages are cited, either allegorically, or by way of simple proof, in which case the subject cannot be proved unless the passage cited be compared with others, and illustrated as in Rom. ix. 12, 13. x. 8. and Heb. iv. 5, 6.

9. Sometimes one and the same passage is cited to prove many things, and is applied to many persons, as in Matt. xiii. 14. compared with John xii. 40. Rom. ix. 33. and x. 11. compared with 1 Pet. ii. 6.

10. Sometimes a subject is intended to be proved by several passages, though one only is adduced, the reader being left to find them out, as in Acts xv. 15, 16.

11. The first and last clauses of a verse only are sometimes cited, the intermediate clauses being omitted. See Eph. v. 14. and 1 Pet. i. 24, 25.

12. Sometimes a passage is simply adduced without any formula of quotation, and then another intervenes parenthetically; which being cited, the sacred writer returns to the first quoted passage, which is illustrated in a variety of particulars. Thus St. Paul, in Heb. iii. 7. first cites Psal. xcv. 7; then he interposes references to Exod. xvii. 2. Numb. xx. 13. xiv. 21. and Deut. i. 34; and at length, in the 15th verse, he returns to Psal. xcv. 7. which he explains, as if all the intermediately quoted passages were contained in one and the same text. Similar instances occur in Heb. iv. 15. and 1 Cor. iii. 7. Surenhusii *Βιβλος Καταλλαγης*, pp. 1—56.

* Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 25.

II. When that is done, of which the Scripture has spoken, not in a literal, but in a spiritual sense.

III. When a thing is done, neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures; but is similar to that fact. The passages thus cited may, briefly, be termed *accommodated quotations*.

IV. When the sacred writers have made simple allusions to passages in the Old Testament, for the sake of example or illustration.*

In the following tables, the quotations are arranged under each class, to which they appear respectively to belong. Some of the references, perhaps, may be disputable; and in some, it is possible that the author may be mistaken: but, as they are the result of a laborious and patient comparison of every prophecy or citation, in classifying which he could have but little assistance, he trusts he may be allowed to say, that he has exerted the best of his judgment, and to indulge the hope that he has not misapplied the quotations in any essential point.

I. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the things predicted are literally accomplished.*

Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the Gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense: and the Scripture is said to be *fulfilled* in the *literal sense*, when that event which it foretells is accomplished. The quotations from the Old Testament in the New, which belong to this class, are both numerous and highly important. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles, and the everlasting kingdom of Messiah: such also is the 110th Psalm, which, it has been well remarked, is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be. It is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his Gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors who persecuted his church. †

* The fourth class mentioned by Rosenmüller, Gusset, and Wolfius, is as follows:—When that which has, in the Old Testament, been mentioned as formerly done, is accomplished, in a larger and more extensive sense, in the New Testament. But as the citations which appear to belong to this class, may be referred to the first and third, we have substituted the preceding in lieu of it. On the much litigated question relative to the single or twofold sense of prophecy, the reader is referred to Vol. II. Book I. Chap. VI. Sect. II. and III.

† Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 121. 2d edit. The best critical illustration of the prophetic sense of Psalm cx. is, perhaps, that given by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his "Second Argument in defence of Christianity, taken from the Ancient Prophecies," pp. 275—311.

Isa. liii. 9.	quoted in	1 Pet. ii. 22.
Isa. liii. 12.	-	Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
Isa. liv. 13.	-	John vi. 45.
Isa. lv. 3.	-	Acts xiii. 34.
Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	-	Heb. viii. 8—12. x. 16, 17.
Hosea i. 10.	-	Rom. ix. 26.
Hosea ii. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 25. 1 Pet. ii. 10.
Joel ii. 28—32. (in the Hebrews iii. 1—4.)	-	{ Acts ii. 16—21.
Amos ix. 11, 12.	-	Acts xv. 16, 17.
Micah v. 2.	-	Matt. ii. 5, 6. John vii. 42.
Habak. i. 5.	-	Acts xiii. 40.
Haggai ii. 6.	-	Heb. xii. 26.
Zech. ix. 9.	-	Matt. xxi. 4, 5. John xii. 14. 16.
Zech. xi. 13.	-	Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
Zech. xii. 10.	-	John xix. 37.
Zech. xiii. 7.	-	{ Matt. xxvi. 31. 56. Mark xiv. 27. 50.
Mal. iii. 1.	-	{ Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
Mal. iv. 5, 6.	-	{ Matt. xi. 13, 14. xvii. 10—13. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 16. 17.

II. Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have not spoken in a literal, but in a spiritual sense.

There are citations out of the Old Testament in the New, in a mediate and typical or spiritual sense, respecting Christ and his mystical body the Church. The Scripture is therefore said to be fulfilled, when that is accomplished in the antitype which is written concerning the type. Thus, in John xix. 36. we read, *These things were done that the Scripture should be fulfilled, —“a bone of him shall not be broken.”* These words, which were originally written of the paschal lamb, (Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12.), are said to be fulfilled in Christ who is the antitype of that lamb. Additional examples of the same kind will be found in the annexed passages.

Gen. xiv. 18. 20. cited and applied in	Heb. vii. 1—10.
Gen. xv. 5.	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xvi. 15.	Gal. iv. 22.
Gen. xvii. 4.	Rom. iv. 17.
Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xxi. 1—3.	Gal. iv. 22, &c.
Gen. xxi. 12.	Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 23.	Rom. ix. 10.
Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12.	John xix. 36.
Exod. xvi. 13—15.	John vi. 31. 49. 1 Cor. x. 3.
Exod. xvii. 6. Numb. xx. 11.	1 Cor. x. 4.

Exod. xix. 6.	cited and applied in	1 Pet. ii. 9.
Exod. xxiv. 8.	-	Heb. ix. 20.
Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.	-	2 Cor. vi. 16.
Numb. xxi. 8, 9.	-	John iii. 14.
Deut. xxi. 23.	-	Gal. iii. 13.
Deut. xxxii. 21.	-	Rom. x. 19.
2 Sam. vii. 14.	-	Heb. i. 5.
Psal. ii. 9.	-	Rev. ii. 27.
Psal. viii. 4.	-	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. viii. 6.	-	1 Cor. xv. 27.
Psal. xviii. 49.	-	Rom. xv. 9.
Psal. xxxv. 19. lxix. 4. and cix. 3.	-	John xv. 25.
Psal. xl. 6—8.	-	Heb. x. 6, 7.
Psal. lxix. 9.	-	John ii. 17.
Psal. civ. 4.	-	Heb. i. 7.
Isa. xl. 6, 7.	-	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
Isa. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 15.	-	Rom. x. 15.
Isa. liv. 1.	-	Gal. iv. 27.
Isa. lxiv. 4.	-	1 Cor. ii. 9.
Hosea xi. 1.	-	Matt. ii. 15.
Jonah i. 17. ii. 1. and iii. 5.	-	Matt. xii. 40, 41. Luke xi. 30. 32.
Habak. ii. 3.	-	Heb. x. 37.
Habak. ii. 4.	-	{ Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11. Heb. x. 38.

III. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which a thing is done neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures, but is similar to that fact—in other words, where the citation is accommodated.*

Accommodations are passages of the Old Testament, which are adapted by the writers of the New Testament to an occurrence that happened in their time, on account of some correspondence and similitude. These are not prophecies, though they are said sometimes to be fulfilled; for any thing may be said to be fulfilled when it can be pertinently applied. This method of explaining Scripture by accommodation will enable us to solve some of the greatest difficulties relating to the prophecies.

For the better understanding of this important subject, it should be recollected, that the writings of the Jewish Prophets, which abound in fine descriptions, poetical images, and sublime diction, were the classics of the later Jews: and, in subsequent ages, all their writers affected allusions to them, borrowed their images and descriptions, and very often cited their identical words, when recording any event or circumstance that happened in the history of the persons whose lives they were relating; provided it was *similar* and parallel to one that occurred

in the times, and was described in the books, of the antient prophets. It was a familiar idiom of the Jews *, when quoting the writings of the Old Testament, to say—*that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by such and such a prophet*; not intending to be understood that such a particular passage in one of the sacred books was ever designed to be a *real prediction* of what they were then relating, but signifying only, that the words of the Old Testament might be properly adapted to express their meaning, and illustrate their ideas. And thus the Apostles, who were Jews by birth, and wrote and spoke in the Jewish idiom, have very frequently alluded to the sacred books after the customary style of their nation; intending no more by this mode of speaking, than that the words of such an antient writer are happily descriptive of what was transacted in their time, and might, with equal propriety, be adapted to characterize such a particular circumstance as happened in their days; that there was a *con-similarity* of cases and incidents; and that the expressive style and diction of the old inspired prophets were as justly applicable to the occurrences recorded by the apostles, as they were suitable to denote those events and facts in their times which they had commemorated.

Thus, our Lord, speaking of the insurmountable prepossessions and perverseness of the Jews to whom he preached, says:—*Seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand*—that is, their stupidity is so gross, and their prejudices are so numerous, that, though they have capacities proper for understanding and receiving my doctrine, they will neither understand nor receive it; so that in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah—his words are perfectly applicable to the present age, and descriptive of their moral character and condition:—*Hearing, ye shall hear, and shall not understand: and seeing, ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.* (Isa. vi. 9, 10. cited in Matt. xiii. 14, 15.) The same passage of the evangelical prophet is cited by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 8.), and applied to the invincible obstinacy of his countrymen—not, indeed, as though they had then, and then only, received their precise accomplishment, but as beautifully expressive of the obduracy, determined infidelity, and impenitence of the Jews.

* The Talmud and Rabbinical writers abound with instances, great numbers of which are cited by Surenhusius in the work already cited, p. 513. note †.

Again, the prophet Jeremiah, describing the miseries of captivity, by a beautiful figure, represents Rachel as deploring the loss of her children, bathed in tears, piercing the air with loud lamentations, and indulging inconsolable grief. When Herod imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocents in Bethlehem and its vicinity, how applicable were the prophet's words to such a cruel scene, and how happily are they cited by the evangelist, to exhibit to his reader the mourning and lamentation caused by that sanguinary tyrant! They are a beautiful quotation, and not a prediction of what then happened: and yet, upon the murder of these babes, the sacred historian says, according to the Jewish phraseology, when they cited Scripture:—*Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet Jeremiah; in Rama there was a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they are not.* (Jer. xxxi. 15. cited in Matt. ii. 17, 18.)

Once more;—our Lord having delivered several parables, the sacred historian, after remarking that Jesus Christ chose to convey his religious and moral instruction to the Jews by means of parables, with which all his public discourses abounded, says:—*That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world."* (Psal. lxxviii. 2. quoted in Matt. xiii. 35.)*

The following table presents a list of the passages thus accommodated from the Old Testament by the writers of the New.

Gen. xv. 5.	-	cited in	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xv. 6.	-	-	{ Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 6. and James ii. 23.
Gen. xviii. 10.	-	-	Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xix. 15, 26.	-	-	Luke xvii. 28, 29. 32.
Gen. xxi. 12.	-	-	Rom. ix. 7.

* This mode of accommodating passages was not confined to the inspired penmen. Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things of which these poets never thought; and this, Dr. Jortin remarks, is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing: and a passage, applied justly in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. (Rem. on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 120.) In Ælian, Diogenes the Cynic philosopher is reported to have said, that "he fulfilled in himself all the curses of tragedy:" and Olympiodorus, in his life of Plato, has this expression, "*that it might be true concerning him,*" and then cites the following verse from Homer:

Του και απογλωσσης μελιτος γλυκων ρειν αυδη.

Words sweet as honey from his lips distilled. POPE.

Which verse, however applicable to that great philosopher, is not to be considered as an oracle delivered by the poet, with a view to the particular use or accommodation of it by this biographer. (Sharpe's Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, p. 349).

Gen. xxv. 23.	-	cited in	Rom. v. 12.
Gen. xxv. 33.	-	-	Heb. xii. 16.
Gen. xxvii. 28, &c.	-	-	Heb. xi. 20. xii. 17.
Exod. ix. 16.	-	-	Rom. ix. 7.
Exod. xxxii. 6.	-	-	1 Cor. x. 7.
Exod. xxxiii. 19.	-	-	Rom. ix. 15.
Lev. xi. 45.	-	-	1 Pet. i. 16.
Lev. xviii. 5.	-	-	Rom. x. 5. Gal. iii. 12.
Deut. vi. 13.	-	-	Matt. iv. 10. Luke iv. 8.
Deut. vi. 16.	-	-	Matt. iv. 7. Luke iv. 12.
Deut. viii. 3.	-	-	Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
Deut. xxv. 4.	-	-	1 Cor. ix. 9. 1 Tim. v. 18.
Deut. xxvii. 26.	-	-	Gal. iii. 10.
Deut. xxxii. 35.	-	-	Rom. xii. 19. Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 36.	-	-	Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 43.	-	-	Rom. xv. 10.
Josh. i. 5.	-	-	Heb. xiii. 5.
1 Sam. xxi. 6.	-	-	{ Matt. xii. 3, 4. Mark ii. 25, 26.
			Luke vi. 3, 4.
1 Kings xix. 14. 18.	-	-	Rom. xi. 3, 4.
Psal. v. 10. and cxi. 4.	-	-	Rom. iii. 13.
Psal. x. 7.	-	-	Rom. iii. 14.
Psal. xiv. 1—3. and liii. 1—3.	-	-	Rom. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xix. 4.	-	-	Rom. x. 18.
Psal. xxiv. 1.	-	-	1 Cor. x. 26.
Psal. xxviii. 16.	-	-	Rom. x. 11.
Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.	-	-	Rom. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.	-	-	1 Pet. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xxxvi. 1.	-	-	Rom. iii. 18.
Psal. xliv. 22.	-	-	Rom. viii. 36.
Psal. li. 4.	-	-	Rom. iii. 4.
Psal. lxix. 9.	-	-	Rom. xv. 3.
Psal. lxix. 22, 23.	-	-	Rom. xi. 9, 10.
Psal. lxxviii. 2.	-	-	Matt. xiii. 35.
Psal. lxxxii. 6.	-	-	John x. 34.
Psal. cxii. 9.	-	-	2 Cor. ix. 9.
Psal. cxvi. 10.	-	-	2 Cor. iv. 13.
Psal. cxvii. 1.	-	-	Rom. xv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 6.	-	-	Heb. xiii. 6.
Prov. i. 16. Isa. lix. 78.	-	-	Rom. iii. 15—17.
Prov. iii. 11, 12.	-	-	Heb. xii. 5, 6.
Prov. iii. 34.	-	-	James iv. 6.
Prov. x. 12.	-	-	1 Pet. iv. 8.
Prov. xxv. 21, 22.	-	-	Rom. xii. 20.
Prov. xxvi. 11.	-	-	1 Pet. ii. 22.
Isa. i. 9.	-	-	Rom. ix. 29.
Isa. vi. 9, 10.	-	-	{ John xii. 40. Matt. xiii. 14, 15.
			Luke viii. 10. Rom. xi. 8.
Isa. viii. 12, 13.	-	-	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
Isa. viii. 17, 18.	-	-	Heb. ii. 13.
Isa. x. 22, 23.	-	-	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
Isa. xxix. 10.	-	-	Rom. xi. 8.

Isa. xxix. 13.	-	cited in	Matt. xv. 8, 9. Mark vii. 6.
Isa. xxix. 14.	-	-	1 Cor. i. 9.
Isa. xxix. 16. and xlv. 9.	-	-	Rom. ix. 20, 21.
Isa. xlv. 23.	-	-	Rom. xiv. 11. Phil. ii. 10.
Isa. lii. 5. with Ezek. xxxvi. 20.	-	-	Rom. ii. 24.
Isa. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 15.	-	-	Rom. x. 15.
Isa. lii. 11, 12.	-	-	2 Cor. vi. 17.
Isa. lii. 15.	-	-	Rom. xv. 21.
Isa. lvi. 7. (and Jer. vii. 11.)	-	-	{ Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.
Isa. lxi. 1, 2.	-	-	Luke iv. 18, 19.
Isa. lxv. 1, 2.	-	-	Rom. x. 20, 21.
Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.	-	-	Acts vii. 49, 50.
Jer. xxxi. 15.	-	-	Matt. ii. 17, 18.
Jer. xxxi. 33. and xxxii. 38. (with 2 Sam. vii. 14.)	-	-	2 Cor. vi. 18.
Hab. ii. 4.	-	-	Rom. i. 17.
Joel ii. 32.	-	-	Rom. x. 13.
Mal. i. 2, 3.	-	-	Rom. ix. 13.

It cannot escape observation, that by far the larger portion of the preceding quotations is accommodated by the apostle Paul. Dr. John Taylor* has some useful remarks (of which the following are an abstract), on the various designs with which Saint Paul cited them:

1. Sometimes his intention goes no further than using the *same strong expressions*, as being equally applicable to the point in hand. Thus, in Rom. x. 6—8. he uses the words of Moses, not to prove any thing, nor as if he thought Moses spoke of the same subject; but merely as intimating that the strong and lively expressions, used by Moses concerning the doctrine he taught, were equally applicable to the faith of the Gospel. So, in Rom. x. 18. he quotes Psal. xix. 4. though it is not unlikely that those expressions were used by the antient Jews in application to the Messiah, as the apostle applies them.

2. Sometimes the design of the quotation is only to show that the *cases are parallel*: or that what happened in his times corresponded with what happened in former days. See Rom. ii. 24. viii. 36. ix. 27—29. xi. 2—5. 8—10. and xv. 21.

3. Sometimes the quotation is only intended to *explain a doctrinal point*. See Rom. i. 17. iv. 7, 8. 18—21. ix. 20, 21. x. 15. and xv. 3.

4. Lastly, Sometimes the quotation is designed to *prove a doctrinal point*. See Rom. iii. 4. 10—18. iv. 3—17. v. 12—14. ix. 7. 9. 12, 13. 15. 17. x. 5. 11. 13. xii. 20. and xiv. 11.

* In his Paraphrase and Notes on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p. 339. 4th edit. 1769.

In applying the accommodated citations of the Old Testament, Turretin has suggested the three following rules, which claim the attention of the biblical student.

1. In applications of this kind, we must not neglect the literal sense, which is the first and only genuine sense of Scripture.

2. Such applications ought not to be forced, or far-fetched; for those, which were made by the apostles, were simple, and easy to be apprehended.

3. Too much stress ought not to be laid on these applications; which, it should be considered, are merely illustrations adduced by the sacred writers further to explain the subjects under their discussion.

4. Such being the nature of these accommodations, it follows that no doctrines—at least such as are necessary to salvation—either can or ought to be deduced from them. *

IV. *Of Quotations, and other Passages from the Old Testament, which are alluded to in the New.*

Besides the passages mentioned in the preceding class, as accommodated by the writers of the New Testament, there is a fourth class, nearly allied to them, and comprising a few quotations, together with a larger number of other passages not distinctly cited from the Old Testament; but which, on comparing them with the New Testament, appear most evidently to have been present to the minds of the sacred writers, who have *alluded* to them by way of illustration or example. A careful inspection of such passages, with reference to their scope and context, together with an application of the rules above suggested by Turretin, will readily enable the student to judge of the allusions which he may meet with in the New Testament: and, in addition to those rules, Dr. Gerard has remarked, that when the inspired writers quote a passage from the Old Testament, *merely in the way of allusion*, it is enough that the words which they borrow emphatically express their own meaning. It is not necessary that they be precisely the same with those of the passage alluded to, nor that they be

* Turretin, *De Sacr. Script. Interpretatione*, pp. 118, 119. see also pp. 107—117. The subject of accommodated passages of Scripture is more fully discussed by Dr. Sharpe, (*Second Argument from Prophecy*, pp. 347—365); Dr. Hey (*Norrisian Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 260—262); Dr. Harwood (*Introduction to the New Test.* vol. i. pp. 279—290); Rumpæus (*Comment Crit. ad Libros Nov. Test.* pp. 443. 449, 450); Bishop Kidder (in his *Demonstration of the Messiah*, chap. iii. Boyle's *Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 150—152); Dr. Nicholls (*Conference with a Theist*, part. iii. vol. ii. pp. 10—13. ed. 1698); and especially by Dr. Sykes (*On the Truth of the Christian Religion*, chapters xiii. xiv. and xv. pp. 206—296. edit. 1725.)

there used, either of the same subject or of a similar subject *. Thus, Deut. xxx. 12—14. which was originally written concerning the law, is by Saint Paul accommodated to the Gospel, (Rom. x. 6—8.) with proper variations and explanations. The following table presents a list of the *principal* passages thus alluded to in the New Testament.

Gen. i. 6. 9.	alluded to in	2 Pet. iii. 5.
Gen. i. 27.	- - -	{ Matt. xix. 4. Mark x. 6. 1 Cor. xi. 7. James iii. 9.
Gen. ii. 2, 3.	- - -	Heb. iv. 4.
Gen. ii. 7.	- - -	1 Cor. xv. 45.
Gen. ii. 21, 22.	- - -	1 Cor. xi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 13.
Gen. ii. 24.	- - -	{ Matt. xix. 5. Mark x. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 31.
Gen. iii. 6.	- - -	1 Tim. ii. 14.
Gen. iii. 4, 13.	- - -	2 Cor. xi. 3.
Gen. iii. 16.	- - -	1 Cor. xiv. 34.
Gen. iv. 4.	- - -	Heb. xi. 4.
Gen. iv. 8.	- - -	{ Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. 1 John iii. 12. Jude verse 11.
Gen. v. 24.	- - -	Heb. xi. 5.
Gen. vi. vii.	- - -	{ Matt. xxiv. 37, 38. Luke xvii. 26, 27. Heb. xi. 7. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. 2 Pet. ii. 5. iii. 6.
Gen. xii. 1—4.	- - -	Acts vii. 5. Heb. xi. 8.
Gen. xiii. 15.	- - -	Rom. iv. 13.
Gen. xv. 13, 14.	- - -	Acts vii. 6, 7.
Gen. xvii. 10.	- - -	Acts vii. 8.
Gen. xviii. 3. xix. 2.	- - -	Heb. xiii. 2.
Gen. xviii. 10.	- - -	Heb. xi. 11.
Gen. xviii. 12.	- - -	1 Pet. iii. 6.
Gen. xix. 12.	- - -	2 Pet. 2. 6. Jude verse 7.
Gen. xxi. 12.	- - -	Heb. xi. 18.
Gen. xlv. 27.	- - -	Acts vii. 14.
Gen. xlvii. 31.	- - -	Heb. xi. 21.
Gen. l. 24.	- - -	Heb. xi. 22.
Exod. ii. 2, 11.	- - -	Heb. xi. 23—27. Acts vii. 20—29.
Exod. iii. 6.	- - -	{ Mark xii. 26. Acts vii. 31, 32. Heb. xi. 16.
Exod. xii. 12. 18.	- - -	Heb. xi. 28.
Exod. xiv. 22.	- - -	1 Cor. x. 2. Heb. xi. 29.
Exod. xix. 12. 18, 19.	- - -	Heb. xii. 18—20.
Exod. xx. 12—16. Deut. v. 16—20.	- - -	{ Matt. xix. 18, 19. Mark x. 19. Luke xviii. 20. Rom. xiii. 9. James ii. 2.

* Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 422. § 1135.

Lev. xiii. 2. Numb. viii. 16, 17. xviii. 15. 17. }	alluded to in }	Luke ii. 23.
Lev. xiv. 3, 4. 10. - - -		{ Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14.
Lev. xix. 12. - - -		Matt. v. 33.
Lev. xix. 18. - - -		Matt. v. 43. Gal. v. 14.
Numb. xi. 4. - - -		1 Cor. x. 6.
Numb. xiv. 23. 29. 37. and xxvi. 64, 65. - - - }		Heb. iii. 16, 17. Jude 5.
Numb. xxi. 4—6. - - -		1 Cor. x. 9.
Numb. xxii. 23. 39. - - -		2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude 11.
Deut. xviii. 1. - - -		1 Cor. ix. 13.
Deut. xxiv. 1. - - -		{ Matt. v. 31. Mark x. 4. Luke xvi. 28.
Josh. ii. 1. vi. 22, 23. - - -		Heb. xi. 31. James ii. 25.
Josh. vi. 20. - - -		Heb. xi. 30.
Judges, the whole book, generally		Acts xiii. 20. Heb. xi. 32.
1 Sam. viii. 5. and x. 1. - - -		Acts xiii. 21.
1 Sam. xiii. 14. xv. 23. xvi. 12, 13.		Acts xiii. 22.
1 Kings xvii. 1. and xviii. 42—45.		James v. 17, 18.
1 Chron. xxiii. 13. - - -		Heb. v. 4.
Psal. xc. 4. - - -		2 Pet. iii. 8.
Prov. xxvii. 1. - - -		James iv. 13, 14.
Isa. xii. 3. - - -		John vii. 38.
Isa. lxvi. 24. - - -		Mark ix. 44.
Jer. vi. 16. - - -		Matt. xi. 29.
Lam. iii. 45. - - -		1 Cor. iv. 13.
Dan. iii. 23—25. - - -		Heb. xi. 34.
Dan. ix. 27. xii. 11. - - -		Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.
Hos. xiii. 14. - - -		1 Cor. xv. 55.
Hos. xiv. 2. - - -		Heb. xiii. 15.
Amos v. 26, 27. - - -		Acts vii. 42, 43.

SECTION III.

OF APOCRYPHAL PASSAGES, SUPPOSED TO BE QUOTED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT—QUOTATIONS FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

IT was a practice of the antient Hebrew divines to cite, not only the Scriptures, as we have seen in the preceding sections, but also to quote histories, facts, and apophthegms or sayings of their early sages, which they had received by *oral tradition* from the time of Moses, in order to supply those passages which are wanting in the Pentateuch. Of this method of quotation we have three instances in the New Testament. The first is 2 Tim. iii. 8. where we meet with the names of Jannes

and Jambres as the two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. Schickard and some other learned men are of opinion that Saint Paul, being deeply conversant in Jewish literature, derived his knowledge of these names from the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on Exod. vii. 11. But as there is reason to believe that this Targum is of too late a date to have been consulted by the apostle, it is most probable that he alluded to an antient and generally received tradition relative to those men. What corroborates the latter conjecture is, that their names are mentioned by some antient profane writers, as Numenius the Pythagorean*, by Artapanus†, and by Pliny‡. The Jews affirm that they were princes of Pharaoh's magicians, and that they greatly resisted Moses§. Origen, who flourished in the second century, informs us, that there was extant, in his time, an apocryphal book concerning these magicians, inscribed *Jannes et Mambres Liber* ||. The other two instances alluded to are the 9th verse of the Epistle of Jude, which cites the story of Michael the archangel contending with Satan about the body of Moses, and the 11th verse of the same epistle, in which he quotes an apocryphal prophecy of Enoch. Both of these are borrowed from traditional accounts then received by the Jews, with whom the apostle argues from their own authors and concessions**.

On a reference to the passages of the Old Testament, which are accommodated by the evangelical writers ††, it will be observed that by far the greater number of such accommodations has been made by Saint Paul. But the same great apostle of the Gentiles, becoming all things to all men, and being deeply versed in the works of heathen authors, as well as in the sacred writings, did not confine himself *exclusively* to the inspired books: and, accordingly, we have three instances in the New Testament of the fine taste and ability with which he accommodated passages from Pagan authors, when contending with the Gentiles, or

* Apud Origen contra Celsum, pp 198, 199. edit. Spencer. and in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. l. 8. c. 8.

† In Eusebius, l. 9. c. 27.

‡ Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

§ Surenhusius, Βιβλος Καταλλαγης, pp. 589, 590.

|| Tract 35. in Matt. cited by Dr. Whitby on 2 Tim. iii. 8.

** Surenhusius (pp. 699—702.) has given a long extract from the Jalkut Rubeni, fol. 76. col. 2. which details the history of Michael's conflict with the devil. The same author (pp. 709—712.) has also referred to many Rabbinical writers who take notice of Enoch's prophecy.

†† See pp. 520—522. *supra*.

writing to Gentile converts. The first is in Acts xvii. 28. where he cites part of a verse from the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

..... του γαρ και γένος εσμεν.
..... for we his offspring are.

The passage was originally spoken of the heathen deity Jupiter, and is dexterously applied to the true God by Paul, who draws a very strong and conclusive inference from it.

The second instance alluded to is in 1 Cor. xv. 33. in which passage the apostle quotes a senary iambic, which is supposed to have been taken from Menander's *lost* comedy of *Thais*.

Φθιρουσιν ηδη χρησθ' ομιλιν κακαι:

rendered in our translation, *Evil communications corrupt good manners*.

The last instance to be noticed under this head is Titus i. 12. where Saint Paul quotes a verse from Epimenides, a Cretan poet.

Κρητες αι ψευσται, κακα θηρια, γαστρες αργαι.

The general import of which passage is, that *the Cretans were a false people; and united in their character the ferocity of the wild beast, with the luxury of the domesticated one*. The circumstance of St. Paul's styling Epimenides a *prophet* is sufficiently explained by the fact of the words *poet* and *prophet* being often used promiscuously by the Greeks and Romans—probably because their poets pretended to be inspired, and were by some believed to be so. The falsehood of the Cretans was, antiently, so notorious, that Κρητιζειν, *to imitate the Cretans*, was a proverbial expression for LYING. To this class of accommodations Glassius refers the memorable inscription, *to the unknown God*, Αγνωστω Θεω, discovered by Saint Paul at Athens, and on which that apostle founded his masterly address to the polished Athenians, (Acts xvii. 23). The occasion of this altar being erected, in common with many others bearing the same inscription, is thus related by Diogenes Laertius.—The Athenians, being afflicted with a pestilence, invited Epimenides to lustrate their city. The method adopted by him was, to carry several sheep to the Areopagus; whence they were left to wander, as they pleased, under the observation of persons sent to attend them. As each sheep lay down, it was sacrificed on the spot *to the propitious God*. By this ceremony, it is said, the city was relieved: but, as it was still unknown what deity was propitious, an altar was erected *to the unknown God* on every spot where a sheep had been sacrificed. *

* Diogenes Laertius, in Epimenide, l. i. c. 10. § 3. (tom. i. pp. 117—119. ed. Longolii.)

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES,
AND THE SUBSIDIARY MEANS FOR ASCERTAINING IT.

HAVING stated and illustrated, in the preceding chapters, the different senses of the sacred writings, and the various subsidiary means by which to ascertain those senses,—it remains that we show in what manner the sense, when discovered, is to be communicated, expounded, and applied. The consideration of this topic will lead us to notice the interpretation of the *historical, mystical, typical, doctrinal, and moral* part of the Bible, as well as of the promises and threatenings contained in the Scriptures, together with that *practical application* of them to the heart and conscience of the reader, without which all knowledge will be in vain. If, indeed, the previous investigation of the sense of Scripture be undertaken with those moral and devout qualifications which have been stated in the beginning of this work *, it is scarcely possible that we can fail to understand the meaning of the word of God.

But as it is not sufficient to know *grammatically* the different expressions employed by writers, in order to interpret antient works, it is necessary that we add *historical interpretation* to our grammatical or literal knowledge. By historical interpretation we are to understand, that we give to the words of the sacred author that sense which they bore in the age when he lived, and which is agreeable to the degree of knowledge he possessed, as well as conformable to the religion professed by him, and to the sacred and civil rites or customs that obtained in the age when he flourished. The best mode of acquiring this historical interpretation, together with the subsidiary means to be employed for this purpose, are now to be submitted to the attention of the reader.

* See pp. 1—6. *supra*.

SECTION I.

ON THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

THE Bible being a collection of writings executed at different and distant times, partly historical, partly didactic, and partly prophetic, but throughout revealing the will of God to man, it is generally admitted that it ought not to be contemplated as one book. And, although the Old and New Testaments are mutually connected, yet, in matters purely historical, the meanings given to particular words by the sacred writers equally admit of illustration, from the opinions and practices which obtained at the time when the different writers flourished. In investigating the historical interpretation of the Scriptures, the following hints may be found useful.

I. *The books of the Old and New Testament are, each, to be frequently and carefully read, and the subjects therein treated are to be compared together, in order that we may ascertain the meaning of what the authors thought and wrote.*

They, who wish to attain an accurate knowledge of the philosophical notions of Plato, Aristotle, or any other of the antient Grecian sages, will not consult the later Platonic writers, or the scholastic authors who depended wholly on the *authority* of Aristotle, and whose knowledge of his works was frequently very imperfect, but will rather peruse the writings of the philosophers themselves:—in like manner, the books of the Old and New Testament are to be constantly and carefully perused and weighed by him, who is sincerely desirous to obtain a correct knowledge of their important contents. For, while we collate the expressions of each writer, we shall be enabled to harmonize those passages which treat on the same topics; and may reasonably hope to discover their true sense. Some foreign biblical critics, however, (who, in their zeal to accommodate the immutable truths of Scripture to the standard of the present age, would divest the Christian dispensation of its most important doctrines), have asserted that, in the interpretation of the Old Testament, all reference to the New Testament is to be excluded. But, unless we consult the latter, there are passages in the Old Testament, whose meaning cannot be fully apprehended. To mention only one instance out of many that might be adduced:—In Gen. i. 26, 27. God is said to have created man after his own image: this passage (which, it should be recollected, describes man in his primeval state of spotless innocence, before he became corrupted by the fall), the divines in

question affirm, must be interpreted according to the crude and imperfect notions entertained by the antient heathen nations concerning the Deity *. But, if we avail ourselves of the information communicated in the New Testament (as we are fully warranted to do by the example of Christ and his inspired apostles), we shall be enabled to form a correct notion of the divine image intended by the sacred historian; viz. that it consisted in righteousness, true holiness, and knowledge. See Eph. iv. 24. and Col. iii. 10.)

II. *It is also indispensable that we lay aside in many instances that more accurate knowledge which we possess, of natural things, in order that we may fully enter into the meaning of different parts of the sacred writings.*

The antient Hebrews being altogether ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, many things, the nature of which is now fully explored and well known, it were absurd to apply our more perfect knowledge to the explanation of things which are related according to the limited degrees of knowledge they possessed. Hence it is not necessary that we should attempt to illustrate the Mosaic account of the creation according to the Copernican system of the universe, which the experiments of philosophers have shown to be the true one. As the Scriptures were composed with the express design of making the divine will known to man, the sacred authors might, and did, make use of popular expressions and forms of speech, then in use among the persons or people whom they addressed; the philosophical truth of which they neither affirmed nor denied †.

III. *The historical interpretation of the Scriptures will, further, be essentially promoted by an acquaintance with the history of such antient nations or people, as did not possess a higher degree of cultivation than the Hebrews or Jews.*

A judicious comparison of the notions that obtained among antient, and comparatively uncultivated nations, with those entertained by the Hebrews or Jews, will, from their similitude, enable us to enter more fully into the meaning of the sacred writers. Thus many pleasing illustrations of patriarchal life

* How crude, imperfect, and erroneous these views of the Heathens were respecting the Almighty, has been shown at great length by various eminent advocates for the truth and divine origin of Revelation; but no one, to the best of the author's knowledge, has discussed it more elaborately than Dr. Leland, in his "Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, as shewn from the state of Religion in the Heathen World, 8vo." 2 vols. 1768, or more compendiously than Dr. O. Gregory, in his "Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Religion," vol. i. letter iii.

† On this subject, the reader may compare chap. v. sect. ix. pp. 484—493, *supra*.

and manners may be obtained by comparing the writings of Homer and Hesiod with the accounts given by Moses. The Iliad, for instance, illustrates Abraham's manner of dividing the sacrifice *. The patriarchal hospitality is similar to that described in the Odyssey †. How early a belief in the ministry of angels obtained among the heathen nations, is evident from comparing the account of Hesiod ‡ with that of Moses §, and furnishes an additional proof, to the many others which have been collected by learned men, to show that all the knowledge of the antients was traditionally derived, though with innumerable corruptions, from the Hebrews.

IV. *In order, however, that we may correctly explain the manners, customs, or practices, referred to by the sacred writers at different times, it is necessary that we should investigate the laws, opinions, and principles of those nations among whom the Hebrews resided for a long time, or with whom they held a close intercourse, and from whom it is probable they received some of them.*

From the long residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, it has been conjectured by some learned men that they derived by far the greater part of their institutions from the Egyptians: but this hypothesis appears untenable, to its full extent, the Israelites being separated from the Egyptians by their pastoral habits, which rendered them abominable in the eyes of the latter. At the same time, from their having passed four hundred years in that country, it is not unlikely that they derived some things from their oppressors. A few instances will elucidate this remark.

Under the Jewish theocracy, the judges are represented as holy persons, and as sitting in the place of Jehovah ||. The Egyptians regarded their sovereigns in this light **. Hence Michaelis, to whom we are indebted for this fact, conjectures that the Israelites, just on their exit from Egypt, called their rulers *gods*, not only in poetry, but also in the common language of their laws, (see Exod. xxi. 6. where the word *judges* is, in the original Hebrew, *gods* ††. Again, agriculture was

* Homeri Ilias, lib. i. v. 460, 461. compared with Gen. xv. 9, 10.

† Gen. xviii. 6—8. compared with the Odyssey, lib. xiv. v. 71—76. 419—430.

‡ Opera et Dies, lib. i. v. 120—126.

§ Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

|| Deut. i. 17. and xix. 17.

** Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 90. "From this cause" (viz. gratitude to benefactors, among whom they reckoned such animals as were peculiarly useful to the country, and held them sacred) "the Egyptians seem so to reverence their kings, and humbly to address them as if they were gods. They even believe that it is not without the peculiar care of Providence that they arrive at supreme power; and that those, who have the will and the power to perform deeds of the greatest beneficence, are partakers of the divine nature."

†† Michaelis, Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 192.

the basis of the whole Mosaic polity : and it was probably from the Egyptians that the Jewish legislator borrowed the principle, on which his polity was thus founded : though indeed we find, that the state of the antient Romans was accidentally established on a similar plan. *—The priests, and especially the Levites, united the profession of ministers of religion with that of literati among the Jews, in the same manner as the Egyptian priests had partitioned literature among themselves, so that their institution was wholly Egyptian in its origin †. And, to mention no further instances of this kind, the molten calf which the Israelites required of Aaron was more probably an exact resemblance of the celebrated Egyptian god Apis, who was worshipped under the form of an ox. ‡

At a subsequent period, during their captivity, some of the Jews appear to have imbibed the absurd notion of the Persians, that there were two supreme beings, an evil and a good one, representing light and darkness; and that, according to the ascendancy of one or other of these, good and happiness prevailed among men, or evil and misery abounded. Such at least was the absurd opinion held by the person to whom Isaiah addressed his prophecy (ch. xlv.) and which he refutes in the most significant and pointed manner. §

One illustration more will serve to exemplify the rule above given.

In our Saviour's time the learning of the Greeks was cultivated by the Jews, who adopted the peculiar tenets of some of their most eminent philosophers. The Pharisees, we have already seen, believed the immortality of the soul : but it appears from Josephus, that their notion of such immortality was the Pythagorean metempsychosis. ||. From the Pharisees this tenet was generally received by the Jewish people ; and, notwithstanding the benefit derived from hearing the discourses and

* Michaelis's Commentaries, p. 222.

† Ibid. p. 255.

‡ Schumacher, *De Cultu Animalium inter Ægyptios et Judæos Commentatio*, pp 40—47.—Our learned countryman Spencer, in his work *De Legibus Hebræorum*, and Michaelis, in his Commentaries, above cited, have shown, in very many additional examples, the striking resemblance between the institutions of the Israelites and those of the Egyptians.

§ Vitranga, and Lowth, on Isaiah xlv. 7.

|| Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. and *Antiq.* lib. xviii. c. 1. § 3. The Pharisees held that every soul was immortal, but that only the souls of the righteous transmigrate into other bodies, while the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. At first sight, this account appears to contradict the statement of Saint Paul, (Acts xxiv. 15) ; but the repugnancy is easily obviated, when it is considered that Josephus is speaking of the Pharisees only, but the apostle of the Jews in general, and of himself in particular.

conversations of our Lord, it appears to have been held by some of his disciples. *

V. *It will materially facilitate the historical interpretation of the Scriptures, to be well acquainted with the order and titles of the different books; the periods of time which they severally comprise; the country, nation, character and age of their respective authors, together with their peculiar modes of thinking and writing; the places where and the occasions on which the books were written; and lastly, the scope or design of each book.*

A knowledge of these particulars, (which it is the design of the second part of this work to illustrate) will greatly promote the solid and judicious understanding of the whole Bible, in a comparatively short space of time: as the student will thus be enabled to form a correct idea of the nature and subject-matter of each book, as in a map, before he commences its perusal; and will at the same time be furnished with a summary recapitulation of its scope or design, which will materially aid the judgment and strengthen the memory, after reading any book of the Old or New Testament. For,

1. A knowledge of the *order of the different books*, especially such as are historical, will more readily assist the student to discover the order of the different histories and other matters discussed in them, as well as to trace the divine economy towards mankind, under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. This aid, if judiciously exercised, opens the way to a deep acquaintance with the meaning of an author; but, when it is neglected, many things necessarily remain obscure and ambiguous. †

2. *The titles* are further worthy of notice, because some of them announce the chief subject of the book—as *Genesis*, the generations of heaven and earth—*Exodus*, the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, &c.; while other titles denote the churches or particular persons for whose more immediate use some parts of the Scriptures were composed, and thus afford light to particular passages.

3. A knowledge of the *author* of each book, together with the age in which he lived, his peculiar character, his sect or religion, and also his peculiar mode of thinking and style of writing, is equally necessary to the historical interpretation of Scripture. Thus we shall be able to account for one writer's

* See pp. 166, 167, *supra*.

† Franckii Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, p. 189. See also his *Guide to the Reading and Study of the Scriptures*, p. 80.

omitting some topics, and expatiating upon others—as Saint Mark's silence concerning actions honourable to Saint Peter, and enlarging on his faults, he being the companion of the latter, and writing from his information. And a comparison of the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with that of Saint Paul's other Epistles, will show that he was the author of that admirable composition. *

4. Knowledge of the *time* when each book was written sometimes shows the reason and propriety of things said in it. † Upon this principle, the solemn adjuration in 1 Thess. v. 27. which at first sight may seem unnecessary, may be explained. It is likely that, from the beginning of the Christian dispensation, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were read in every assembly for divine worship. Saint Paul, knowing the plenitude of the apostolic commission, now demands the same respect to be paid to his writings which had been given to those of the antient prophets: this therefore is a proper direction to be inserted in the *first* Epistle written by him; and the manner, in which it is given, suggests an argument that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians was the earliest of his Epistles ‡. An accurate knowledge of the date of a book is, further, of peculiar importance in order to understand the Prophecies and Epistles: for not only will it illustrate several apparently obscure particulars in a prediction, but it will also enable us to ascertain and to confute a false application of such prediction. Grotius, in his preface to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, has endeavoured to prove that the Emperor Caligula was the *man of sin*, and Simon Magus *the wicked one*, foretold in the second chapter of that Epistle; and has fruitlessly laboured to show that it was written A. D. 38. But its true date, A. D. 52. explodes that application, as also Dr. Hammond's hypothesis that Simon Magus was the *man of sin*, and *the wicked one*. §

5. Not unfrequently, the consideration of the *place* || where

* This topic has been ably proved by Braunius, in his *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebræos*, pp. 10—21; by Pritius, in his *Introductio in Novum Testamentum*, cap. iv. § iii. p. 47, 48. and by Langius in his *Commentatio de Vita et Epistolis Pauli*, p. 157. Le Clerc has some pertinent remarks on the same subject, in his *Ars Critica*, pars iii. sect. ii. cap. vi. p. 372.

† Rambach, *Inst. Herm. Sacr.* p. 116.

‡ Lardner's *Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History*, chap. xii. § 2. (Works, vol. vi. p. 304.)

§ Macknight's *Preface to 2 Thess.* sect. ii. *Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, p. 117.

|| For instance, it is evident that Saint Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, shortly after the First, at Corinth, and not at Athens, as its subscription

any book was written, or * any thing was said or done, will materially facilitate its historical interpretation, especially if regard be had † to the *nature of the place*, and the customs which obtained there.

6. The *chronology*, or period of time embraced in each book, will serve to disclose the connexion and continuance of the history; and, if properly attended to, will enable the reader to elucidate many of the apparent contradictions in chronology, especially those occurring in the historical books of the Old Testament.

7. A careful observance of the *occasion*, upon which the different books, &c. were written, will contribute not a little to the right understanding of its design, and also of its peculiar phraseology. This applies particularly to the Apostolical Epistles. For instance, the occasion of St. Paul's writing his letter to the Christians at Rome was, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, *threefold*. 1. The fame of their faith which was spoken of throughout the then known world. See Rom. i. 8.

would import, from this circumstance, viz. That Timothy and Silvanus or Silas, who joined him in his first letter, were still with him, and joined him in the second, (compare 2 Thess. i. 1. with 1 Thess. iii. 6. and Acts xviii. 1—5.) And as in this epistle he desired the brethren to *pray that he might be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men*, (2 Thess. iii. 2.) it is probable that he wrote it soon after the insurrection of the Jews at Corinth, in which they dragged him before Gallio the proconsul of Achaia, and accused him of *persuading men to worship contrary to the law*, (Acts xviii. 13.)* But this consideration of the place where a book was written, will supply us with one or two observations that will more clearly illustrate some passages in the same epistle. Thus, it is manifest from 2 Thess. iii. 8. that St. Paul could appeal to his own personal labours for his subsistence with the greater confidence, as he had diligently prosecuted them at Corinth, (compare Acts xviii. 3. with 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, 13.) And, to mention no more examples, it is clear from 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2. that the great Apostle of the Gentiles experienced more difficulty in planting a Christian Church at Corinth, and in some other places, than he did at Thessalonica. In a similar manner, numerous beautiful passages in his Epistles to the Ephesians will be more fully understood, by knowing that they were written at Rome during his first captivity.

* Thus our Lord's admirable discourse, recorded in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which so many disregarded, is said (v. 59.) to have been delivered in the synagogue at Capernaum, consequently in a public place, and in that very city which had witnessed the performance of so many of his miracles. And it is this circumstance of place which so highly aggravated the malice and unbelief of his hearers. (Compare Matt. xi. 23.)

† The first Psalm being written in Palestine, the comparison (in v. 4.) of the ungodly to chaff driven away by the wind will become more evident, when it is recollected that the threshing-floors in that country were not under cover as those in our modern barns are, but that they were formed in the open air, without the walls of cities, and in lofty situations, in order that the wheat might be the more effectually separated from the chaff by the action of the wind. (See Hosea xiii. 3.) In like manner, the knowledge of the nature of the Arabian desert, through which the children of Israel journeyed, is necessary to the correct understanding of many passages in the Books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which were written in that desert. †

* Macknight, *ut supra*.

† Rambach, pp. 118—120.

13. and xvi. 19; — 2. His *fear*, lest the necessary deferring of his long-expected visit to Rome should operate to the prejudice of the Gospel. See Rom. i. 10. 13. 15, 16.; and, 3. The *dissensions* between the newly-converted Jews and Gentiles, which St. Paul labours to compose. See Rom. xi. 18. 25. and xiv. 3. But we must be careful, when investigating the occasion of any book or passage, that we deduce our conclusions respecting it from the book or passage itself, and not from uncertain conjecture. *

8. The consideration of the *scope* or design, which the inspired authors severally had in view, will greatly illustrate the entire book; as its whole structure, arrangement, and principal arguments, are materially affected by the scope. And as the scope is either *general* or *special*, these two particulars must not be confounded together: it is to the want of due discrimination in this respect that we may ascribe many errors of considerable magnitude. †

9. An *analysis* of each book is of equal importance with the preceding subjects of consideration. If judiciously executed, such analysis will exhibit to the reader a comprehensive view, not only of the chief subject-matter of every book or epistle, but will also show the methodical and orderly coherence of all the parts of the book with one another. Such an analysis the author has attempted in the second volume of this work. “Books,” says an old writer, to whom we are indebted for this remark as well as some of the preceding observations, “looked upon *confusedly*, are but darkly and confusedly apprehended: but, considered *distinctly*, as in these distinct analyses or resolutions into their principal parts, must needs be distinctly and much more clearly discerned.” ‡

VI. *We should carefully distinguish between what the Scripture itself says, and what is only said in the Scripture.*

The Bible is not to be contemplated as an oration from God to man, or as a body of laws, similar to our English Statute Book, in which the legislator speaks to the people throughout: but it is to be regarded as a collection of compositions of very different sorts, and written at very distant times; and in these Books, although their authors were divinely inspired, many

* Rambach, pp. 120, 121.

† On the Investigation of the Scope of an entire Book or Passage of Scripture. See Chapter III. Section viii. pp. 346—353, *supra*.

‡ Roberts's Key to the Bible, pp. (11.) (12.) folio edit. 1665. See also Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 108—110. and Chladenius's Institutiones Exegeticæ, p. 532, *et seq.*

other persons are introduced besides the penmen, who have faithfully set down the sayings and actions they record. This distinction of the excellent Mr. Boyle*, if duly applied, will enable us to silence some of their malicious cavils, who accuse the Scriptures of teaching vice by the ungodly sayings and examples, that are occasionally to be met with in them. “But,” he further remarks, “as the Apostle said that *they are not all Israel, that are of Israel*, (Rom. ix. 6.); so we may say that is not Scripture that is in the Scripture: for many wicked persons, and their perverter Satan, are there introduced, whose sayings the Holy Ghost doth not adopt, but barely registers; nor does the Scripture affirm that what they said was true, but that it was true they said it. As for the ills recorded in the Scripture, besides that wicked persons were necessary to exercise God’s children, and illustrate his providence; and, besides the allegations commonly made on that subject, we may consider, that, there being many things to be declined as well as practised, it was fit we should be taught as well what to avoid, as what to imitate. Now, as we could not be armed against the tempter’s methods, if we *ignored* (were ignorant of) them, so we could never more safely or better learn them than in his book, who can alone discover the wills, and fathom the depths of Satan, and track him through all his windings, and, otherwise untractable, labyrinths; and in that book, where the antidote is exhibited with the poison, and either men’s victory or defeat may teach us, at others’ costs, and without our hazard, the true art of that warfare we are all so highly concerned in. And, as antiently God fed his servant Elias, sometimes by an angel, sometimes by a woman, and sometimes too by ravens, so doth he make all persons in the Bible, whether good, or bad, or indifferent, supply his servants with that instruction, which is the aliment of virtue and of souls, and makes them and their examples contribute to the verification of that passage of St. Paul, † wherein he says, that “*all things co-operate for good to them that love God.*” ‡

To illustrate the preceding observations by one or two examples:—In Mal. iii. 14. we meet with the following words, “It is in vain to serve God, and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance?” And in 1 Cor. xv. 32. we meet with this maxim of profane men—“Let us eat and drink, for to-

* Considerations on the Style of Scripture, (Works, vol. ii. p. 260.) Consid. 2.

† Rom. viii. 28.

‡ Boyle’s Works, vol. ii. p. 261.

morrow we die." But, when we read these and similar passages, we must attend to the characters introduced, and remember that the persons who spoke thus were wicked men. Even those, whose piety is commended in the sacred volume, did not always act in strict conformity to it: Thus, when David vowed that he would utterly destroy Nabal's house, we must conclude that he sinned in making that vow: and the discourses of Job's friends, though in themselves extremely beautiful and instructive, are not in *every* respect to be approved: for we are informed by the sacred historian, that God was wroth with them, because they had not spoken of him the thing that was right. (Job xlii. 7.)

The rule, thus ably illustrated by Mr. Boyle, will admit of a more ready application, if we further notice the person *addressed*, as well as the person *introduced as speaking in any book*, whether he speak in his own character, or by a figure of speech introduce another person as speaking; and also if we attend to the frequent and very elegant changes and successions of persons, occurring in the Scriptures, and especially in the prophetic writings. The first chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah affords an apposite elucidation of this remark.

Jehovah is there represented as impleading his disobedient people, Israel. The prophet, with a boldness and majesty becoming the herald of the Most High, begins with summoning the whole creation to attend when Jehovah speaks, (ver. 2). A charge of gross insensibility is, in the next verse, brought against the Jews, whose guilt is amplified, (ver. 4); and their obstinate wickedness highly aggravated the chastisements and judgments of God, though repeated till they had almost been left like Sodom and Gomorrah, (v. 5—9). The incidental mention of these places leads the prophet to address the rulers and people of the Jews, under the character of the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah, in a style not less spirited and severe, than it is elegant and unexpected (10). The vanity of trusting to the performance of the external rites and ceremonies of religion is then exposed (11—15), and the necessity of repentance and reformation is strongly enjoined (16, 17), and urged by the most encouraging promises, as well as by the most awful threatenings, (18—20). But, as neither of these produced the proper effect upon that people, who were the prophet's charge, he bitterly laments their degeneracy (21—23), and concludes with introducing the Almighty himself, declaring his purpose of inflicting such heavy judgments as would entirely cut off the wicked, and excite in the righteous, who should pass through

the furnace, an everlasting shame and abhorrence of every thing connected with idolatry, the source of all their misery. (24—31.) The whole chapter, in loftiness of sentiment, and style, affords a beautiful example of this great prophet's manner, whose writings, like his lips, are touched with hallowed fire.*

VII. *Carefully distinguish the times, places, and persons, when, where, and by whom any thing is recorded as having been said or done.*

“Distinguish the times,” said Augustine, “and the Scriptures will agree.”† This observation is of particular importance in reconciling the apparently contradictory relations of our Lord's miracles, which have been excepted against by infidels, and concerning some of which he commanded the persons cured by him not to divulge them to any man, while he performed others with the greatest publicity. Having delighted and instructed the multitude with his discourses, the fame of them and of his mighty works so struck the people, that the crowd which assembled around him increased every day. In the universal expectation of the Messiah that then prevailed, there was reason to fear lest the Jews, under the impulse of blind but ardent zeal, should have declared him their king, or lest some seditious spirit should take advantage of their favourable disposition towards him, to create some disturbance among that people. This indeed is evident from the Gospel, which informs us that the Jews had laid a scheme *to take him away by force, and make him a king*, (John vi. 15.) But Jesus did not choose to give umbrage to the government. Though he was to be condemned to death, it was not necessary he should be so, as a rebel to Cesar. That fine testimony was to be borne to his innocence—*I find no fault in this man*. (Luke xxiii. 4). Determined to seal with his blood the truth of his religion, he first proved his divine mission, multiplied the witnesses of his miracles, confirmed the faith of the Apostles, gave them instructions, and destroyed the prepossession that the Messiah was to be a temporal king, surrounded with the pomp of worldly grandeur. But all this was not the work of a few days :

* Bp. Lowth's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. pp. 4—27, 8vo edit. Vitranga, in his comment on the same prophet, eminently excels in pointing out the rapid transitions of persons, places, and things. Van Til, in his celebrated *Opus Analyticum*, has ably noticed various similar transitions in the Scriptures generally, and in the Psalms in particular, though in the last-mentioned book he has sometimes unnecessarily multiplied the speakers introduced. The value of Dr. Macknight's version and paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans is enhanced by his distinguishing between the objections brought by the Jew whom St. Paul introduces as arguing with him, and the replies and conclusive reasonings of the Apostle.

† Distinguite tempora, et concordabunt Scripturæ. De Verbis Domini, Serm. 16.

A rapid instruction, joined to a multitude of miracles crowded into a short space of time, would not have left traces deep enough in the minds of men. Infinite Wisdom therefore permitted not our Saviour to kindle the hatred of his enemies too soon, nor to deliver himself into their hands, *before his hour was come*. He was in the mean time to work miracles, and to give them the necessary authenticity: but their greater or less notoriety depended upon times, places, and persons. By making these distinctions, we shall discern in our Divine Saviour a wisdom as constant in its aim, as admirable in the appropriation of means to the variety of circumstances. He acted less openly in Judea: Jerusalem especially required from him great circumspection. He was there under the eye of Pilate, the sanhedrim, and the priests; and the eagerness of the people to follow him might have readily furnished them with a pretence to accuse him as seditious. In the 12th chapter of St. John we learn, that *Jesus retired into Galilee, not choosing to remain in Judea, because that the Jews sought to kill him*. (John xii. 1).

Out of Judea he was more at liberty. We must not therefore wonder at his saying to the demoniac of Gadara, *Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee*. (Luke viii. 39.) Gadara was a city where there were many heathens: a disturbance amongst the people there was not so much to be feared. Jesus acted also more openly in Galilee. We read in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, that he there performed miracles in a very public manner. Such was the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves; and yet, as soon as he saw that the people were on the point of taking him away to make him a king, *he retired to a mountain*. (John vi. 15). He had regard therefore to the different disposition of men's minds. This was sometimes so favourable to him, that, choosing to distribute into different places the light of his doctrine, he prescribed silence to those whom he cured; that he might not be too long detained in the same place by the multitude, who, being informed of a new miracle, would have importuned him without ceasing. Thus, when he had raised up Jairus's daughter, he forbade the parents to publish it.

That our Lord chose to distribute equally the light of his doctrine, is evident from the Gospel. We learn, (Mark i. 36. Luke iv. 43), that when he had wrought several miracles in Capernaum, he says, *Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also; for therefore came I forth*. The people staying him, that he should not depart from them, he said unto them, *I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also*.

But this distinction of times will furnish us with the most light in perusing the narrative of our Saviour's miracles. At his entrance upon his ministry, Jesus Christ used the utmost caution; not choosing to be detained at the commencement of his course. It was at the entrance upon his ministry that he healed the leper spoken of in Mark i. 40—45. Accordingly the Evangelist adds, that he recommended to the leper to keep silence respecting his cure, (ver. 44.) Presently after, he performed his miracles more openly; but took the wise precaution of qualifying their splendour. It was with this view that he declared his kingdom was not of this world. St. Luke informs us, that the people “were amazed at the mighty power of God. But while they wondered at all things which Jews did, he said to his disciples, *Let these sayings sink down into your ears: for the Son of Man shall be delivered into the hands of men*” (Luke ix. 44.) The further he advanced in his course, the more eclat and notoriety did he give to his miracles. On the approach of his last passover, he hesitated not to celebrate it at Bethany, at Jerusalem, and in sight of his enemies. We learn from St. Matthew, (xxi. 14. with John xii. 37), that *the blind and the lame came unto him in the temple, and that he cured them in the presence of the chief priests*. When he had laid the foundations of his religion, the reserve which he had formerly used was no longer necessary: it would have shown more weakness than prudence. The time was come for sacrificing to truth a life which he had consecrated to it.

The preceding remarks will serve to remove the apparent contradictions arising from the different degrees of notoriety which Jesus Christ gave to his miracles. As he read men's hearts, the different dispositions which he there discovered led him to diversify his measures. He tempered the splendour of his miracles, when any event might result from that splendour injurious to his religion. The infinite wisdom which enlightened him, discovered to him, in this respect, combinations which would have escaped a mortal sight. When therefore he appears to vary his process, it is not that he changes his plan, but he avoids the obstacles which might injure it.*

VIII. Lastly, in order to enter fully into the meaning of the sacred writers, especially of the New Testament, it is necessary that the reader in a manner identify himself with them, and invest himself with their affections or feelings; and also familiarize himself with the sentiments, &c. of those to whom the different books or epistles were addressed.†

* Claparede's Considerations upon the Miracles of Jesus Christ, part i. chap. vii.

† Pritii Introductio ad N. Test. p. 612. Wetstein de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 149—156, 8vo edit. Franckii Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, p. 192.

This canon is of considerable importance, as well in the investigation of words and phrases, as in the interpretation of the sacred volume, and particularly of the prayers and imprecations related or contained therein. If the assistance, which may be derived from a careful study of the affections and feelings of the inspired writers, be disregarded or neglected, it will be scarcely possible to avoid erroneous expositions of the Scriptures. Daily observation and experience prove how much of its energy and perspicuity familiar discourse derives from the affections of the speakers; and also that the same words, when pronounced under the influence of different emotions, convey very different meanings. Franzius has paid particular attention to this subject in the examples adduced in his treatise *De Interpretatione Sacrae Scripturae*; and Franck has written a distinct essay on the same topic, which, being already extant in our language, it is not necessary to abridge in this place. *

* See Mr. Jacques's translation of Franck's Guide to the Reading and Study of the Scriptures, pp. 141—175. 8vo edit. An enlarged edition of this essay is given by Franck himself in his *Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ*, pp. 193—250, to which Rambach is partly indebted for his chapter *De Investigatione Affectuum*. *Inst. Herm. Sacr.* pp. 122—144. See also Chladenius's *Instit. Exeget.* pp. 25. *et seq.*; and J. E. Pfeiffer's *Inst. Herm. Sacr.* pp. 251—260.

SECTION II.

HELPS FOR FACILITATING THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

1. *Biblical antiquities* — 2. *Other general helps, as dictionaries of the Bible, profane history, geography, &c.* — 3. *Jewish and Rabbinical writings, and the works of profane authors.*

IN the preceding section it has been attempted to concentrate those principles, which the united testimonies of the most eminent biblical critics have concurred, in stating to be most beneficially applicable to the historical interpretation of the Scriptures. It now remains that we enumerate those helps which are best calculated to promote this important branch of study, and also mention the principal authors who have treated of it. “No mean service,” indeed, “has been rendered to the industrious student of Scripture, by the multifarious articles of information contributed by antiquarians and by travellers,

with regard to the antient and modern state of Eastern countries, bearing a resemblance to the Holy Land in climate, in productions, and in customs, and displaying through the lapse of many ages a remarkable uniformity of character. Since materials of this nature, capable of being applied with some degree of success to the illustration of Scripture, are interspersed among a great variety of expensive and voluminous publications, we are not a little indebted to those writers who have undertaken the labour, and performed the task of selection and arrangement." The subsidiary means here referred to may be divided into the three following classes, viz.:—

I. Biblical antiquities, including the manners, customs, and private life of the Jews, and other nations mentioned in the Scriptures.

II. Other helps, in general, as dictionaries of the Bible, and more particularly history, chronology, genealogy, geography, logic, rhetoric, physics or natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, natural history, philosophical sects, and general learning.

III. Rabbinical writings, and the works of profane authors.

§ 1. *Biblical Antiquities, including the manners, customs, and private life of the Jews, and other Nations mentioned in the Scriptures.*

A knowledge of this subject is indispensably necessary to the historical interpretation of the Scriptures: what the peculiar rites, manners, and customs of the Hebrews and other nations actually were, that are either alluded to or mentioned in the Scriptures, can only be ascertained by the study of their antiquities; without an accurate knowledge of which, all interpretation must be both defective and imperfect. If, in order to enter fully into the meaning, or correctly apprehend the various beauties of the Greek and Roman classics, it be necessary to be acquainted with the peculiar forms of government that prevailed—the powers of magistrates, modes of executing the laws—the punishments of criminals—tributes or other duties imposed on subjects—their military affairs—sacred rites and festivals—private life, manners, and amusements—commerce, measures, and weights, &c. &c.—how much greater difficulties will be interposed in *his* way, who attempts to interpret the Scriptures without a knowledge of these topics! For, as the customs and manners of the Oriental people are widely different from those of the western nations; as, further, their sacred rites differ most essentially from every thing with which

we are acquainted; and as the Jews in particular, from the simplicity of their language, have drawn very numerous metaphors from the works of nature, from the ordinary occupations and arts of life, from religion and things connected with it, as well as from their national history *;—there are many things recorded, both in the Old and New Testament, which must appear to Europeans either obscure, unintelligible, repulsive, or absurd, unless, forgetting our own peculiar habits and modes of thinking, we transport ourselves in a manner to the East, and diligently study the customs, whether political, sacred, or civil, which obtained there. A few examples will illustrate the importance of the preceding remarks.

1. In the Old Testament frequent mention is made of the Goël, or avenger of blood: now, as we have no similar institution, the nature of his duty can only be explained by recurring to the private manners and customs of the East. The Orientals are exceedingly revengeful: if an individual, therefore, should unfortunately happen to lay violent hands upon another person, and kill him, the next of kin is bound to avenge the death of the latter, and to pursue the murderer with unceasing vigilance, until he have caught and killed him, either by force or fraud. The same custom still exists in Arabia †. Hence, among the Jews, the Goël, or nearest relation of the murdered, felt himself bound, and by a very antient usage, which Moses kept up and confirmed, he was empowered, to put the murderer to death, without ceremony, wherever he might find him, except in the holy places. The magistrate was further directed to aid him in this duty; and if, after investigation, the fugitive was proved guilty of real murder, he was to be delivered up to the Goël, that he might put him to death in his turn. (Numb. xxxv. 9—34.) If no avenger of blood appeared, or if he were dilatory in the pursuit of the murderer, it became the duty of the magistrate himself to inflict the sentence of the law: and thus we find that David deemed this to be his duty in the case of Joab, and that Solomon, in obedience to his father's dying entreaty, actually discharged it, by putting that murderer to death. (1 Kings ii. 5, 6. 28—34.) But although Moses could not abolish this antient usage, (which he appears on *moral* grounds to have disapproved), on account of the people's hardness of heart, yet he modified it by enacting that the involuntary homicide might avoid the pursuit of the avenger of blood, by

* See examples of these remarks, *supra*, pp. 388—400.

† See Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 26—30.

fleeing to a city of refuge. (Numb. xxxv. 6.) By the knowledge of this custom, not only are several passages of the Old Testament rendered more intelligible, but light is also thrown upon Heb. vi. 17, 18. which beautifully alludes to it: and hence also the two contrary meanings of *next of kin* and *avenger of blood*, which are implied in the otherwise inexplicable Hebrew word *Goël*, are perfectly reconciled *.

2. In 2 Sam. x. 4, 5. and 1 Chron. xix. 5. we read that the king of the Ammonites, designing to insult David in the person of his ambassadors, cut away half their beards. This contumelious treatment produced a war, and was such a disgrace to the ambassadors, that they were not permitted to return to Jerusalem until their beards had grown again. Now, according to our customs, this conduct seems to have been sufficiently absurd, though not so mischievous as it appeared to David and his ministers. But, if we recur to Oriental manners, we shall find that the Israelitish ambassadors were treated with the utmost possible indignity, which could only be avenged by David's taking up arms. In the East, especially among the Arabs and Turks, the beard is even now reckoned the greatest ornament of a man, and is shaven only in cases of extreme grief. With them, a shaven beard is reputed to be more unsightly than the loss of a nose; and a man, who possesses a reverend beard, is, in their opinion, incapable of acting dishonestly. If they wish to affirm any thing with peculiar solemnity, they swear by their beard: and when they express their good wishes for any one, they make use of the ensuing formula — *God preserve thy blessed beard!* From these instances, which serve to elucidate many other passages of the Bible besides that above quoted, we may readily understand the full extent of the disgrace wantonly inflicted by the Ammonitish king, in cutting off half the beards of David's ambassadors. Niebuhr relates, that if any one cut off his beard, after having recited a *fatha*, or prayer, which is considered in the nature of a vow never to cut it off, he is liable to be severely punished, and also to become the laughing-stock of those who profess his faith †. The same traveller has also recorded an instance of a modern Arab prince having treated a Persian envoy in the same manner as Hanun treated David's ambassadors, which brought a powerful army upon him in the year 1765. ‡

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 271, 272. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. iv. pp. 231—236.

† Description de l'Arabie, p. 61.

‡ Ibid. p. 275.

3. The manners of the Nomadic, or wandering Arabs, so admirably described by D'Arvieux*, perfectly correspond with the idea conveyed to us in the Old Testament of the mode of living in the patriarchal ages. These Arabs have no settled abode, but dwell in tents, and remove with their families and cattle from place to place for the convenience of grass and water, the country lying open, without enclosures. The wealth of those who are not engaged in roving and plundering expeditions, consists principally in their numerous flocks and herds, part of which they occasionally sell: they are courteous to strangers, whom they kindly entertain to the best of their ability. After such a manner it appears that the ancestors of the Israelites, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, lived in tents, and had their flocks and herds, &c. as related in Gen. xii. 8. and other passages of the same book.

4. In Esther vii. 8. we read that, the king having expressed his anger against Haman, the *face* of the latter *was covered*: this was not done as an expression of grief, but in conformity to a custom prevalent among the antient Persians, as well as other nations, with whom it was usual to cover the heads of condemned criminals. Thus the head of Philotas, who had conspired against Alexander the Great, was covered †. Mordecai's refusal to bow before Haman, and to do him reverence, (Esth. iii. 2.) is satisfactorily explained, when it is known that the Oriental mode of doing reverence, especially among the antient Persians, was little short of absolute idolatry. These, we learn, adored their monarchs as gods, and those who approached them prostrated themselves ‡. The chief courtiers, of whom Haman was one, demanded similar prostrations; and such was their pride, that the refusal of this homage never failed to involve the refractory individual in ruin. Thus Orsinus, who, like Mordecai, had refused to worship Bagoas the eunuch, fell a victim to the wounded pride of the latter. §

5. Numerous are the allusions in the New Testament to the games accounted sacred by the Greeks; and an acquaintance with the ceremonies observed at these games is essential to the understanding of those allusions, as well as the beauty of the passages in which they occur. Thus, in 1 Cor. ix. 24—27. Saint Paul refers to the previous rigid course of discipline to which the candidates were subjected, as well as to the fading

* Travels in Arabia the Desart, 12mo. Lond. 1718.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. c. viii. tom. ii. p. 34. ed. Bipont.

‡ Ibid. lib. viii. c. v. (tom. ii. p. 118.) lib. vi. c. vi. p. 23.

§ Ibid. lib. x. c. i. pp. 199—201.

crown of parsley or wild olive which was given to the victor, at the Isthmian games celebrated in the vicinity of Corinth. In Phil. iii. 13, 14. he alludes to running to the goal, and to the crown which was suspended in full view of the competitors. In 1 Thess. ii. 19. he alludes to the circumstance of the judge crowning the victor at the conclusion of the race. In 2 Tim. ii. 5. his injunction to "*strive lawfully*" means, to contend agreeably to the rules prescribed for the candidates, viz. *naked*—an image of being divested of the love of the world. And, in that animated passage, Heb. xii. 1, 2. the apostle alludes to various circumstances, as the concourse of people assembled on these occasions, the discipline of the competitors, their eagerness and perseverance in the course, their keeping their eyes fixed on the *Hellanodics* or judges, those venerable persons who, for the probity and integrity of their characters, were selected to award the meed of victory to the conqueror. *

6. In Barbary, as well as in most parts of the East, the houses are generally built low, with flat roofs covered with a strong plaster of terrace or other cement, with a parapet wall or battlement breast high; though in some few instances a ballustrade or lattice work is substituted for the wall. The construction of the antient Jewish dwellings was similar to this. Over such a ballustrade Dr. Shaw † thinks that Ahaziah might be carelessly leaning, (2 Kings i. 2.) The knowledge of these circumstances illustrates Deut. xxii. 8. Josh. ii. 6. 8. 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26. 2 Sam. xi. 2. and xvi. 22. Isa. xv. 3. Zeph. i. 5. Matt. x. 27. and xxiv. 17. Mark ii. 4. and many other passages.

Numerous similar examples might be adduced, if more were necessary, to show the value and importance of biblical antiquities in the understanding of the Scriptures: but the preceding instances, it is conceived, will suffice to prove that it is scarcely possible to interpret the Bible historically without an accurate knowledge of such antiquities.

In the application of these valuable aids to the interpretation of the sacred writings, it is of the utmost importance that we should be guided by the exercise of a sober and cau-

* These various allusions are noticed and explained by all the commentators on the New Testament, but by none with more felicity than by Drs. Doddridge and Macknight. But the best and fullest exposition of all the agonistic allusions in the New Testament is to be found in the elaborate *Agonistica Sacra* of Professor Lydius, 12mo. 1657. Mr. Gilbert West, in the preliminary Dissertation on the Olympic Games, prefixed to his translation of the Odes of Pindar, has also some good illustrations of the agonistic terms occurring in the New Testament.

† Travels in Barbary, vol. i. p. 380.

tious judgment, and by the influence of a correct taste; lest we ascribe to the inspired authors sentiments which perhaps never entered their minds. From this mistake, that acute biblical critic, and most diligent investigator of Oriental manners and customs, Michaelis, is not exempt. Prov. x. 10. *Wise men lay up knowledge*, that is, treasure it up, and reserve it for a proper opportunity to make use of it: *but the mouth of the foolish is near destruction*; such an one is always talking, and seldom opens his mouth but it proves a present mischief to himself and others. By changing the points in the latter clause of this verse, Michaelis reads: *the mouth of the foolish is as a censer near at hand*, (*thuribulum propinquum*); and he illustrates this expression by the Oriental custom of offering perfumes to a guest, which (it is well known) is an intimation to him that it is time for him to depart. The sense, which this profound scholar puts upon the passage, is as follows: the foolish man alienates every one from him by his silly and insipid discourses. Is not this torturing words, and ascribing to the sacred penman an allusion which he never designed to make? * But, more particularly,

1. *Care must be taken not to deduce or invent antient customs and ceremonies from words ill understood.*

Many persons have imagined the prevalence of customs, which not only do not at present exist, but which also never did obtain in the East: and others have supposed many things to be peculiar to the Hebrews, which are commonly practised by all nations. Thus, a modern commentator on Isa. i. 22. (*thy wine is mixed with water*) has observed, that the Hebrews were accustomed to dilute their wine with water; this practice was common to the Greeks and Romans, whereas the Jews mixed aromatic and invigorating drugs, in order to render their wine more strong and inebriating. See Psal. lxxv. 8. Prov. ix. 2. and xxiii. 30. Rev. xiv. 10.

2. *It is further necessary that we do not derive, from the customs or notions that obtained in Heathen nations, Jewish rites, ceremonies, and notions, which neither can nor ought to be derived from them.*

Neglecting this caution, our learned countrymen, Sir John Marsham† and Dr. Spencer‡, have attempted to deduce all

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 275.

† In his "Chronicus Canon. Ægyptiacus, Hebraicus, Græcus," folio, Londini, 1672. The Leipsic edition (1676), and that of Franeker (1696), both in 4to, are of little value.

‡ "De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, et earum Rationibus, Libri tres," fol. Cambridge, 1685. Reprinted at the Hague in 1696, 4to, and also at Leipsic, 1705. But

the institutes of the Israelites from the Egyptians. That some were probably derived from them, we have already seen *; and that several of the injunctions of Moses were levelled against Egyptian manners and rites, from which he was anxious to guard his people, has been satisfactorily shown by Michaelis in his *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*. But that *all* the Hebrew institutions were of Egyptian origin, is an hypothesis now generally abandoned since the able refutation of it by the learned Herman Witsius †. In like manner, Dr. Hammond finds the Gnostics everywhere in the apostolic epistles, which he endeavours to explain from the peculiar notions of that sect, though it is well known Saint John was the only evangelical writer who expressly combated their errors.

3. *We must take care not to ascribe comparatively modern rites and customs to the antient Hebrews.*

From not attending to this rule, the Jewish teachers, and those Christian doctors who have implicitly followed them, have caused much perplexity in the antiquities of the Jews, having attributed to the antient Hebrews rites and ceremonies that did not exist till later times; and, from not distinguishing the different ages, they have consequently confounded antient manners and customs with those which are of modern date. The Talmudists, and other Jewish writers, should not be consulted without the greatest caution; for, living as they did long after the destruction of the Jewish polity, they not only were imperfectly acquainted with it, but they likewise contradict each other, as well as Josephus and Philo, authors every way more worthy of confidence, as being contemporary with that event; not unfrequently indeed do they contradict the Scriptures themselves, and, indulging their own speculations, they produce commentaries which are truly ridiculous. The necessary consequence is, that those learned men, who have implicitly followed the Talmudists, have been precipitated into various errors. From these mistakes, not even Reland and Ikenius are exempt—two of the best writers perhaps who have applied themselves to the investigation of Jewish antiquities ‡.

the best edition is that of London, 1727. 2 vols. folio, edited by M. Chappelow, with the author's last corrections.

* See p. 531, 532, *supra*.

† In his "*Ægyptiaca, sive de Ægyptiacorum sacrorum cum Hebraicis Libritres*," &c. Amstel. 1696, 4to; and in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, tom. i. pp. 429, *et seq.*

‡ Schulzii *Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ*, Prolegomena, p. xvii. Bauer, *Herm. Sacr.* p. 276.

4. *Lastly, our knowledge of biblical antiquities must be derived from pure sources.*

It is the province of the biblical antiquarian to determine and to state what such pure sources are. Independently of the assistance to be obtained from Jewish as well as from profane writers, it may suffice here to remark, that we may collect accounts of the modes of living among the antient Hebrews, with sufficient precision, by a careful collation of the Old and New Testaments. And if to this we add an acquaintance with the modern customs and manners which prevail in the East, as they are related by travellers of approved character, we shall have a sure and easy access to the knowledge of sacred antiquities: for, as the Orientals, from their tenacious adherence to old usages, are not likely to differ materially from their ancestors, we have no very great reason to be apprehensive, from comparing the manners, &c. of the modern Syrians, Arabs, and other inhabitants of the East, with those of the antient Hebrews, that we should attribute customs to them which never obtained among them. Where, indeed, any new usage does exist among the Orientals, it may be discovered without much difficulty by men of learning and penetration. The interpretation of the Bible, therefore, is not a little facilitated by the perusal of the voyages and travels of those who have explored the East. Among these valuable contributors to the promotion of biblical science, the names of D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Thompson, Chardin, Shaw, Hasselquist, Pococke, Niebuhr, Dr. D. E. Clarke, Lord Valentia, Walpole, and others, are justly celebrated: but as these works are for the most part voluminous, the late reverend and learned Thomas Harmer formed the design, which he happily executed, of perusing the works of Oriental travellers, with the view of extracting from them whatever might illustrate the rites and customs mentioned in the Scriptures. His researches form four volumes in octavo, and were published at different times, under the title of "*Observations on divers Passages of Scripture, placing many of them in a light altogether new, by means of circumstances mentioned in books of voyages and travels into the East.*" The last and best edition of this most valuable work is that edited by Dr. Adam Clarke, (in 4 vols. 8vo, 1816,) who has newly arranged the whole, and made many important additions and corrections. In this work many passages of Scripture are placed in a light altogether new; the meanings of others, which are not discoverable by the methods commonly used by interpreters, are satisfactorily ascertained;

and many probable conjectures are proposed to the biblical critic. An useful abridgment, with many additions, has been published by the Rev. S. Burder *; and the "Fragments," annexed to the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, are formed upon the same plan. The "*Eastern Mirror*,"† by Mr. Fowler, is an abridgment of all these works; of which the most recent commentators have availed themselves. The path, thus opened by Mr. Harmer, and successfully followed by others, is trodden with judgment by Mr. Vansittart in his "Observations on Select Places of the Old Testament, founded on a perusal of Parson's Travels from Aleppo to Bagdad." 8vo. Oxford and London, 1812. Among the more copious treatises on sacred antiquities, we may reckon the following:

1. Petri Cunæi de Republica Hebræorum Libri tres; editi à Jo. Nicolai. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

The best edition of a very learned work; which, till lately, continued to be a text-book whence the continental professors of Hebrew antiquities lectured.

2. Melchioris Leydekkeri de Republica Hebræorum Libri XII. folio. 2 tom. Amstel. 1704—1710.

3. Caroli Sigonii de Republica Hebræorum Libri VII; editi à Nicolai, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

4. Origines Hebrææ: or the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic. By Thomas Lewis, M. A. 8vo. 4 vols. London, 1724—5.

"This is a laborious compilation, from the most distinguished writers, whether Jews or Christians, on the manners and laws of the Hebrews." (Bishop Watson).

5. Apparatus historico-criticus Antiquitatum sacri codicis et gentis Hebrææ, uberrimis annotationibus in Thomæ Goodwini Mosen et Aaronem subministravit Johannes Gottlob Carpzovius, 4to. Francofurti, 1748.

The most elaborate system of Jewish antiquities, perhaps, that is extant. Godwin's *Moses* and *Aaron* is a small quarto volume, now rather scarce; it was formerly in great request as a text-book, and passed through many editions: the latest, we believe, is that of 1678. Numerous other treatises on Hebrew antiquities are to be found in

* Oriental Customs: or, an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the Eastern nations. By the Rev. S. Burder. 8vo. 2 vols. 5th edition. 1816.

† The Eastern Mirror; an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, in which the customs of Oriental nations are clearly developed by the writings of the most celebrated travellers. By the Rev. W. Fowler. 8vo. Exeter, 1814.

the 34th volume of Ugolini's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Hebræarum*. *

Various abridgments of sacred antiquities have been written by different authors: of these the following are the most valuable.

1. Hadriani Relandi *Antiquitates sacræ veterum Hebræorum recensuit, et animadversionibus Ugolinianis-Ravianis auxit, Georgius Joannes Ludovicus Vogel*. 8vo. Halæ, 1769.

The best edition of a valuable little summary, which for many years continued to be the text-book of professors.

2. *The Manners of the Antient Israelites, containing an account of their peculiar Customs, Ceremonies, Laws, Polity, Religion, Sects, Arts and Trades, &c. &c.* By Claude Fleury. 8vo. London, 1809.

For this third and best edition, the public are indebted to Dr. Adam Clarke, who has enlarged the original work with much valuable information from the principal writers on Jewish antiquities. The Abbé Fleury's work was translated many years since by Mr. Farnworth. The late excellent Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Horne) has recommended it in the following terms: "This little book contains a concise, pleasing, and just account of the manners, customs, laws, polity, and religion of the Israelites. It is an excellent introduction to the reading of the Old Testament, and should be put into the hands of every young person."

3. *Antiquitates Hebraicæ secundum triplicem Judæorum statum, ecclesiasticum, politicum, et œconomicum, breviter delineatæ a Conrado Ikenio*. 12mo. Bremæ, 1741, editio tertia; 1764, editio quarta.

There is no difference between these two editions, excepting that the errors of the press in the third edition are corrected in the fourth. The first edition appeared in 1737. "This book of Ikenius," in the opinion of the late eminently learned Bishop Watson †, "is valuable for its brevity, method, and perspicuity." It continues to be a text-book in some of the Universities of Holland (and perhaps of Germany). In 1810 there was published, at Utrecht, a thick 8vo volume of Professor Schacht's observations on this work, under the title of *Jo. Herm. Schachtii Theol. et Philolol. Harderov. Animadversiones ad Antiquitates Hebræas olim delineatas a Conrado Ikenio Theol. Bremens. Patre*

* *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, complectens selectissima clarissimorum virorum opuscula, in quibus veterum Hebræorum mores, leges, instituta, ritus sacri et civiles, illustrantur: auctore Blasio Ugolino. Folio. 34 vols. Venetiis 1744—1769. "Many other books, treating of Jewish antiquities, have been published: but those who have a taste for such sort of reading, will find this collection far more useful to them than any other of the kind." (Bishop Watson).

† In his catalogue of books in divinity, recommended to students and divines, which forms an appendix to the sixth volume of his collection of "Theological Tracts."

mortuo, edidit Godfr. Jo. Schacht. This volume only discusses the first of Ikenius's sections, on the ecclesiastical state of the Hebrews: it contains many valuable additions and corrections, with references to other writers. Independently of its being an imperfect work, this volume is too bulky to be of use to students generally, but would prove valuable in the hands of any one who should compose a new treatise on biblical antiquities.

4. *Scripture Politics: being a View of the Original Constitution and subsequent Revolutions in the Government, Religious and Civil, of that People out of whom the Saviour of the World was to arise: as it is contained in the Bible.* By Samuel Croxall, D.D. 8vo. 1735.

As the title implies, this work is chiefly collected from the Scriptures: it is arranged after the method of Sigonius, and is designed to facilitate the reading of the Old Testament to unlearned readers. The author has treated of the Mosaic law, of the holy land, the origin of the people of Israel, their forms of government, their military affairs, and their religious rites, ceremonies, and ecclesiastical affairs. It is not a performance of much erudition, and may frequently be purchased at a low price.

5. *A. G. Waehneri Antiquitates Hebræorum et Israeliticæ Gentis.* 8vo. 2 vols. Gottingen, 1741.

This work is incomplete, the author having died before its publication: it contains much valuable information relative to the literature of the Jews.

6. *Christ. Brunings Compendium Antiquitatum Hebræorum,* 8vo. Francfurti, 1766.

7. *Jewish Antiquities, or a Course of Lectures on the Three first Books of Godwin's Moses and Aaron.* To which is annexed a Dissertation on the Hebrew Language. By David Jennings, D.D. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1766.

This work has long held a distinguished character for its accuracy and learning. It has lately been reprinted in two 8vo volumes, and also at Perth (1808) in one closely printed volume. "The Treatises of Mr. Lowman on the *Ritual* (8vo. London, 1748), and on the *Civil Government of the Hebrews* (8vo. London, 1740), may properly accompany these works." (Bishop Watson).

8. *Ernesti Augusti Schulzii Theologiæ Doctoris, et Professoris quondam in Academia Viadrina celeberrimi, Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ.* Cum figuris æri incisis, edidit, emendavit, addenda adjecit, notisque locupletavit Abr. Phil. Godofr. Schickedanz. 8vo. Dresden, 1793.

This, unquestionably, is the best summary of Hebrew antiquities extant in the Latin language; but, unfortunately, it is incomplete, the author having executed only two books which treat of the political

and ecclesiastical antiquities of the Hebrews. Professor Schulze and his editor have diligently availed themselves of the labours of all previous writers on this topic, and have arranged their materials in a manner equally concise and valuable. A *compendious summary* of biblical antiquities, on this plan, in which the information to be derived from the researches of antiquaries and travellers shall be compressed, is yet a desideratum in our language.

9. Ferdinandi Stosch Compendium Archæologiæ Œconomicae Novi Testamenti, ducentis thesibus comprehensum, et aliis aliisque notis illustratum. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1769.

A small volume, of considerable rarity in this country; it treats of the private life and manners of the Jews, as mentioned in the New Testament, and may serve as a supplement to the imperfect work of Schulze, last noticed.

10. Archæologia Biblica in Epitomen redacta a Johanne Jahn. Editio secunda emendata. 8vo. Viennæ, 1814.

An elaborate compendium of biblical antiquities, arranged under the three divisions of domestic, political, and ecclesiastical antiquities. At the end of the volume are upwards of sixty pages of questions, framed upon the preceding part of the work; the answers to which are to be given by students.

11. Modern Judaism: or a brief account of the Opinions, Traditions, Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews in modern times. By John Allen. 8vo. London, 1817.

The various traditions, &c. received and adopted by the modern Jews, are fully and perspicuously treated in this well-executed volume: it is a very useful supplement to the works of Fleury, Jennings, and Lowman, noticed in the preceding pages, and forms a valuable Jewish commentary on the four Gospels.

§ 2. *Dictionaries of the Bible, and Works relating to the History, Geography, Natural History, Opinions and Learning, &c. &c. of the Jews, and other Nations mentioned in the Scriptures.*

Besides an acquaintance with the antiquities, manners, and customs of the different nations mentioned in the sacred writings, there are various circumstances, relative to their history, chronology, geography, genealogies, literature, arts and sciences, the knowledge of which is of the greatest utility in enabling us correctly to interpret the Bible. These different particulars have been collected by many able writers into the form of a dictionary: we shall therefore enumerate a few of the most valuable works of this description, before we proceed to mention those authors, who have *specially* illustrated the above-noticed topics.

I. DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE.

1. Dictionnaire Historique, Chronologique, Geographique, et Litteral de la Bible. Par Augustin Calmet. Folio. 4 tomes. Paris, 1730.

A translation of this truly valuable work, with occasional remarks, was published in 1732, in three folio volumes; which having become extremely scarce, an edition was published in 1801, in two thick 4to volumes, by Mr. Taylor, with a volume of additions from books of voyages and travels, &c. under the title of "Fragments." A new edition, enlarged and greatly improved, is now publishing. The work is pleasingly illustrated with numerous engravings, which convey an accurate idea of Oriental manners and customs. Calmet's Dictionary is the basis of all similar modern works of the like kind.

2. A Dictionary of the Holy Bible. By the Rev. John Brown of Haddington. 2 vols. 8vo.

The author was a clergyman of the church of Scotland; and in his doctrinal views highly Calvinistic. Allowance being made for his creed, his work may be advantageously substituted for the preceding, the price of which necessarily places it above the reach of many persons. The best edition of Mr. Brown's dictionary is the *fifth*, which costs about eighteen shillings. A professed abridgment of this work was published in 1815, in two small volumes 18mo. The "*Compendious Dictionary of the Holy Bible*," first published by Mr. Button in 1796, and since reprinted with additions and corrections in 12mo, is a judicious abridgment of Brown's dictionary. "By means of a very small but clear type, a vast quantity of matter is comprized within the compass of this little volume. The book, without doubt, may be serviceable to many." (*British Critic*, Old Series, vol. x, p. 201.)

3. A Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Dictionary; serving as a general note-book to illustrate the Old and New Testament, as a guide to the Practices and Opinions of all Sects and Religions, and as a Cyclopædia of Religious Knowledge. By John Robinson, D. D. 8vo. London, 1815.

It is no small commendation of this work that, within a few months after its publication, it was recommended by several dignitaries of the Anglican church to the attention of candidates for the ministerial office. It is very closely printed, and presents a valuable digest, with references to authorities, at the end of each article, of almost all that has hitherto been written on biblical literature. Most cordially do we join in the following commendation of it in a modern critical Journal. "It is clearly the work of a man of much industry in collecting, and of much judgment in arranging his matter. To every theological student, who has not access to an extensive library, this volume will prove a very useful subsidiary; to many, indeed, who have neither attainment nor abilities for research, it will become necessary." (*Brit. Crit. N. S.* vol. vii. p. 305.) We cannot however help expressing our regret that, on some

topics, Dr. R. should have referred to writers, whose publications (though useful in some respects) are calculated to subvert the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel: and though we cannot but differ from the learned author in some of his positions, yet we have no hesitation in saying, that it is the most compendious dictionary of the Bible extant in our language. The work is illustrated by several neatly engraved maps. It may be proper to add, that it is noticed with merited commendation in the *Evangelical Magazine* for 1817, vol. xxv. p. 486. and in the *Antijacobin Review*, vol. xlix. pp. 1—15.

4. *The Biblical Cyclopædia: or Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures*, intended to facilitate an acquaintance with the inspired writings. By William Jones. 8vo. 2 vols. 1816.

The compiler of this work is advantageously known to the public as the author of a valuable "*History of the Waldenses*." The plan of his *Biblical Cyclopædia* is less extensive than that of Dr. Robinson's dictionary, before which some parts of it appeared, though it bears date one year *later* than the latter work. Mr. Jones has evinced much diligence in collecting and arranging his materials, and the geographical part is particularly well executed. We are, however, in justice bound to add, that many controversial articles are introduced, which we should not have expected to find in a work professedly devoted to facilitate an acquaintance with the Scriptures. Several neat maps illustrate Mr. Jones's volumes. For a further account of them see the *British Critic*, (N. S.) vol. viii. pp. 445—460.

5. *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, e Patribus Græcis, ordine alphabetico exhibens quæcunque Phrases, Ritus, Dogmata, Hæreses, et hujusmodi alia huc spectant.* A Johanne Casparo Suicero. Folio. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1728.

This is the best edition of a most valuable work; which, though indispensably necessary for understanding the writings of the Greek fathers, incidentally contains many illustrations of Scripture. It is said to have cost the learned author twenty years labour: the first edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1682, in two volumes folio.

It may be proper to add, that most of the questions relative to the history, geography, &c. of the Bible are noticed in Professor Biel's valuable *Lexicon* to the Septuagint version, and in Schleusner's *Greek and Latin* and Mr. Parkhurst's *Greek and English Lexicons* to the New Testament; where they are illustrated with equal learning and accuracy.

II. SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.

An acquaintance with the history of the Israelites, as well as of the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Babylonians, Persians, Arabians, Greeks, Romans, and other antient nations, is of the greatest importance to the historical interpretation of the Bible: for, as the Jewish

people were connected with those nations, either in a hostile or in a pacific manner, the knowledge of their history, as well as of their customs, arts, and literature, becomes the more interesting; as it is well known that the Israelites, notwithstanding they were forbidden to have intercourse with the Heathen, did nevertheless borrow and adopt many of their institutions.

More particularly, regardless of the severe prohibitions against idolatry, how many idols did they borrow from the Gentiles at different times, previously to the great Babylonish captivity, and associate them in the worship of Jehovah! Their commercial intercourse with the Egyptians and Arabs, and especially with the Phœnicians, was very considerable: and, at the same time, they were almost incessantly at war with the Philistines, Moabites, and other neighbouring nations, and afterwards with the Assyrians and Egyptians, until they were finally conquered, and carried into captivity by the Assyrians and Babylonians. Further, the prophets, in their denunciations or predictions, not only address their admonitions and threatenings to the Israelites and Jews, but also frequently accost foreign nations, whom they menace with destruction. The writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, contain very numerous predictions relative to the heathen nations, which would be utterly unintelligible without the aid of profane history. The same remark will apply to the divisions of time and forms of government that obtained at different periods, which cannot be ascertained from the perusal of the sacred writings merely.

In proportion, however, as the history of the antient nations of Asia becomes necessary to the interpretation of the Bible, it is to be regretted that it is for the most part involved in so much obscurity and confusion as to require no small labour before we can extricate it from the trammels of fable, and arrive at any thing like certainty. As the histories of antient Egypt have perished, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, our knowledge of the earliest state of that country (which is sufficiently confused and intricate) can only be derived from Herodotus, Diodorus, and some other Greek writers who cannot always be depended on. The writings of Sanchoniatho, with the exception of a few fragments, as well as the works of Histiaëus, and other Phœnician historians, have long since perished: and, for our accounts of the Assyrians, recourse must chiefly be had to the Scriptures themselves, as no confidence whatever can be placed in the narrations of Ctesias, whose fidelity and veracity have justly been questioned by Aristotle, Strabo, and Plutarch. The history of the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumenians, Philistines, and other petty neighbouring

nations, who had no historians of their own, is involved in equal obscurity: for the little that is known of them, with certainty, we are exclusively indebted to the Holy Scriptures.

The sources, therefore, of that historical knowledge, which is so essential to an interpreter of the sacred writings, are, in the first place, the Old and New Testaments, and next the works of Josephus and profane authors. It is however to be observed, that where the latter speak of the Jews, they *wilfully misrepresent* them, as is done by Justin and Tacitus.

With a view to reconcile these various contradictions, and to overcome the difficulties thus interposed by the uncertainty of antient profane history, various learned men have at different times employed themselves in digesting the remains of antient history, and comparing it with the Scriptures, in order to illustrate them as much as possible. It now remains to notice the result of their labours, which have been attended with different degrees of success.

1. The sacred and profane History of the World, connected, from the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire. By S. Shuckford, M. A. 8vo. 4 vols. London, 1743, best edition. This well-known and valuable work has been several times reprinted.

2. The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ. By Humphrey Prideaux, D.D. 8vo. 4 vols. London, 1749. 10th edit. reprinted in 4 vols. 8vo. 1808.

3. The History of the first planting of the Christian Religion, taken from the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles, together with the remarkable facts of the Jewish and Roman History, which affected the Christians within this period. By G. Benson, D.D. 4to. 3 vols. frequently bound in one. London, 1753, second and best edition.

4. Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine the Great: or, an enlarged view of the Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries. Translated from the Latin of Dr. Mosheim, by R. S. Vidal, Esq. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1813.

5. Jo. Francisci Buddæi Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti. Ed. tertia, duobus tomis 4to. Halæ, 1726, 1729.

6. A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity, with answers to most of the controverted questions, dissertations upon the most remarkable passages, and a connexion of Profane His-

tory all along. By Thomas Stackhouse, A. M. Folio. 2 vols. London, 1752.

This work has always been highly esteemed for its utility and the variety of valuable illustration which the author has brought together from every accessible source. A new edition of it was published in 1817, in three volumes 4to, with important corrections and additions, by the Rev. Dr. Gleig, one of the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church.

7. The Credibility of the Gospel History; or, the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament, confirmed by passages of ancient authors who were contemporary with our Saviour or his Apostles, or lived near their time. By Nathaniel Lardner, D.D.

The two first volumes of this great and valuable work illustrate a multitude of passages occurring in the New Testament: its publication commenced in 1733, and was continued for many years, until completed in twelve volumes, to which was added a supplement of three volumes. The "Credibility" and "Supplement" are contained in the first six volumes of the 8vo edition, and in the first three volumes of the 4to edition of Dr. L.'s collective works.

Much valuable information relative to the history of the Moabites, Philistines, Babylonians, and other nations mentioned in the Scriptures, is exhibited by Vitringa in his commentary on Isaiah, by Bishop Newton, in his Dissertations on the Prophets, and by Reland in his *Palæstina*; to whom, perhaps, may be added Rollin in his Ancient History of the Greeks, Assyrians, &c. 8 vols. 8vo. On the idols, either worshipped by the Israelites, or which are noticed in the Bible, the *Syntagma Duo de Diis Syris* of our learned countryman Selden (Amstel. 1680, 8vo. or in the folio edition of his works, vol. ii.) may be advantageously consulted, as well as Jablonsky's *Pantheon Ægyptiacum*, in 3 vols. 8vo. Frankfort, 1750—1752.

III. CHRONOLOGY.

Chronology, or the science of computing and adjusting periods of time, is of the greatest importance towards understanding the historical parts of the Bible, not only as it shows the order and connexion of the various events therein recorded, but likewise as it enables us to ascertain the accomplishment of many of the prophecies. Chronology is further of service to the biblical critic, as it sometimes leads to the discovery and correction of mistakes in numbers and dates, which have crept into particular texts. As considerable differences exist in the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint version, and Josephus, different learned men have applied themselves to the investigation of these dif-

difficulties, and have communicated the results of their researches in elaborate systems. Some one of these, after examining their various claims, it will be desirable to have constantly at hand. The principal systems of Chronology are the following.

1. Ludovici Cappelli *Chronologia Sacra*, 4to. Paris, 1655.

This work is reprinted by Bishop Walton, in the *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Polyglott Bible.

2. Gerhardi Johannis Vossii *Chronologiæ Sacræ Isagoge*. Hag. Com. 4to. 1659.

3. *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, a primâ mundi origine deducti*. A Jacobo Usserio, Archiepiscopo Armachano. Folio. Geneva, 1722.

The best edition of a most valuable work: the chronology of Archbishop Usher is followed in the margins of all our large Bibles.

4. *The Scripture Chronology demonstrated by Astronomical Calculations*. By Arthur Bedford. Folio, London, 1730.

5. *Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*. Par Alphonse de Vignoles. 4to, 2 vols. Berlin, 1738.

6. *Chronological Antiquities; or the antiquities and chronology of the most ancient kingdoms from the creation of the world*. By the Rev. John Jackson. 4to. 3 vols. London, 1752.

7. *A New Analysis of Chronology, in which an attempt is made to explain the History and Antiquities of the primitive Nations of the World, and the Prophecies relating to them, on principles tending to remove the imperfection and discordance of preceding systems*. By the Rev. William Hales, D.D. 4to. 3 vols in four parts. London, 1809—1812.

This is the most elaborate system of chronology extant in our language. There is scarcely a difficult text in the sacred writings which is not illustrated. Dr. Hales follows the chronology of Josephus, whose genuine numbers he conceives that he has restored; and that, by a comparison with the Septuagint and the other texts, he has ascertained the true series of primeval times. The longer chronology, established by Dr. H. with great success, is unquestionably preferable to that founded on the Masoretic text; as it removes many of those difficulties with which the Scripture history is incumbered in that text. His "New Analysis" ought to have a place in the library of every biblical student who can procure it.

IV. GEOGRAPHY.

Intimately connected with history and chronology is ancient geography, especially that of Palestine and the neighbouring countries; the knowledge of which, it is universally confessed, tends to illustrate almost innumerable passages of Scripture.

The principal sources of sacred geography are the Scriptures themselves, and the antient Greek and other writers, who have treated on the different countries mentioned in the Bible; and to these may be added the voyages and travels of Chardin, Pococke, Shaw, Russell, D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Niebuhr, Seetzen, * Lord Valentia, Chateaubriand, Dr. D. E. Clarke, and others who have explored the East, and whose narratives contain many very happy elucidations of the physical and political geography of the Bible. † These sources have been diligently consulted by most of the learned men who have applied themselves to the illustration of this important topic. The principal works on Sacred Geography are the following:

1. Samuelis Bocharti Geographia Sacra, sive Phaleg et Canaan, in the third volume of the folio edition of his works.

2. Johannis Davidis Michaelis Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ post Bochartum. Partes I. II. Gottingen, 1760, 1780, 4to.

Some observations on the first part of this learned work, which is not always to be procured complete, were published by John Reinhold Forster, intituled *Epistola ad J. D. Michaelis, hujus spicilegium Geogr. Hebr. jam confirmantes, jam castigantes*. Gottingen, 1772, 4to. It is desirable to unite this with the work of Michaelis; but unfortunately both books are extremely rare and dear.

3. Hadriani Relandi Palestina ex monumentis veteribus et tabulis adcuratis illustrata. 4to, 2 vols. Traject. Batav. 1714.

This elaborate work is also to be found in the sixth volume of Ugolino's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*; the fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes of which collection, contain various works relating to sacred geography.

4. Sacred Geography: being a geographical and historical account of places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. By Edward Wells, D.D.

This learned work has frequently been printed at the Oxford press, and is too well known to require commendation: a new edition, revised and corrected from the Discoveries of Sir William Jones and other eminent scholars, was published by the English editors of Cal-

* The result of M. Seetzen's Researches, which were undertaken under the patronage of the Palestine Association for investigating the present state of the Holy Land, was published in a thin quarto tract, intituled "*A brief account of the countries adjoining the lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea.*" Bath, and London, 1810. Many places in Palestine, particularly beyond the Jordan, which are in a great degree unknown, are satisfactorily described in this little tract.

† The writings of most of the above noticed travellers have been consulted for the sketch of the geography of the Holy Land, occurring in the former part of this volume.

met's Dictionary in 4to, in the year 1804. There are also copies in two or three vols. crown 8vo.

Dr. Wells's Geography of the New Testament was translated into German by M. Panzer, with numerous additions and corrections, in 2 vols. 8vo. Nuremberg, 1764. Sacred geography owes much to the researches of German literati; and the author cannot but regret that he has not had an opportunity of consulting the elaborate work of Bachiene, published at Cleves in 1766—75, in two volumes 8vo, and which is said to be the best compendium of Biblical geography extant.

Most of the preceding works are illustrated with maps. There is an excellent map of Palestine in D'Anville's Ancient Atlas: it has been consulted for the maps accompanying this work, which have been drawn with great care, and corrected from the researches of modern geographers. The quarto Atlas, published by the Rev. Thomas Scott as an accompaniment to his commentary on the Bible, possesses the double merit of being correct as well as cheap. The *Scripture Atlas*, published by Mr. Leigh, is executed in a superior style, and has had a very extensive sale. And Mr. Arrowsmith's *Sketch of Palestine* is peculiarly valuable. Most of the larger commentaries are also illustrated with maps.

V. GENEALOGY.

Next to Chronology and Geography, *Genealogy* holds an important place in the study of the sacred writings. The evidences of Christianity cannot be correctly, if at all, understood, unless the genealogy of the Messiah, and his descent from Abraham and David, be distinctly traced. This is obvious from the prophecies, which, ages before his advent, determined the line of his descent; and left nothing to chance or imposture on the important subject of the promised seed, that, in the fulness of time was to "bruise the serpent's head," and by his one oblation of himself, once offered, was to make a full and perfect atonement for the sins of the whole world. Many neat genealogical tables are to be found in some of the earlier and larger editions of the Bible; but it was not until lately that an attempt was made to bring together the various genealogies of Scripture in one comprehensive view. This has been done in an elegantly executed work, intitled "*Scripture Genealogy from Adam to Christ; exhibiting, in a series of thirty-six engraved tables, a distinct view of the nation, tribe, family, lineal descent, and posterity of every person mentioned in the Bible, so far as they can be traced from sacred or profane history.*" Royal 4to. London 1817.

The plan of this work is excellent; and so far as we can judge from an examination of several of the descents contained in it, we believe it is very correctly executed. To the name of each person mentioned

in every table, chronological dates are affixed on the very respectable authorities of Usher and Blair, and likewise references to passages of Scripture where the respective names are to be found. Altogether, this is a very useful and agreeable companion to the biblical student.

VI. NATURAL HISTORY.

Of equal importance with either of the preceding branches of knowledge, is *Natural History*; by which alone many, otherwise obscure, passages of Scripture can be explained. Thus, frequent direct mention is made of animals, trees, plants, and precious stones; sometimes the Scripture expresses sentiments either in allusion to, or by metaphors taken from, some fact in natural history; and sometimes characters are described in allusion to natural objects; and without the knowledge of these, we cannot perceive the nature of the characters intended.* Much information concerning this important topic, may be derived from the labours of the Oriental travellers already mentioned, and especially those of Shaw, Russell, Hasselquist, Forskäl, and Niebuhr. The most successful investigations of this interesting topic are to be found in the writings of Bochart, Celsius, Scheuchzer, and some others, whose works it would be unjust not to notice here.

1. Samuelis Bocharti Hierozoicon, sive de animalibus sacræ Scripturæ. 4th edit. folio Lug. Bat. 1714; also in 3 vols. 4to, Lipsiæ, 1793, and following years.

This last is unquestionably the best edition: it was published by Professor Rosenmüller, to whose researches biblical students are so largely indebted; and who has corrected it throughout, as well as enlarged it with numerous facts from the writings of modern travellers, &c.

2. Olai Celsii Hierobotanicon, sive de plantis sacræ Scripturæ, two parts 8vo. Upsilæ, 1745—7.

3. Petri Forskäl Descriptiones Animalium, Amphibiorum, Piscium, Insectorum, Vermium quæ in Itinere Orientali observavit. 4to. Hauniæ (Copenhagen) 1775.—Ejusdem Flora Ægyptio-Arabica. 4to. Hauniæ, 1775. Ejusdem Icones Rerum Naturalium, quas itinere orientali depingi curavit. 4to. Hauniæ, 1776.

M. Forskäl was a learned Swedish naturalist, who was sent in 1761, at the expence of his Danish Majesty, to investigate the natural productions of the East, in company with the celebrated traveller Niebuhr. He died at Jerim in Arabia, in 1763, and his unfinished notes,

* Gerard's Institutes, pp. 185, 186.

valuable even in their imperfect state, were published by his colleague in the three works just noticed.

4. *Physica Sacra : hoc est historia naturalis Bibliæ a Joanne Jacobo Scheuchzero edita, et innumeris iconibus æneis elegantissimis adornata*, 4 vols. folio, August. Vindel, 1731—1735.

This is one of the most beautiful and useful works which has appeared on the natural history of the Bible: the engravings, 750 in number, were executed by the most eminent artists of that day. A German translation appeared at Augsburg, at the same time with the Latin edition, to which it is preferred on account of its having proof impressions of the plates. The French translation, published at Amsterdam, in 1732—1738, in 4 vols. Folio, is inferior to both the preceding editions as it respects the plates, though the text and typographical execution are equally valuable. From the costly price of this work, it is chiefly to be found in great public libraries. * Michaelis, and other learned German writers, have also ably illustrated the Natural History of the Scriptures.

5. *Scripture Illustrated by Engravings, referring to Natural Science, Customs, Manners, &c.* By the Editors of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, 4to. 1802.

Many otherwise obscure passages of the Bible are in this work happily illustrated from Natural Science, &c. It is handsomely and ably executed; and though it does not profess to be a complete natural history of the Scriptures, yet it illustrates that interesting subject in so many instances, as to demand a place in every student's library. It has lately been re-published, we believe, both in parts and in numbers.

VII. PHILOSOPHICAL SECTS AND GENERAL LEARNING OF THE JEWS AND OTHER NATIONS MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE.

In perusing the sacred volume, the attentive reader cannot fail to be struck with allusions to philosophical notions and sects, as well as to certain branches of learning, which were cultivated by the nations or people therein mentioned: it is impossible fully to apprehend the force, propriety, and beauty of these allusions, without a knowledge of the notions, &c. referred to. A short sketch of the principal Jewish sects occurs in the first part of this work †; but the only writer, to the best of the author's recollection, who has discussed this subject in a separate treatise, is the learned and indefatigable

* Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, tome ii. p. 455. edit. 1810. Dr. Clarke's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. vi. p. 50.

† See pp. 165—179. *supra*.

professor Buddeus *: as, however, it is discussed with sufficient precision in the larger commentaries, (in common with most of the preceding topics, as well as the allusions to the jurisprudence of the antients), and likewise in those works which profess to be *Introductions to the Bible*, we shall conclude this section by briefly pointing out the most useful publications of the latter description.

1. *Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Testamenti omnes, præcognita critica et historica ac auctoritatis vindicias exponens.* Adornata studio D. J. Gottlob Carpzovii. 4to, Lipsiæ, 1731; 2d edit. 1741.

“The reader will here find very learned disquisitions upon every book of the Old Testament, and a catalogue of the most approved writers on most of them.” (Bishop Watson.) “Carpzov was a man of profound erudition and indefatigable industry. His work contains the principal materials, which had been afforded by his predecessors, perspicuously arranged, and augmented by his own valuable observations.” (Bishop Marsh.) It usually sells for 1*l.* 16*s.* or 2*l.* 2*s.*

2. *Commentatio Critica ad Libros N. T. in genere: cum præfatione D. J. Gottlob Carpzovii.* Accurante J. W. Rumpæo. 4to, Lipsiæ, 1757, 2d edit.

“Critical questions of great variety and importance are here fully discussed, by a reference to the writers of the greatest credit on each of them.” (Bishop Watson.)

3. *Georgii Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, in quâ quæ ad rem criticam, historiam, chronologiam, et geographiam pertinent, breviter et perspicuè exponuntur.* 1st edit. Lipsiæ, 1704, 12mo. 4th edit. by Hoffman, in 1737, 8vo. and reprinted, with corrections, in a large octavo volume, in 1764.

“The service rendered by Carpzov to the Old Testament was performed by Pritius for the New. The improvements of his editor, Hoffmann, on the original, are so considerable, that whoever purchases the Introduction of Pritius (*and it deserves to be purchased by every student in divinity*) must be careful in regard to the date of the title page.” (Bishop Marsh.) “I have never met with any book superior to this as an Introduction to the New Testament.” (Bishop Watson.) Unfortunately, all the editions of this most valuable work are extremely rare, and so dear as to be attainable by few. After some years of fruitless inquiries, the author of these pages obtained a copy of Hoffmann’s edition of 1764, from the late Rev. Dr. Gos-

* In his *Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Hebræorum*, 8vo. Halæ, 1720.

sett's library, at the heavy price of 2*l.* 16*s.* He gratefully acknowledges himself much indebted to this and the two preceding works for a variety of useful and instructive matter.

4. *Apparatus Biblicus: or an Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, in three books.* 1. Of the original and antiquity of the Jews. 2. Of the canon, authors, original texts, versions, editions, and interpretations of Scripture. 3. Of the false gods, animals, precious stones, diseases, and public sports mentioned in the Scriptures. From the French of Père Lamy. With notes and additions. Illustrated with engravings. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1728, 2d edit.

The first edition was in 4to: the editor was the Rev. Mr. Bundy. "This work will be very useful to those who have not leisure to consult larger treatises on the subjects which are discussed in it." (Bishop Watson.)

5. *Dissertations, qui peuvent servir de Prolegomènes de l'Ecriture Sainte.* Par Dom. Calmet. 4to. 3 tomes. Paris, 1720.

These dissertations were originally prefixed by Calmet to the different books of Scripture, and published in his commentary: in this 4to edition Calmet has collected them with considerable additions.

6. *An Introduction to the reading of the New Testament, by M.M. Beausobre and L'Enfant.* 8vo. Cambridge, 1779.

This was originally a preface to the French version of the New Testament published by M.M. Beausobre and L'Enfant at Amsterdam in 1718. It has been several times printed, and is also to be found in the third volume of the Theological Tracts collected by Bishop Watson; who observes, that "this is a work of extraordinary merit. The authors have scarcely left any topic untouched on which the young student in divinity may be supposed to want information."

7. *The Sacred Interpreter: or a Practical Introduction towards a beneficial reading and thorough understanding of the Holy Bible.* By David Collyer, Vicar of Great Coxwell, Berks. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1746. Carlisle. 2 vols. 8vo. 1796. Last edition, 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1815.

"The author of this work lived in the former part of the last century: it not only went through several editions in England, but in 1750 was translated into German. It is calculated for readers in general, and is a good popular preparation for the study of the Holy Scriptures." (Bishop Marsh.)

8. *Johannis Henrici Danielis Moldenhaweri Introductio in omnes Libros Canonicos, cum Veteris, tum Novi Fœderis, ut et eos qui Apocryphi dicuntur, cum Appendice, quæ tradit*

acta Apostoli Pauli chronologice digesta. 8vo. Regiomonti, 1744.

Few treatises professing to be Introductions to the Bible are more useful than this work of Professor Moldenhawer's. Having briefly shown the canonical authority of the Bible, and noticed its various divisions, he treats of each book in its order, showing its author, time of writing, argument, scope, chronology, and division. He carefully points out those passages which are more particularly worthy of consideration, or more difficult; and under each book of the Old Testament he specifies the types and prophecies of Jesus Christ, and the citations from each book in the New Testament. The author has derived much assistance from the labours of Moldenhawer in the third part of this work.

9. A Supplement to the Second Part of the Credibility of the Gospel History, containing a History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Writers of the New Testament, with Remarks and Observations upon every Book of the New Testament. By Nathaniel Lardner D.D. 8vo. 3 vols. London, 1756, 1757.

This history forms the sixth volume of the 8vo edition of Dr. Lardner's works, and also the second volume of Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts: it "is an admirable introduction to the New Testament,"—and "a storehouse of literary information, collected with equal industry and fidelity." (Bishop Marsh.)

10. An Introduction to the New Testament, by John David Michaelis, late Professor in the University of Gottingen. Translated from the fourth edition of the German by Herbert Marsh D.D. 8vo. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1802.

The first edition of Michaelis's inestimable work was published in Germany in 1750, and translated into English in 1761, 4to: its value is very materially enhanced by the notes of Bishop Marsh (which unfortunately extend to part of the work only), who has further added a Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the three first Gospels. See an ample critique on this work in the British Critic, (O. S.) vol. iii. pp. 601—608. and vol. iv. pp. 46—54. 170—176.

11. A Key to the New Testament, giving an account of the several books, their contents, their authors, and of the times, places, and occasions on which they were written. By T. Percy D.D. (late Bishop of Dromore). 12mo.

The numerous editions which have been printed of this little manual sufficiently bespeak its value: by those, who cannot purchase the large work of Michaelis, it may be advantageously substituted for it.

12. A Key to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha: or

an account of their several books, their contents and authors, and of the times when they were respectively written. By Robert Gray D.D. 8vo. London, 1790.

This work has been repeatedly printed. It was undertaken in imitation of Bishop Percy's Key, but "is a much more elaborate performance. It is a compilation from a great variety of authors, whose writings are generally quoted: and, as the materials are methodically arranged, it furnishes at one view what must otherwise be collected from many writers. But the author seems to have been unacquainted with the most valuable foreign writers." (Bishop Marsh.) A good index, however, is much wanting to facilitate reference to this useful book.

13. An Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament, by Edward Harwood D.D. 8vo. 2 vols. London, 1767, 1771.

The author designed a *third* volume, which was to embrace various critical questions respecting the New Testament, but died before it appeared. Though styled an Introduction, "it is evidently not so in the sense in which the abovementioned works are Introductions. It does not describe the several books of the New Testament, but contains a collection of dissertations, relative, partly, to the characters of the sacred writers, partly to the Jewish history and customs, and to such part of Heathen antiquities as have reference to the New Testament. But as these dissertations display great erudition, and contain much information illustrative of the New Testament, Dr. Harwood's Introduction is certainly to be recommended to the theological student." (Bishop Marsh.) Another experienced divinity tutor (the late Rev. Dr. Williams) has also justly remarked, that this work may be read with advantage, making allowance for the author's theological sentiments, (Christian Preacher, p. 417.) which were Arian. We have derived some very useful illustrations from Dr. Harwood's labours in the first part of this work.

14. An Introduction to the Study of the Bible, containing proofs of the authenticity and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; a summary of the history of the Jews; an account of the Jewish sects; and a brief statement of the contents of the several books of the Old and New Testaments. By George Tomline D.D. F.R.S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 12mo. London. Various editions.

The multiplied impressions of this manual, which forms the first volume of the right reverend author's Elements of Christian Theology, sufficiently attest its value, and the high estimation in which it is deservedly held. "It is the result of extensive reading; the materials are judiciously arranged; the reasonings are clear and solid; it is well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended, as a manual for students in divinity; and it may be read with advantage by the most experienced divine." (Bishop Marsh.)

15. *A General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, with a Critical History of the Greek and Latin Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Chaldee Paraphrases.* By the Rev. George Hamilton. 8vo. Dublin, 1814.

The origin and antiquity of the Hebrew language and characters, vowel points, various readings, and the question relative to the integrity of the present text, together with an account of the Rabbinical notes on the Old Testament, are the topics principally discussed in this small volume: and to these succeed a notice of the different versions and paraphrases mentioned in the title. "Its general execution is highly creditable to the author's industry and judgement; and we cheerfully recommend it to that class of students for whose use it was chiefly designed." (*Eclectic Review*, N. S. vol. i. p. 503.)

16. *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis in Compendium redacta a Johanne Jahn.* 8vo. Vienna, 1804.

The author of this valuable work is of the Roman Catholic communion, and has diligently consulted the best continental writers who have treated on the study of the Bible. This Introduction is divided into two parts; in the first are discussed various questions relative to the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures, the principal editions and versions of them, both Jewish and Christian, the nature of various lections, &c. The second part contains a series of disquisitions on each book of the Old Testament, as well as of the apocryphal books, which, of course, are recognized as genuine. In these disquisitions, Professor Jahn notices the argument, scope, author, date, &c. &c. &c. of the several books. Much important information is, in this volume, condensed into a small compass: at the end of the book there are forty pages of questions, framed upon the preceding part of the work, to exercise the memories of students. A good index, or at least a copious table of contents, however, is wanting to facilitate reference.*

§ 3. *Jewish and Rabbinical Writings, and the Works of Profane Authors.*

Much important aid, in the historical interpretation of the Bible, is to be obtained from consulting the Rabbinical writings of the Jews, and the works of profane authors, who have written in the Greek language, especially those of Josephus and Philo;

* Proposals were issued, many years since, by the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the university of Cambridge, for publishing by subscription a translation from the German of Professor Eichorn's Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. The translation, however, never appeared; and the author of the present work has in vain examined the different British critical journals to procure an account of Professor E.'s book, which bears a very high character on the Continent.

not only in explaining the grammatical force and meaning of words, but also in elucidating the customs, manners, and opinions of the Jews; which are either mentioned or incidentally referred to in the Old and New Testaments*.

Of the writings of the Jews, the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases, which have been noticed in a former page†, are confessedly the most important: and next to them is the TALMUD (a term literally signifying *doctrine*), which is a body of Jewish sacred and religious laws, containing a digest of doctrines relative to religion and morality. The Talmud consists of two general parts:—The *Misna* or text, and the *Gemara* or commentary.

The *Misna* (or *repetition* as it literally signifies) is a collection of various traditions of the Jews, and of expositions of scripture texts; which, they pretend, were delivered to Moses during his abode on the Mount, and transmitted from him through Aaron, Eleazar, and Joshua to the prophets, and by those to the men of the Great Sanhedrim, from whom they passed in succession to Simeon (who took our Saviour in his arms) Gamaliel, and ultimately to Rabbi Jehudah, surnamed *Hakkadosh* or the Holy. By him this digest of oral law and traditions was completed, towards the close of the second century, after the labour of forty years. It consists of six books, each of which is intitled *order*, and is further divided into many treatises, amounting in all to sixty-three; these again are divided into chapters, and the chapters are further subdivided into sections or aphorisms. The best edition of the *Misna*, unaccompanied by the *Gemara* or commentary, is that of Surenhusius, in 6 vols. folio, published at Amsterdam in 1698. Several tracts have been published at different times, by learned men, among which we may particularly notice the two volumes of *Discourses on the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees*, about the time of Jesus Christ, edited by Dr. Wotton, at London, in 1716: they contain among other im-

* Of the benefit to be derived from these authors several instances will be found in the first part of the present volume. Since the author wrote this chapter, many of the topics on which it treats have been fully discussed by the Rev. Dr. Gray, in "The Connexion between the Sacred Writings and the literature of the Jewish and Heathen Authors, particularly that of the classical ages, illustrated, principally with a view to evidence in confirmation of the truth of Revealed Religion." 8vo. London, 1816. Some very important hints, on the utility of Jewish and Rabbinical Literature in the interpretation of the New Testament, are likewise given in the Rev. C. J. Blomfield's excellent Sermon, entitled "A Reference to Jewish Tradition necessary to an interpretation of the New Testament," 8vo. London, 1817.

† See pp. 256—262, *supra*, for a short account of the principal Targums or Paraphrases.

portant illustrations, the two treatises on the *sabbath* and on the *mixtures* at that time practised by the Jews, in Hebrew and English, and are illustrated with learned notes. This work bears a low price, and elucidates many passages in the New Testament with great felicity.

The *Gemaras* or commentaries are two-fold:—1. The *Gemara of Jerusalem*, which in the opinion of Prideaux, Buxtorf, Carpzov, and other eminent critics, was compiled in the third century of the Christian æra; though from its containing several barbarous words of Gothic or Vandalic extraction, father Morin refers it to the fifth century. This commentary is but little esteemed by the Jews. 2. The *Gemara of Babylon* was compiled in the sixth century, and is filled with the most absurd fables. It is held in the highest estimation by the Jews, by whom it is usually read and constantly consulted as a sure guide in all questions of difficulty. The best edition of this work is that of Berlin and Francfort, in Hebrew, in 12 volumes, folio, 1715. The Jews designate these commentaries by the term *Gemara*, or *perfection*, because they consider it as an explanation of the whole law, to which no further additions can be made, and after which nothing more can be desired. When the *Misna* or text and the commentary compiled at Jerusalem accompany each other, the whole is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*; and, when the commentary which was made at Babylon is subjoined, it is denominated the *Babylonish Talmud*. The Talmud was collated for Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible: and as the passages of Scripture were taken from MSS. in existence from the second to the sixth century, they are so far authorities, as they shew what were the readings of their day. These various readings, however, are neither very numerous nor of very great moment. Bauer states that Fromman did not discover more than *fourteen* in the *Misna*: and although Dr. Gill, who collated the Talmud for Dr. Kennicott, collected about a thousand instances, yet all these were not in strictness various lections. The Talmud, therefore is more useful for illustrating manners and customs noticed in the Scriptures, than for the assistance it can afford in the criticism of the sacred volume*.

* Bauer, Crit. Sacr. pp. 340—343. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 174. Kennicott, Dissertatio generalis, § 32—35. Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, pp. 90, *et seq.* In pp. 95—98, he has enumerated the principal contents of the *Misna*, but the best account of the *Misna* and its contents is given by Dr. Wotton, Discourses, vol. i. Disc. i. and ii. pp. 10—120. Pfeiffer, op. tom. ii. pp. 852—855. De Rossi, Variæ Lectiones tom. i. Proleg. canons 78—81. Buddæus, in his *Introductio ad historiam Philosophiæ Hebræorum*, pp. 116 *et seq.* has entered most fully into the merits of the Jewish Talmudical and Rabbinical writings.

The *Rabbinical* writings of the Jews are to be found chiefly in their *commentaries* on the Old Testament; which being more properly noticed in a subsequent page, * it is not necessary here to describe them more particularly.

As all these Jewish writings are both voluminous and scarce, many learned men have diligently collected from them the most material passages that tend to illustrate the Scriptures; whose labours in this important department we are now briefly to enumerate.

1. *Mellificium Hebraicum, sive Observationes ex Hebræorum Antiquiorum monumentis desumptæ, unde plurima cum Veteris, tum Novi Testamenti, loca explicantur vel illustrantur.* Autore Christophoro Cartwrighto. In the eighth volume of the *Critici Sacri*, pp. 1271—1426.

To our learned countryman Cartwright belongs the honour of being the first who applied the more antient writings of the Jews to the illustration of the Bible. He was followed in the same path of literature, by Drusius, whose *Præterita sive annotationes in Totum Jesu Christi Testamentum* (4to. Franequaræ, 1612) contain many valuable illustrations of the New Testament. Some additions were subsequently made to his work by Balthasar Scheidius, whose *Præterita Præteritorum* are included in the publication of Meuschen, noticed in No. 4. *infra*.

2. *Horæ Hebraicæ: or Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the New Testament*, by John Lightfoot, D.D. in the second volume of his works, folio, Lond. 1684.

These invaluable remarks of Dr. Lightfoot have long been held in the highest esteem, for the great light which they throw on different passages of the New Testament: unfortunately they proceed no farther than the first Epistle to the Corinthians. To complete the work of Lightfoot Christian Schoetgenius published

3. *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in Universum Novum Testamentum, quibus Horæ Jo. Lightfooti in libris historicis supplentur, epistolæ et apocalypsis eodem modo illustrantur*, 4to. 2 vols. Dresdæ, 1733.

In this elaborate work Schoetgenius passes over the same books on which Dr. Lightfoot had treated, as a supplement, without touching the topics already produced in the English work; and then continues the latter to the end of the New Testament. Copies, in good condition, generally sell from two to three guineas.

4. *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et Antiquitatibus He-*

* See Vol. II. Appendix, No. II. on the Commentators on the Bible. Sect. II. on Jewish Commentators.

bræorum illustratum, a Johanne Gerhardo Meuschenio, 4to. Lipsiæ, 1736.

In this work are inserted various treatises by Danzius, Rhenferd, Scheidius, and others, who have applied themselves to the illustration of the New Testament from the Jewish writings.

Different commentators have drawn largely from these sources in their illustrations of the Bible, particularly Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Drs. Gill and Clarke in their entire comments on the Scriptures, Wetstein in his critical edition of the New Testament, and Koppe in his edition of the Greek Testament, who in his notes has abridged the works of all former writers on this topic.

In availing ourselves of the assistance to be derived from the Jewish writings, we must take care not to compare the expressions occurring in the New Testament *too strictly* with the Talmudical and Cabbalistical modes of speaking; as such comparisons, when carried too far, tend to obscure rather than to illustrate the sacred writings. Even our illustrious Lightfoot is said not to be free from error in this respect: and Dr. Gill has frequently incumbered his commentary with Rabbinical quotations. The best and safest rule, perhaps, by which to regulate our references to the Jewish writers themselves, as well as those who have made collections from their works, is the following precept delivered by Ernesti:—*We are to seek for help, says he, only in those cases where it is absolutely necessary; that is, where our knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues affords no means of ascertaining an easy sense, and one that corresponds with the context.* The same distinguished scholar has further laid it down as a rule of universal application, that our principal information is to be sought from the Jewish writings, in every thing that relates to their sacred rites, forms of teaching and speaking; especially in the epistle to the Romans, which evidently shews its author to have been educated under Gamaliel*.

More valuable in every respect than the Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, are the works of Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria, who lived soon after the birth of Christ, and those of Josephus, a Jewish Priest, of the sect of the Pharisees, who flourished soon after the resurrection of the Redeemer. Much

* Ernesti. Instit. Interp. Novi Testamenti, p. 274. In the fifth vol. of Velthusen's, Kuinöel's, and Ruperti's *Commentationes Theologicæ* (pp. 117—197) there is a useful dissertation by M. Weise, *De more domini acceptos a magistris Judaicis loquendi ac disserendi modos sapienter emendandi.*

light is reflected by them on the manners, customs, and opinions of the Jews, as well as their state under the Roman Emperors. In all matters, indeed, relating to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the religion of the Jews, there is a remarkable agreement between the authors of the New Testament and Philo and Josephus; who had in person beheld that sacred edifice, and were themselves eye-witnesses of the solemn rites performed there. Hence it is obvious, that their statements are unquestionably more worthy of credit than the unsupported assertions of the Talmudists, who did not flourish until long after the subversion of the city and temple, and of the whole Jewish polity, both sacred and civil. A single instance, out of many that might be adduced, will suffice to illustrate the importance of this remark.

The Talmudical writers affirm that the priests only killed the paschal lambs: but Philo and Josephus both relate that it was lawful for the master of every family to do it, without the intervention of any priest; and they further relate that, at the time of the passover, there were so many families at Jerusalem that it was utterly impossible for the priests to kill the paschal lamb for every family. In the New Testament we read that Jesus Christ sent his disciples to a private house, that the passover might be prepared by its possessor and by them, without the presence of any priest, or previously taking the lamb to the temple. As the statements of Philo and Josephus are corroborated by the relation in the New Testament, they are undoubtedly correct.

Michaelis particularly recommends a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish antiquities, as affording the very best commentary on the Gospels and Acts: * and Morus † observes that the Jewish historian is more valuable in illustrating the histories related in the New Testament than for elucidating its style. Our numerous references to his works in the first part of this volume will sufficiently indicate the advantages resulting from a frequent examination of them. The best editions of the writings of Josephus are those of Dr. Hudson, printed at Oxford 1720, in two volumes folio; of Havercamp, Leyden and Utrecht, 1726, in 2 vols. folio; and of Oberthür, at Leipsic, 1782—1788, 4 vols. 8vo. But as these costly and voluminous works are not within the purchase of every student, learned men have diligently selected the most important passages from

* Introduction to the New Testament, vol. iii. part i. 339—341.

† Mori super Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti Acroases Academicæ, tom. ii. p. 195.

them, with the view of illustrating the New Testament. The principal works of this description are the following :

1. Jo. Bap. Ottii *Spicilegium sive Excerpta ex Flavio Josepho ad Novi Testamenti illustrationem*, 8vo. Ludg. Bat. 1741.

2. Jo. Tobiaë Krebsii *Observationes in Novum Testamentum e Flavio Josepho*. 8vo. Lipsæ, 1755.

Schleusner has also introduced many pertinent and valuable extracts from Josephus in his Greek and Latin Lexicon to the New Testament.

Philo is useful both for facts, and also for the occasional light which his style of writing throws upon the diction of the New Testament. The chief passages of his writings which illustrate the New Testament have been selected and applied in the three following works :

1. Jo. Benedicti Carpzovii *Exercitationes in Epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos ex Philone Alexandrino*. 8vo. Helmstadii, 1750.

2. J. B. Carpzovii *Stricturæ Theologicæ in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*. *Adpersi subinde sunt flores Philoniani*. 8vo. Helmstadii, 1758.

3. Christopheri Frederici Loesneri *Observationes ad Novum Testamentum e Philone Alexandrino*. 8vo. Lipsæ, 1777.

To complete this work, there should be added the *Spicilegium Loesneri Observationum in N. T. e Philone*. By A. F. Kuhnus, 8vo, Leipsic, 1785. It is, however, to be regretted that all these works are little known, and extremely rare and dear in this country. The *Prolegomena*, prefixed to Carpzov's *Exercitationes*, are particularly valuable : they contain a copious account of Philo and his writings, and point out the most useful way of applying them to the elucidation of the sacred writings.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE MIRACLES.

I. *Miracle defined*—II. *The credibility of Miracles vindicated and proved*—III. *Criteria for ascertaining and interpreting Miracles—application of these criteria to the principal Miracles recorded in the Old and New Testaments, especially to the RESURRECTION of Jesus Christ*—IV. *Moral and religious instruction concealed under the Miracles performed by our Saviour.*

IT is obvious to the most cursory reader of the Scriptures, that there are certain facts or events recorded in the sacred volume, which are manifestly contrary to, or different from, the ordinary course of nature, and which are therefore termed *miraculous*. They indeed, who read the Scriptures under a firm conviction that they *are* the word of God, find no difficulty in receiving such miraculous events as true; but since it has been laid down by some eminent continental critics (whose writings have in this country been recommended to biblical students by high authority) as a certain canon of interpretation, that no events recorded in the Bible are to be regarded as miraculous, the author would deem his work imperfect, if he were to pass in silence the miracles related in the Scriptures. The opinion alluded to, is nothing more than a simple negation, which it is not to be expected that any man should receive as proof; but since it has found supporters in this country, and since also it has been asserted that miracles not only contradict experience, but are further incapable of proof from testimony, it becomes necessary to the right interpretation of the Scriptures that we investigate the nature of miracles and the evidence on which they rest. It is proposed therefore, in the present chapter, to consider what is to be strictly understood by the term *miracles*; and, having shewn that they are neither impossible nor improbable, and that they are related on competent testimony, we shall offer a few criteria by which to determine what events are really to be regarded as miraculous, and shall subjoin some hints for the correct interpretation of miracles.

I. We may define a miracle to be,—“ *an effect or event contrary to the established constitution or course of things,*” or, “ *a sensible suspension or controlment of, or deviation from, the known laws of nature.*”

Nature is the assemblage of created beings. These beings act upon each other, or by each other, agreeably to certain laws; the result of which is, what we call the *order* or course of nature. Effects which are produced by the regular operation of these laws, or which are conformable to the established course of events, are said to be *natural*; and every palpable deviation from the constitution of the natural system, and the correspondent course of events in that system, is called a *miracle*.

“ If this definition of a miracle be accurate, no event can be justly deemed miraculous merely because it is strange, or even to us unaccountable; for it may be nothing more than the regular effect of some physical cause operating according to an established though unknown law of nature. In this country earthquakes happen but rarely, and at no stated periods of time; and for monstrous births perhaps no *particular* and satisfactory account can be given; yet an earthquake is as regular an effect of the established laws of nature as the bursting of a bomb-shell, or the movements of a steam engine; and no man doubts, but that, under particular circumstances unknown to him, the monster is nature’s genuine issue. It is therefore necessary, before we can pronounce an event to be a true miracle, that the circumstances under which it was produced be known, and that the common course of nature be in some degree understood; for in all those cases in which we are totally ignorant of nature, it is impossible to determine what is, or what is not, a deviation from her course. Miracles, therefore, are not, as some have represented them, appeals to our ignorance. They suppose some antecedent knowledge of the course of nature, without which no proper judgment can be formed concerning them; though with it their reality may be so apparent as to leave no room for doubt or disputation.

“ Thus, were a physician to give instantly sight to a blind man, by anointing his eyes with a chemical preparation, which we had never before seen, and to the nature and qualities of which we were absolute strangers, the cure would to us undoubtedly be *wonderful*; but we could not pronounce it *miraculous*, because it might be the physical effect of the operation of the unguent on the eye. But were he to give sight to his patient merely by commanding him to receive it, or by anointing his eyes with spittle, we should with the utmost confidence pronounce the cure to be a miracle; because we know perfectly that neither the human voice, nor human spittle, has, by the established constitution of things, any such power over the diseases of the eye. No one is now ignorant, that persons

apparently dead are often restored to their families and friends, by being treated, during suspended animation, in the manner recommended by the *Humane Society*. To the vulgar, and sometimes even to men of science, these resuscitations appear very *wonderful*; but as they are known to be effected by physical agency, they can never be considered as *miraculous* deviations from the laws of nature, though they may suggest to different minds very different notions of the state of death. On the other hand, no one could doubt of his having witnessed a real miracle, who had seen a person that had been four days dead, come alive out of the grave at the *call* of another, or who had even beheld a person exhibiting all the common *evidences* of death, instantly resuscitated merely by being *desired* to live." *

Since miracles are effects contrary to the established constitution of things, we are certain that they will never be performed on trivial occasions: for the laws, in conformity to which created beings act, being a consequence of the nature of those beings, and of the relations which they bear to each other, are invariable. It is by them God governs the world, He alone established them; He alone can suspend them; and from the course of things thus established by infinite wisdom, no deviation can be made but by God himself, or by some person to whom he has delegated his power.

The proper effect, then, of miracles is, clearly to mark the divine interposition; and the Scriptures intimate that such is their design. Hence we draw this consequence, that he who performs a miracle, performs it in the name of God, and on his behalf; that is to say, in proof of a divine mission.

II. To those who beheld the miracles wrought by Moses and Jesus Christ, as well as by his apostles, the seeing of those miracles performed was sufficient evidence of the divine inspiration of Moses and Jesus Christ. The witnesses, however, must be supposed to be acquainted with the course of nature, so as to be able to judge that the event in question was contrary to it. With respect to the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, this cannot be doubted: for, no man of ordinary understanding could be incapable of ascertaining that the event was contrary to the course of nature, when the Israelites passed through the Red Sea, and afterwards over the river Jordan, the waters being stayed in their current on either side; when diseases were healed by a word; when sight was imparted to the blind,

* Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 241.

hearing to the deaf, the powers of speech to the dumb, merely at command, and without the use of any other means; especially when a corpse, that had begun to putrefy, was restored to life by the speaking of a word.

But to other men, miracles, like other events, admit of the evidence of testimony. Now, as we cannot doubt the competency of witnesses to ascertain facts, their credibility is the only point to be considered; and this must be determined upon the principles on which the credibility of testimony, in general, depends. As this topic has been dexterously seized by the advocates of infidelity, in order to decry the credibility of the miracles recorded in the Bible, the following hints on the value of human testimony may be found useful in enabling the student to investigate and explain them.

For estimating the value of *single evidences* the two following plain rules have been laid down.—“Any thing, capable of being proved by mere testimony, is credible in proportion to the opportunity which the witness had of being well informed concerning it himself, and his freedom from any bias that might make him wish to impose upon others. If the person, who gives us information, appears to be a competent judge of it, and to have been in a situation in which he had the best opportunity of being rightly informed, and if there be no appearance of its being his interest to deceive us, we give our assent: but we hesitate in proportion to the doubts we entertain on either of these heads.

“The *more* persons there are who relate the same transaction, of which they are equally credible witnesses, the stronger is the evidence for it. But, the more persons there are, through whose hands the *same narration* is conveyed to us, the weaker is the evidence. In this latter case, the witnesses are called *dependent* ones; but, in the former, they are said to be *independent*. Whatever imperfection there may be in any one of a number of independent witnesses, it is in part removed by the testimony of others; but every imperfection is increased in proportion to the number of dependent witnesses, through whose hands the same story is transmitted.”

The proper mark or criterion of a story being related by a number of independent witnesses, of full credit, is their complete agreement in the principal articles, and their disagreement with respect to things of less consequence, or at least a variety, or diversity, in their manner of relating the same story.

“The reason of this is, that to things of principal importance they will all equally attend, and therefore they will have their

minds equally impressed with the ideas of them ; but that to things of less consequence they will not give the same attention, and therefore they will be apt to conceive differently concerning them.

“ If a number of persons agree very minutely with respect to all the facts of any narrative, general and particular, and also in the order and manner of their narration, it will amount to a proof that they have agreed together to tell the same story ; and in this they will be supposed to have been influenced by some motive not favourable to the value of their testimony ; and besides, having learned circumstances one of another, they cannot be considered as independent of one another. All the histories, which have been written by persons in every respect equally credible, agree in the main things, but they are as certainly found to differ with regard to things of less consequence.

“ We likewise distinguish with respect to the *nature of the fact* to which our assent is required ; for we expect more numerous, more express, and, in all points, more unexceptionable evidence, according to the degree of its previous improbability, arising from its want of analogy to other facts already known : and in this there is a gradation from things which are antecedently highly probable, and therefore require but little positive evidence, to things which are utterly incredible, being so contrary to what we already know of the course of nature and the author of it, that no evidence could convince us of it.”

For instance, “ if my servant should tell me that, as he was passing through a certain place, he saw a friend of mine, who (he knew) had business in that neighbourhood, and the character of my servant was such, that I had never known him tell me a wanton lie, I should readily believe him ; and, if I had any thing to do in the case, I should, without hesitation, act upon the supposition that what he told me was true. But, if the same servant should say that, coming through the same place, he saw another of my friends, whom I knew to have been dead, I should not believe him, though the thing in itself was not naturally impossible ; and if ten or a dozen persons of our common acquaintance, persons of knowledge and curiosity, should, independently of one another, seriously inform me that they were present themselves, and had no doubt of the fact, I might believe it*.” It follows, however, from this observa-

* Dr. Priestley's *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, vol. i. pp. 274—278. On the subject of the credibility of testimony, Mr. Gambier's “ *Moral Evidence* ” may be very advantageously consulted.

tion, that miracles require a much stronger testimony than common facts: and such testimony, it will be seen in the following pages, they really have.

The greatest part of our knowledge has no other foundation than testimony. A man, who has never been out of Great Britain, is, by testimony alone, as fully convinced of the existence of foreign countries, as he is of the existence of the country in which he lives. No person who has read history, has any more doubt of there being such a city as Rome, of there having been such a person as Julius Cæsar, or of his having been killed there, than he has of the truth of the proposition that two and two make four. The truth of these events is conveyed to us by the general and concurrent testimony of history, by which it is so firmly established, that, were a set of learned men now to arise, and, without being able to produce any antient contradictory statements, to endeavour, by specious reasonings, to destroy our belief of it, it would argue the greatest folly and weakness to be moved by them. The truth of other facts is substantiated in the same manner, and upon such evidence almost the whole business and intercourse of human life is conducted. But, however applicable this reasoning may be to the ordinary affairs of human life, it has been laid down by some persons as a maxim, that no human testimony is sufficient to prove a miracle. This assertion was first made by a late celebrated philosopher, whose notions have been adopted by all later Deists, and whose argument in substance is this:—"Experience, which in some things is variable, in others is uniform, is our *only* guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. Variable experience gives rise to probability only; an uniform experience amounts to proof. Our belief of any fact, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, is derived from no other principle than our experience of the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, there arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony."*

* Encyclopædia Britannica, art. *Abridgment*.

Now, to this reasoning, or the most prominent and essential parts of it, several decisive answers have been or may be given. A few of these may properly find a place here.

1. "Dr. Campbell, in his celebrated "*Dissertation on Miracles*," shows the fallacy of Mr. Hume's argument thus:—'The evidence arising from human testimony is *not solely* derived from experience: on the contrary, testimony has a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience. The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children, gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is therefore more consonant to truth to say, that our *diffidence* in testimony is the result of experience, than that our *faith* in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience in favour of any fact is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go farther to establish a belief of its being actually reversed. If his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we *cannot* withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by uniform laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any *violation* of them; still, if in particular instances we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, that they were actually witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them.' *

2. "Mr. Hume's reasoning is founded upon too limited a view of the laws and course of nature. If we consider things duly, we shall find that lifeless matter is utterly incapable of obeying any laws, or of being endued with any powers: and, therefore, what is usually called *the course of nature* can be nothing else than the arbitrary will and pleasure of God, acting continually upon matter, according to certain rules of uniformity, still bearing a relation to contingencies. So that it is as easy for the Supreme Being to alter what men think the course of nature, as to preserve it. Those effects, which are produced in the world regularly and indeminently, and which are usually termed the works of nature, prove the constant providence of the Deity; those, on the contrary, which, upon any extraordinary occasion, are produced in such a manner as it is manifest could

* Encyclopædia Britannica, art. *Abridgment*.

not have been either by human power, or by what is called chance, prove undeniably the immediate interposition of the Deity on that especial occasion. God, it must be recollected, is the governor of the *moral* as well as of the *physical* world; and since the moral well-being of the universe is of more consequence than its physical order and regularity, it follows, obviously, that the laws, conformably with which the material world seems generally to be regulated, are subservient, and may occasionally yield, to the laws by which the moral world is governed. Although, therefore, a miracle is contrary to the usual *course* of nature (and would indeed lose its beneficial effect if it were not so), it cannot thence be inferred that it is “a violation of the *laws* of nature,” allowing the term to include a regard to *moral* tendencies. The laws by which a wise and holy God governs the world cannot, unless he is pleased to reveal them, be learnt in any other way than from *testimony*; since, on this supposition, nothing but testimony can bring us acquainted with the whole series of his dispensations, and this kind of knowledge is absolutely necessary previously to our correctly inferring those laws. Testimony, therefore, must be admitted as constituting the principal means of discovering the real laws by which the universe has been regulated; that testimony assures us that the *apparent* course of nature has often been interrupted to produce important moral effects; and we must not at random disregard such testimony, because, in estimating its credibility, we ought to look almost infinitely more at the moral than at the physical circumstances connected with any particular event.” *

III. But, however satisfactory the preceding general and abstract reasonings may be, it is not necessary to rest the defence of miracles against the objections of infidels wholly upon them. The miracles related in the Bible are accompanied by such evidence as it will be found difficult to adduce

* This argument is pursued to a considerable extent by Professor Vince, in his “Sermons on the Credibility of Miracles, preached before the University of Cambridge.”—Dr. O. Gregory’s *Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Revelation*, vol. i. pp. 176, 177. The reader, who is desirous of fully investigating the subject of miracles, will find it very ably treated in Drs. Campbell’s and Adams’s treatises, in reply to the sophistry of Hume; in Dr. Hey’s *Norrisian Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 157—200; in Dr. Price’s *Four Dissertations on Providence, &c.* diss. iv. pp. 384, *et seq.* (4th edit.); and in the late Bishop of Salisbury’s *Criterion*. See also Bishop Gleig’s *Dissertation on Miracles*, (in the third volume of his edition of Stackhouse’s *History of the Bible*, pp. 240, *et seq.*) in which the recent endeavours in a celebrated literary journal to support the sceptical notions of Hume and his followers are most ably exposed; as they also are in the Rev. J. Somerville’s “Remarks on an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which the doctrine of Hume on miracles is maintained.” 8vo. Edinburgh, 1815.

in support of any other historic fact, and such as cannot be brought to substantiate any pretended fact whatever.

We have already had occasion to observe* that the proper effect of a miracle is, clearly to mark the divine interposition: it must therefore have characters proper to indicate such interposition, and thus enable us to interpret those passages of Scripture in which facts or events are related as being miraculous. These criteria are six in number.

1. It is required, then, in the first place, that a fact or event, which is stated to be miraculous, should have an important end, worthy of its author.

2. It must be instantaneously and publicly performed.

3. It must be sensible and easy to be observed:—in other words, the fact or event must be such, that the senses of mankind can clearly and fully judge of it.

4. It must be independent of second causes.

5. Not only public monuments must be kept up, but some outward actions must be constantly performed in memory of the fact thus publicly wrought.

6. And such monuments must be set up, and such actions and observances be instituted, at the very time when those events took place, and afterwards be continued without interruption. †

1. The first character of a miracle is, *an important end, and worthy of its author*. For what probability is there, that the Almighty should specially interpose, and suspend the laws by which he governs this world, without any necessity, for a frivolous reason, inconsistent with his wisdom, and unworthy of his greatness? Every miracle, then, must have a useful end, and one to which second causes are *inadequate*;—as, to authorize a prophet, or to establish a revelation. An end so wise and so benevolent is well worthy of the Supreme Being. This character of a true miracle is found in *all* the miracles recorded as being performed by Moses and Jesus Christ. None of them are represented as having been wrought on trivial occasions. The writers who mention them were eye-witnesses of the facts, which they affirm to have been performed publicly, in attestation of the truth of their respective dispensations. They are indeed so incorporated with these dispensations, that the miracles cannot be separated from the doctrines; and if the miracles

* See p. 578, *supra*.

† These criteria for judging of miracles, with their illustrations, are chiefly abridged from Mr. Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, and Professor Claparede's "*Considerations upon the Miracles of the Gospel*," in answer to Rousseau, translated and published in 8vo. London, 1758.

were not really performed, the doctrines cannot be true. Further, the miracles of Moses and Jesus Christ were wrought in support of revelations which opposed all the religious systems, superstitions, and prejudices of the age. This circumstance alone sets them, in point of authority, infinitely above the Pagan prodigies recorded by antient writers, as well as the pretended miracles of the church of Rome; many of which may be clearly shown to have been mere natural events; others are represented as having been performed in secret, on the most *trivial* occasions, and long before the time of the writers by whom they are related; while such of them, as at first view appear to be best attested, are evidently tricks contrived for interested purposes, to flatter power, or to promote the prevailing superstitions. *

2. A second criterion of miracles is, that they *be instantaneously and publicly performed, in the presence of witnesses*. A miracle does not present the shades and gradations observable in nature. Nature proceeds not by fits and starts, but is gradual and progressive in its operations; does not create, but unfolds; nourishes, and causes to sprout and grow; sets to work second causes, which act only by little and little, and do

* Encyclopædia Britannica, art. *Miracle*. In illustration of the preceding observations on Popish and Pagan miracles, the two following facts may be adduced;

1. Maffei, in his life of Ignatius Loyola, the patron saint of the Jesuits, says, "that he was importuned very much to play at billiards by a person who was a proficient in the game. He excused himself for a time, as being quite ignorant, and not capable of playing. At last, being continually solicited, he engaged with the other person, and put his ball into the hazard every stroke: so that he defeated him entirely. This has been mentioned as a miracle. But was there here any call for the divine interposition? Was the object worthy of the Holy Ghost? Was there any apparent necessity for the operation; or did it afford any mental or bodily advantage? Lastly, was it so attested as to claim the least belief? No. All these requisites, therefore, being wanting, we may easily pass judgment upon the credibility of the miracle; and give it up, with thousands from the same quarter, as an idle and unworthy fiction."

2. "Eunapius mentions that Jamblichus the Chalcidian was a worker of miracles; of which he gives one instance. The philosopher was with several of his followers at Gadara in Coelosyria, where were some famous hot-baths. Here, to show his magic art, he put his hand into the water, and, after having uttered a few words, he called forth the two divinities of the waters. They came out at his command, and appeared like little children, and ran and hung upon his neck, and hugged him as if he were their father. After a little time they quitted him, and he ordered them back to their former place, to the admiration of all who beheld him. Life of Jamb. p. 26. Let this be tried in the same manner, and see if it will abide the test. The miracles of the Abbé Paris are of the same class." Bryant's Treatise upon the Authenticity of the Scriptures, p. 108. On the pretended Pagan miracles, the late Bishop of Salisbury has some acute observations, (Criterion, pp. 49—60.) and also on the pretended miracles of the Abbé Paris, (pp. 122—233), as well as of the *Camisards*, or French Prophets, (pp. 233—236.) and those ascribed to Ignatius and Xavier, (pp. 64—78.) See also Dr. Campbell's Dissertation on Miracles, part ii. sect. 4 & 5. In the Christian Observer for 1817, (vol. xvi. pp. 782—790), there are some excellent strictures on a Popish miracle, pretended to have been wrought on one Winifred White at St. Winifred's Well. On the same topic also, see the Anti-Jacobin Review for 1808, vol. xxx. p. 194, *et seq.*

not produce their effect until the end of a certain period. From this rule the divine agency is entirely free. God said, "Let there be light, and there was light." But further, *publicity* or notoriety is requisite:—Not that a miracle performed in the sight of a few witnesses is the less a miracle on that account. It is enough that there is a sufficient number of spectators worthy of credit. The notoriety of this or that particular miracle may be more or less restrained by circumstances*; and we cannot reject a miracle, properly established, under the pretence that it has not had all the notoriety which we might have imagined to be necessary. How great soever may be the number of witnesses, we can always conceive a greater. But there is a degree of notoriety which satisfies reason; and if it were not so, testimonial proof would never be complete.

3. A miracle must, in the third place, *be sensible and easy to be observed*; in other words, the fact purporting to be miraculous must be of such a nature, that the senses of mankind can certainly perceive that both the event is real, and its origin supernatural†. It must turn upon laws which are generally known, and not upon such as are scarcely or not at all known; nor upon subjects too remote from us, or which require the *experienced* eye of an observer in order to be perceived. A supernatural motion in the ring or satellites of Saturn could not therefore be a miracle for the generality of the earth's inhabitants; it would at most be so only to astronomers. A miracle, being calculated to establish the divine interposition, ought to be more within the reach of men:

* The reasons why Jesus Christ enjoined secrecy to some of the persons on whom he had wrought miraculous cures, while he performed other miracles in the most public manner, are stated *supra*, pp. 539—541.

† "There are two things," says Archbishop Tillotson, "necessary to a miracle:—that there should be a supernatural effect wrought, and that this effect be evident to sense, so that, though a supernatural effect be wrought, yet if it be not evident to sense, it is, to all the ends and purposes of a miracle, as if it were not, and can be no testimony or proof of any thing, because it stands in need of another miracle to give testimony to it, and to prove that it was wrought. And neither in Scripture, nor in profane authors, nor in common use of speech, is any thing called a miracle, but what falls under the notice of our senses; a miracle being nothing else but a supernatural effect evident to sense, the great end and design whereof is to be a sensible proof and conviction to us of something that we do not see. For want of this, transubstantiation is no miracle; a sign or miracle is always a thing sensible, otherwise it could be no sign. Now, that such a *change* as is pretended in transubstantiation should really be wrought, and yet there should be no sign of it, is a thing very wonderful; but not to sense, for our senses perceive no change. And that a thing should remain to all appearance just as it was, hath nothing at all of wonder in it. We wonder, indeed, when we see a strange thing done, but no man wonders when he sees nothing done." Sermons, vol. ii. p. 178. edit. 1748. See also vol. xi. pp. 281, 282.

signs from earth, therefore, will be preferable to signs from heaven.

4. A miracle ought to be *independent of second causes*, or performed without any natural instrument. If any external action or foreign circumstance *accompany* it (as was commonly the case), this action or circumstance has no natural connexion with the effect produced. This it is which particularly distinguishes miracles from natural events. The latter have a natural cause; and that cause is proportionate to the effects which result from it. Thus every body, that is in motion, moves in proportion to the force that impels it. But the immediate special interposition of God excludes that of physical agents: in every miracle, the proportion between causes and effects no longer subsists. Medicine has remedies proper for curing diseases; these remedies bear a certain proportion to the nature of the malady, which they are to remove or destroy; but no such proportion is discoverable in miracles. It is by natural means that the understanding is enlightened and instructed in those things of which it was previously ignorant. I speak a language that is foreign to me; I devoted time and labour to the acquisition of it, and employed the assistance of a master: but if, independently of such aids, my mind be instantaneously enriched with all the words of a language before unknown to me, the effect has not its cause in nature. The event is supernatural. The application of this remark to the apostles, at the day of Pentecost, is too obvious to be insisted upon.

It has been objected to this criterion of a miracle, that Jesus Christ, in three of his miracles, made use of an external application; which, if it were necessary to the cure, looks like the application of some hidden means of art. If it were unnecessary, such process is arraigned as being improper in the mode, and even ridiculous. The three miracles in question are those of the man who had been born blind (John ix. 1—7), the blind man in the vicinity of Bethsaida, (Mark viii. 23—26), and the deaf man near the sea of Galilee, (Mark vii. 32—37). In the first of these, “he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay,” and commanded him to go and wash in the pool of Siloam: the man went thither, and washed, and returned seeing. In the second case, “he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town, and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw ought? and he looked up and said, I see men as trees walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up, and he was restored, and he saw every man clearly; and he sent him

away to his own house, saying, neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town." Nearly similar was our Saviour's treatment of the deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, into whose ears he put his fingers, and "spit and touched his tongue; and, looking up to heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is—Be opened! and straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain."

"These three are the only instances where a *deliberate external application* is related to have been used, and in all these cases the reason for using it seems to have been *one and the same, namely, to convey to the individuals, on whom the miracles were performed, a clear assurance that Jesus was the person at whose command, and by whose agency the cure was wrought, and to enable them to state to others the grounds of this assurance fully and circumstantially.* For this purpose our Saviour used such a mode of application as was best calculated to make an impression on the senses these men possessed, unimpaired, antecedent to the miracle, and such as led them to observe, that he was about to interpose, in order to perfect those organs which were defective. A little attention will show that every circumstance in the different modes of application had this tendency.

A blind man can know another only by the voice or the touch. The blind man near Bethsaida our Lord led out of the town remote from the crowd, that he might be sure of the person who spoke to or touched him; he then spat on his eyes, and laid his hands on him, and restored him to sight, though imperfectly—after that, he put his hands again upon his eyes, and he saw clearly. What possible mode could give him a more full assurance that the cure was wrought by the interposition of an external agent, and that Jesus was that agent? The deaf man could judge of the intentions of another only by seeing what he does; him therefore our Lord took aside from the multitude, that he might fix and confine his attention to himself, and then he put his fingers into his ears, and touched his tongue, thus signifying to him that he intended to produce some change in these organs; he then looked up to heaven, at the same time speaking, to signify the change would proceed from a divine power, exercised at his interposition.

The very same purpose was equally answered by our Lord's application to the eyes of the man born blind; it assured him that the person who came close to him, and spoke to him, and anointed his eyes, was the sole agent, by whose interposition the cure was wrought. Immediately, on approaching our Sa-

viour, after receiving his sight, he must have recognized him by his voice. Had the grounds of his assurance been less full and circumstantial, he never could have so unanswerably silenced the objections, and replied to the captious queries of the Pharisees—"What did he do to thee? how opened he thine eyes?—He answered, and said, "a man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes. and said unto me, "go to the pool of Siloam, and wash, and I went and washed, "and I received sight."

We may be confirmed in believing this to have been the design of these external applications, by observing, that they were used in no instance except those of blindness and deafness, when a defect of the senses rendered them necessary to convey such assurance of Jesus having been the author of the miracle. And still more, by observing that it does not appear that any of these three men had any previous knowledge of our Saviour's power and character. The man born blind, he healed without any solicitation. The blind man at Bethsaida, and the deaf man, do not appear to have come of themselves, they were brought by their friends; more precaution was therefore necessary to call their attention to the person by whom the miracle was wrought, and give them full evidence that it was his sole work. When the two blind men at Capernaum, and two others near Jericho, applied to our Saviour to be healed, it was with a declared previous conviction of his divine power they followed him, crying, "Son of David, have mercy upon us." Here therefore a less remarkable external application was sufficient; as they professed their belief, Jesus only required that this profession should be sincere. "Believe ye, said he, that I have the power to do this? and they said, yea Lord: then he touched their eyes, saying, according to your faith be it unto you; and their eyes were opened."

If these remarks are just, they exhibit one of those numberless cases, where incidents apparently minute and objectionable, when well considered, display the miraculous nature of the facts, and the admirable propriety of our Lord's conduct in every circumstance; and every such instance confirms strongly the conclusion, that our Lord's miracles were not delusive visions, or the extravagances of a wild and senseless fanatic, but plain proofs of a divine power, exhibited with the sobriety and dignity becoming his divine character *."

* Dr. Graves's "Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, designed to prove that they were not enthusiasts," pp. 287, 288.

5. Further, *not only public monuments must be kept up, but some outward actions must also be constantly performed in memory of the facts thus publicly wrought.*

6. *Lastly, such monuments must be set up, and such actions and observances instituted, at the very time when those events took place, and be afterwards continued without interruption.*

These two rules render it impossible that the belief of any facts should be imposed upon the credulity of after ages, when the generation asserted to have witnessed them had expired: for, whenever such facts come to be recounted, if not only monuments are said to remain of them, but public actions and observances had further been constantly used to commemorate them by the nation appealed to, ever since they had taken place; the deceit must be immediately detected, by no such monuments appearing, and by the experience of every individual, who could not but know that no such actions or observances had been used by them, to commemorate such events.

Let us now apply the criteria thus stated and explained, to the illustration of a few of the miracles related in the sacred writings. And first, as to the Mosaic miracles recorded in the Pentateuch:—The plagues in Egypt were *witnessed* by the whole nation of the Israelites, and felt by all the Egyptians.—At the Red Sea the Israelites passed through, and beheld the whole host of Pharaoh perish.—During forty years were the children of Israel sustained with food from heaven; and for the same period of time “their raiment waxed not old, neither did their feet swell,” (Deut. viii. 4). Sometimes they were supplied with water from the flinty rock; and at the passage over the Jordan “the waters stood and rose up upon an heap; and all the Israelites passed over on dry ground in the midst of Jordan.” To each of the miracles here briefly enumerated, all the criteria above stated will be found to apply. The posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob being chosen by Jehovah to be his peculiar people, for the preservation of true religion, the miracles performed in their behalf were unquestionably worthy of their Almighty Author. Here we have the *first* mark. Further, the miracles in question, though some of them (as the plagues in Egypt) were announced before they were actually performed, did actually and really take place in Egypt, and were removed only at the command of Moses, while the land of Goshen (in which the Israelites dwelt) was exempted from their operation. Here we have our second, third, and fourth marks most fully established: for all the miracles above mentioned “were witnessed by upwards of two millions of persons, who remained collected in one camp for forty years; an assembly so great, probably, never before or

since, remained collected in one body for so long a period. If, then, this whole nation had not been entirely without eyes and ears, if they were not bereft of reason and sense, it was impossible, at the time these facts were said to have taken place, that they could have been persuaded of their existence, had they not been real *.” Once more, to commemorate the protection of the Israelites when all the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed, and their deliverance from bondage, which was its immediate consequence, Moses changed the beginning of their year to the month, when this event happened, and instituted the feast of the Passover. To this was added the solemn consecration of the first-born of man and beast to the Lord, with the following remarkable charge annexed:—“And it shall be when thy children ask thee in time to come, saying ‘What is this?’ thou shalt say to them, ‘By strength of hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt from the house of bondage: and it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both the first-born of man and the first-born of beast.—Therefore I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix,’ &c. (Exod. xiii. 11—16.) All these things have been observed ever since, and establish the truth of the narration in the Book of Exodus. In further commemoration of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, the tribe of Levi was set apart; and, besides the passover, the feast of tabernacles was instituted, to perpetuate the deliverance of the Israelites, and their journeying in the Desert, (Lev. xxiii. 40, *et seq.*); as the feast of Pentecost was appointed fifty days after the passover (Deut. xxvi. 5—10), in memory of the miraculous deliverance of the law from Mount Sinai, which took place fifty days after their departure from Egypt. In all these instances we have our fifth and sixth criteria most clearly and decisively established.

The same remark will hold with respect to the miraculous supply of the Israelites with food, the memory of which was perpetuated by the pot of manna; and to the twelve stones which were taken out of the midst of Jordan at the time of the miraculous passage of the Israelites over that river, and were set up by Joshua at Gilgal, as a memorial to them for ever. How irresistible is the reasoning of Mr. Leslie on this last monument! To form our argument, says he, let us suppose that there never was any such thing as that passage over Jordan; that these stones at Gilgal were set up, upon some other occa-

* Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 150.

sion; and that some designing man in an after age invented this book of Joshua, affirmed that it was written at the time of that imaginary event by Joshua himself, and adduced this pile of stones as a testimony of the truth of it; would not every body say to him, "We know this pile very well: but we never before heard of this reason for it, nor of this book of Joshua; where has it lain concealed all this while? and where and how came you, after so many ages, to find it? Besides, this book tells us, that this passage over Jordan was ordained to be taught our children from age to age, and therefore that they were always to be instructed in the meaning of this particular monument, as a memorial of it; but we were never taught it when we were children, nor did we ever teach our children any such thing; and it is in the highest degree improbable that such an emphatic ordinance should have been forgotten during the continuance of so remarkable a pile set up for the express purpose of perpetuating its remembrance." And if, where we know not the reason of a bare naked monument, a sham reason cannot be imposed; how much more is it impossible to impose upon us in actions and observances which we celebrate in memory of particular events! How impossible to make us forget those passages which we daily commemorate, and persuade us that we had always kept such institutions in memory of what we never heard of before; that is, that we knew it before we knew it! And if we find it thus impossible for an imposition to be put upon us, even in some things which have not all the marks before mentioned; how much more impossible is it that any deceit should be in that thing where all the marks do meet*!

Secondly, the observations contained in the preceding pages apply with similar weight and propriety to the miracles recorded in the New Testament; the number, design, and variety of which, as well as the manner in which they were performed, are all so many incontestable proofs of the truth of the Christian religion. If only one or two miracles had been wrought for

* Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, p. 22, 3d edit. The various miracles performed by Moses, which are concisely noticed above, are considered in detail, and excellently illustrated by Dr. Graves (vol. i. pp. 151—171). In his appendix to the same volume (pp. 373—410) he has refuted the sceptical remarks of the late Dr. Geddes, who chiefly borrowed them from continental critics. Dr. Collyer, in his *Lectures on Scripture Miracles* (p. 151 to the end) has also treated on the great miracles recorded in the Old and New Testaments, and the miracles of the New Testament are treated of by the late Dr. Dodd in the first and second volumes of his *Discourses on the Miracles and Parables*, (8vo. 4 vols.) London, 1809.

this purpose, it might have been considered as a fortunate chance, which occurred at a convenient season. But, 1. Their *number* was very great. Upwards of fifty instances are related in the Gospels, of Christ's miraculous exertions; and consequently the opportunities of examination were increased, and of deceit proportionably lessened. Besides, in one scene of miracles, hundreds were healed of different diseases, for the most part incurable*; and thousands were fed with a few loaves and fishes.—2. The *design* of our Saviour's miracles, which were foretold by the prophet Isaiah (xxxvi. 5, 6.) nearly seven centuries before, was truly important, and every way worthy of their Almighty Author. In subservience to their grand object, the confirming of his divine mission, they were wrought for the most benevolent purposes, the alleviation of human misery in all its forms†. Here is the first of our criteria. 3. There was further a considerable *variety* in the miracles of the New Testament. Had they been only of one or two kinds, it might have been said that the persons had some peculiar skill in performing these cures, or a peculiar art of imposing on men in respect to them. Not one disease only, but *all* are subject to the power of Christ and his apostles; not only diseases, but lameness, blindness, dumbness, deafness, and other evils incident to humanity, are banished by their word: not only every calamity which is the lot of the living, but also death itself, is obedient to them, and gives up his prey at their command. Not only man, but every other being, bows in ready

* Ader, a learned physician of Thoulouse, in the middle of the seventeenth century published *Enarrationes de Ægrotis et Morbis in Evangelio*, in 1620, and 1623, 4to. This piece is also to be found at the end of the sixth volume of the *Critici Sacri* (pp. 525—550): in it he examines, whether the maladies which Jesus Christ removed, could have been healed by medicine, and decides in the negative; maintaining (we think satisfactorily) that the diseases healed by our Saviour were *incurable* by the physician's art.

† Should the destruction of the herd of swine (Matt. viii. 28—34), and the blasting of the barren fig-tree (Mats. xxi. 19), be objected as contradictory to this remark, we reply in the language of a late eminent critic: "The destruction of the herd of swine may be justly regarded as a proper punishment of their owners for keeping such animals in direct violation of the Mosaic institutes; and as a suitable act in the anointed servant of the Jehovah of the Hebrews, who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil. — And even infidelity herself might blush at her noisy cavils upon the blasting of a barren fig-tree by the way-side; neither an invasion of private property, nor an injury to the community at large. But the lesson, which this action dictated to his disciples, and now dictates to us, is of the first importance to every man alive;—to the Deist as well as the believer. If the opportunities, which God has given us for the purification of our affections and the improvement of our virtue, be neglected or misemployed;—if we be found unfruitful in good works, we must expect to be withered, like the barren fig-tree, before the fiery blast of his displeasure, when he cometh to judge the earth."—Mr. Wakefield's *Remarks on the Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion*, p. 56. (8vo, Warrington, 1789).

subjection to their voice. Not only living but inanimate creatures feel the power of God, and act contrary to their natures at his will:—The winds, the waves, the rocks, the earth, the sun, the heavens—all are the subjects of those who first introduced the Christian dispensation. But, 4. The *manner*, in which these miracles were wrought, also merits notice. The operations of nature are in general slow, almost always gradual; the miracles of the Gospel were, generally, instantaneous, but the effects were lasting; and men might for years afterwards see them, and receive the report of those who had been fed or healed, or raised from the dead—all were welcome to partake of the benefit of them; and no distinction was made between the rich and the poor. The only exception was, Christ and his apostles would not work miracles to gratify curiosity, or sanction unbelief. They were performed in the most public manner: multitudes were present. If on some occasions most of the persons were attached to Christ, others were done before the most inveterate enemies of the Gospel, and *extorted* their belief and attestation. There was a peculiar authority in Christ's manner, but it was entirely free from ostentation. There was a remarkable sobriety, decorum, and dignity in his miracles, and in the attending circumstances *. They display something above the ordinary character of man, but they are *facts*, in which the spectators could not be mistaken.

A brief examination of two or three of our Lord's miracles will confirm the preceding observations, and convince every candid inquirer that they were wrought by the power of God.

In the ninth chapter of Saint John's Gospel is related the history of a person who had been born blind, and had become very generally known by sitting and begging on the public road. Our Saviour opened his eyes. The man was conducted before the Pharisees, the inveterate enemies of Christ and his cause. They sent for his parents, who declared that their son was born blind. He was himself interrogated, threatened with excommunication, and ultimately cast out of the synagogue: and, after examining the affair to the bottom, the truth of the miracle was established beyond the possibility of contradiction. The reasoning of the man who was cured, is unanswerable—"We know that God heareth not sinners—since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing, (John ix. 31—33).

* Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, pp. 146, 147.

The death and burial of Lazarus, the time he lay in the grave, and the condition of his body, were known to many people both of ability and credit. These witnesses beheld his grave opened, his body raised to life, and his return in health to his astonished friends, (John xi). The account of his resurrection was published by one who was present, while other witnesses were alive to attest the fact. This remark is equally applicable to the narrative of the man born blind, and to the other miraculous operations recorded in the Gospels.

Once more, in Acts iii. is related an account of a man who had been lame from his birth, and whom the apostles healed. They are dragged before the tribunal of the ecclesiastical rulers. They are most closely interrogated respecting the fact. They assert the reality of the miracle; they declare that it was in the name of Jesus of Nazareth that the man was made whole—of that Jesus whom those rulers had crucified. What discoveries do the chief priests make? The apostles are in their hands. The man who had been lame, is himself standing by. They are vested with full power, as magistrates, to take cognizance of the matter. If there be deceit, it must be detected. But no discovery is made; and immediately afterwards five thousand Jews are converted, and embrace the Gospel in consequence of what they had seen performed, and in a case where it was morally impossible that they should have been deceived.

But the most remarkable miracle of all is the *resurrection* of Jesus Christ from the dead. If we peruse the history of that event with care, we must conclude either that he arose, or that his disciples stole his body away. The more we consider the latter alternative, the more impossible it appears. Every time, indeed, that our Saviour attempted to perform a miracle, he risked his credit on its accomplishment: had he failed in *one* instance, that would have blasted his reputation for ever. The same remark is applicable to his predictions: had any one of them failed, that great character which he had to support, would have received an indelible stain. Of all his predictions, there is none on which he and his disciples laid greater stress, than that of his resurrection. So frequently, indeed, had Jesus Christ publicly foretold that he would rise again on the third day, that those persons who caused him to be put to death were acquainted with this prediction; and, being in power, used every possible means to prevent its accomplishment, or any imposition on the public in that affair.

After the crucifixion and death of Christ, the chief priests applied to Pilate, the Roman governor, for a watch, and sealed

the sepulchre in which the body was deposited. By this guard of Roman soldiers was the tomb watched; and on the resurrection of Christ, they went and related it to the chief priests, who bribed them with money, promising to secure their persons from danger, and charged them to affirm that Christ's disciples stole his body away while they were sleeping, (Matt. xxviii. 4. 11—15). This flight of the soldiers, their declaration to the high priests and elders, the subsequent conduct of the latter, the detection and publication of their collusion with the soldiers by the apostles, and the silence of the Jews on that subject, who never attempted to refute or to contradict the declarations of Christ's disciples—are all strong evidences of the reality and truth of his resurrection. A few additional considerations will suffice to show the falsehood of the assertion made by the chief priests.

On the one hand, the terror of the timid disciples, who were afraid to be seen, and the paucity of their number;—on the other hand, the authority of Pilate and of the sanhedrim—the great danger attending such an enterprise as the stealing of Christ's body—the impossibility of succeeding in such an attempt, both from the number of armed men who guarded the tomb, and also from the lightness of the night, it being the time of full moon, at the great annual festival when the city was full of people, and many probably passed the whole night (as Jesus and his disciples had done) in the open air—the sepulchre also being so near the city as to be inclosed within the walls—all these circumstances combine to render such an imposture as that, which was palmed upon the Jews, utterly unworthy of credit. For, in the first place, is it probable that so many men as composed the guard would *all* fall asleep in the open air at *once*?—2. Is it at all probable that a Roman guard should be found off their watch, much less asleep, when, according to the Roman military laws, it was instant death to be found in such a state?—3. Could they be so soundly asleep as not to awake with all the noise which must necessarily be made by removing the great stone from the mouth of the sepulchre, and taking away the body?—4. Is it at all likely that these timid disciples could have had sufficient time to do all this, without being perceived by any person? How could soldiers, armed and on guard, suffer themselves to be overreached by a few timorous people? 5. “*Either,*” says Augustine, “*they were asleep or awake: if they were awake, why should they suffer the body to be taken away? If asleep, how could they know that the disciples took it away? How dare they then depose that it WAS STOLEN?*”—From the testimony of the ene-

mies of Christianity, therefore, the resurrection of Christ may be as fully proved as the theft.

Further, the conduct of the priests and elders towards the soldiers evidently implies a conviction that our Saviour was actually risen. They were now certain that he was not in the grave. If there had been any suspicion that his disciples were in possession of the dead body, these rulers, for their own credit, would instantly have imprisoned them, and used means to recover it, *which would have quashed the report of his resurrection for ever.* There can be no doubt, therefore, of their conviction that he was actually risen from the dead. If Jesus had appeared to the priests and rulers, it could have served no good purpose, as they were already convinced of the fact, but would not acknowledge it to the people. Supposing that his appearance to them, after his resurrection, would have changed their minds, and induced them publicly to confess the truth, the testimony of the priests and rulers would have been very suspicious to posterity; it would have been said that they were influenced by some political motive. Besides, this would have weakened the testimony of the disciples; for the men who bribed the soldiers could secretly have bribed them; therefore the support of the priests and rulers would have rendered the declaration of the chosen witnesses suspicious. Their inveterate opposition to the cause, and violent persecution of the Christians, remove all suspicion of priestcraft and political design. If the disciples had agreed to impose upon the world in this affair, common sense would have directed them, first to spread the report that our Lord was risen from the grave, and then to employ an individual, whom they could trust, to personate him, and to appear before the multitude in such a manner and at such times as would not endanger a discovery: as our Lord never appeared to the multitude after his resurrection, this removed all suspicion that the disciples had contrived a scheme for deceiving the people.

These considerations show that our Saviour's appearance, after he rose from the dead, *only to a competent number of witnesses*, who were intimately acquainted with him before his decease, is a circumstance highly calculated to establish the truth of his resurrection to posterity.

The character of the apostles also proves the truth of the resurrection of Jesus Christ; and there are *nine* considerations which give their evidence sufficient weight, viz.

1. *The condition of these witnesses.*—They were not men of power, riches, eloquence, or credit, to impose upon the world. They were poor, and mean, and despised: they were also in-

credulous of the fact itself. It is evident, that though our Saviour foretold his resurrection, yet after his death the disciples did not expect it, and therefore were with difficulty convinced of its reality. But as it was a subject of the highest importance to them and to the world, they obtained the fullest satisfaction of its truth. Intimately acquainted with his person after his resurrection, they felt his body, frequently examined his person, renewed the private conversations which he had with them before his decease, and enjoyed an intimacy with him, that removed the possibility of their being deceived. *

2. *The number of these witnesses.*—This was more than sufficient to establish any fact.† When Saint Paul published a defence of our Lord's resurrection, he declared to the world that Jesus appeared to five hundred witnesses at one time, and he appealed to a number of them, who were then alive, for the truth of his assertion. Could all those men agree voluntarily to maintain a vile falsehood, not only altogether unprofitable, but also such as involved them in certain dishonour, poverty, persecution, and death? According to their own principles, either as Jews or Christians, if this testimony, to which they adhered to the last moment of their lives, had been false, they exposed themselves to eternal misery. Under such circumstances, these men could not have persevered in maintaining a false testimony, unless God had wrought a miracle in human nature to enable impostors to deceive the world.

* Dr. Graves, in his *Essay on the Character of the Apostles* (pp. 32—39), has shown, with much force of argument, that their belief in their Lord's resurrection, and in the subsequent manifestations of his divine power, was not imputable to enthusiasm.

† Not fewer than *eleven* distinct appearances of Christ, after his resurrection, and previously to his ascension, are enumerated by the sacred writers of the New Testament, viz.

1. To Mary Magdalen alone (Mark xvi. 9.), who saw Jesus standing, (John xx. 14).
2. To the women who were returning from the sepulchre to announce his resurrection to the disciples. "Behold, Jesus met them, saying, all hail! and they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him, (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10).
3. To the two disciples who were going to Emmaus, with whom he conversed and brake bread, and then made himself known to them, (Luke xxiv. 13—31).
4. To Simon Peter alone, (Luke xxiv. 34).
5. To the Apostles at Jerusalem, excepting Thomas, who was absent, (John xx. 19, 20).
6. Eight days afterwards to the disciples, Thomas being present, (John xx. 26—29).
7. At the sea of Tiberias, when seven of his disciples were fishing, with whom he ate food, (John xxi. 1—15).
8. To the eleven Apostles, on a mountain in Galilee, where Jesus had appointed to meet them, (Matt. xxviii. 16, 17).
9. "After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once," (1 Cor. xv. 6).
10. "After that he was seen of James," (1 Cor. xv. 7).
11. And lastly, by all the Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 7), on Mount Olivet, on the day of his ascension into heaven, (Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 9).

3. *The facts, which they themselves avow ; . . . not suppositions, distant events, or events related by others, but real facts which they have beheld with their own eyes.* “That . . . which we have seen with our eyes, which we have LOOKED UPON, and our HANDS HAVE HANDLED of the Word of Life . . . declare we unto you,” (1 John i. 1. 3).

4. *Observe the tribunals* before which they gave evidence. The members of these tribunals were Jews and heathens, philosophers and rabbis, courtiers and lawyers. If they had been impostors, the fraud would certainly have been discovered.

5. *The place in which they bore testimony.* It was not at a distance where it would have been difficult to detect them if they asserted a falsehood; but at Jerusalem, in the synagogue, in the prætorium.

6. *The agreement of their evidence.*—These witnesses were separated from one another: many of them were imprisoned, separately examined, severely tried, and cruelly tortured, yet they all agreed in every part of their testimony. In no instance whatever did they contradict either themselves or one another; but cheerfully sealed with their blood this truth, that they saw and conversed with Jesus after he was risen from the dead. Every person, possessed of common sense, must see the absolute impossibility of this agreement among the witnesses, if the subject of their testimony had been a falsehood.

7. *The time when this evidence was given.*—It was not after the lapse of several years, but only three days after our Saviour's crucifixion that they declared he was risen—yea, even before the rage of his enemies was quelled, and while Calvary was yet dyed with the blood they had shed. If the resurrection of Christ had been a fraud, it is not likely that the apostles would have come forward in open day, and thus publicly have affirmed it.

8. *Consider the motives,* which induced them to publish the fact of Christ's resurrection:—It was not to acquire fame, riches, glory, or profit.—By no means. On the contrary, they exposed themselves to sufferings and death, and proclaimed the truth from a conviction of its importance and certainty.

9. Lastly, the *miracles* performed by these witnesses in the name of Jesus (which have already been briefly noticed), and in confirmation of their declaration concerning the resurrection of Jesus, are God's testimony to their veracity. No subject was ever more public, more investigated, or better known, than the transactions of the apostles. Saint Luke, an historian of great character, who witnessed many of the things which he relates, published the Acts of the Apostles among

the people who saw the transactions. It would have blasted his character to have published falsehoods which must instantly be detected; it would have ruined the credit of the church to have received as facts, notorious falsehoods. Now the Acts of the Apostles were written by Saint Luke, received by the church, and no falsehood was ever detected in that book by Jew or Gentile. The primitive fathers attest its truth and authenticity, and heathen authors record some of the important facts which are related by the sacred historian. In the second chapter, we are informed that the apostles, who were known to be unlearned fishermen, began to speak the several languages of those people, who at that time were assembled at Jerusalem from different countries. When the people were astonished at this undoubted proof of inspiration, the apostles thus addressed the multitude: *Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles and signs which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know — this Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we are all witnesses.* To the gift of tongues, as a proof of inspiration, was added a number of undoubted miracles, in confirmation of this testimony concerning Jesus Christ, which are related in the Acts of the Apostles, and were published among the people who witnessed them.

“Collect,” says the eloquent Saurin, “all these proofs together: consider them in one point of view, and see how many extravagant suppositions must be advanced, if the resurrection of our Saviour be denied. It must be supposed that guards, who had been particularly cautioned by their officers, sat down to sleep; and that, nevertheless, they deserved credit when they said the body of Jesus Christ was stolen. It must be supposed that men who have been imposed on in the most odious and cruel manner in the world, hazarded their dearest enjoyments for the glory of an impostor. It must be supposed that ignorant and illiterate men, who had neither reputation, fortune, nor eloquence, possessed the art of fascinating the eyes of all the church. It must be supposed, either that five hundred persons were all deprived of their senses at a time, or that they were all deceived in the plainest matters of fact; or that this multitude of false witnesses had found out the secret of never contradicting themselves or one another, and of being always uniform in their testimony. It must be supposed that the most expert courts of judicature could not find out a shadow of contradiction in a palpable manner. It must be supposed that the apostles, sensible men in other cases, chose precisely those places and those times, which were most unfavourable to their

views. It must be supposed that millions madly suffered imprisonments, tortures, and crucifixion, to spread an illusion. It must be supposed that ten thousand miracles were wrought in favour of falsehood, or all these facts must be denied. And then it must be supposed that the apostles were idiots; that the enemies of Christianity were idiots, and that all the primitive Christians were idiots. *

When all the preceding considerations are duly weighed, it is impossible not to admit the truth of Christ's resurrection, and that in this miracle are most clearly to be discerned the four first of the criteria already illustrated. And with regard to the two last criteria, we may observe, that baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with the observance of the Lord's Day, were instituted as perpetual memorials of the death of Jesus Christ. They were not instituted in after ages, but *at the very time* when the circumstances to which they relate took place; and they have been observed without interruption through the whole Christian world, in all ages, from that time down to the present. Besides, Christ himself ordained apostles, and other ministers of his Gospel, to preach and administer the sacraments, and that *always*, "even unto the end of the world," (Matt. xxviii. 20). Accordingly, they have continued to this day; so that the Christian ministry is, and always has been, as notorious in point of fact, as the tribe of Levi among the Jews. And as the æra and object of their appointment are part of the Gospel narrative, if that narrative had been a fiction of some subsequent age, at the time of its fabrication no such order of men could have been found, which would have effectually given the lie to the whole story. The miraculous actions of Christ and his apostles being affirmed to be true no otherwise than as there were at that identical time (whenever the Deist will suppose the Gospel history to be forged), not only sacraments or ordinances of Christ's institution, but likewise a public ministry of his institution to dispense them; and it being impossible upon this hypothesis that there could be any such things before they were invented, it is as impossible they should be received and accredited when invented. Hence it follows, that it was as impossible to have imposed these miraculous re-

* Saurin's Sermons, translated by Mr. Robinson, vol. ii. serm. viii. The reader who is desirous of investigating all the circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection, will find them considered and illustrated in Mr. West's well-known Treatise on the Resurrection, in the late Dr. Townson's Discourses, originally published in 1792, 8vo. and reprinted in the second volume of his works, and most recently and elaborately in Dr. Cook's "Illustration of the General Evidence of Christ's Resurrection." 8vo. 1808.

lations upon mankind in after ages, as it would have been to make persons believe they saw the miracles, or were parties concerned in the beneficial effects resulting from them, if they were not. *

IV. To conclude: Although the design of miracles is to mark the divine interposition, yet, when interpreting the miracles recorded in the sacred writings, we are not to lose sight of the moral and religious instruction concealed under them, and especially under the miracles performed by our Saviour. "All his miracles," indeed, "were undoubtedly so many testimonies that he was sent from God: but they were much more than this, for they were all of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, as give us an insight into the spiritual state of man, and the great work of his salvation." †

In illustration of this remark, we may cite the miracle performed on the Gadarene demoniac, whom Jesus Christ delivered. His two states, while under the influence of satanic possession, and when restored to his right mind, respectively represent the two states of man, first, while living in a course of sinful practice, and, secondly, when "renewed in the spirit of his mind," listening to the precepts of the Gospel, and walking in holiness and righteousness. It were easy to adduce other instances, but the preceding will suffice to establish the rule, especially as the spiritual import of the Christian miracles is particularly considered by every writer that has expressly illustrated them. ‡

* Leslie's Short and Easy Method, pp. 23, 24.

† Rev. W. Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 326.

‡ See particularly Dr. Dodd's Discourses on the Miracles of the New Testament, and Dr. Collyer's Lectures on Scripture Miracles. The miracle of the Gadarene delivered, above cited, is explained in a very pleasing discourse by Mr. Jones, Works, vol. iii. p. 327—338.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

IT has been a favourite notion with some divines, that the mystical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures had its first origin in the synagogue, and was thence adopted by our Lord and his apostles when arguing with the Jews; and that from them it was received by the fathers of the Christian church, from whom it has been transmitted to us. The inference deduced by many of these eminently learned men is, that no such interpretation is admissible: but, that there is a mystical or spiritual sense in the sacred writings, we have already had occasion to remark, and to vindicate its propriety.* This method of interpreting the Bible, indeed, “like all other good things, is liable to abuse; and that it hath been actually abused, both in antient and modern days, cannot be denied. He, who shall go about to apply, in this way, any passage, *before* he hath attained its literal meaning, may say in itself what is pious and true, but foreign to the text from which he endeavoureth to deduce it. St. Jerome, it is well known, when grown older and wiser, lamented that, in the fervours of a youthful fancy, he had spiritualized the prophecy of Obadiah before he understood it. And it must be allowed that a due attention to the occasion and scope of the Psalms would have pared off many unseemly excrescences, which now deform the commentaries of St. Augustin and other fathers, upon them. But these and other concessions of the same kind being made, as they are made very freely, men of sense will consider, that a principle is not therefore to be rejected, because it has been abused; *since human errors can never invalidate the truths of God.*” †

* See pp. 203—211, *supra*. The following chapter is abridged from Rambach's *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, pp. 67—82. compared with his “*Commentatio Hermeneutica de Sensûs Mystici Criteriis ex genuinis principiis deducta, necessariisque cautelis circumscripta.*” 8vo. Jenæ, 1728.

† Bishop Horne's *Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. i. Preface (Works, ii. p. x.). “The importance, then, of figurative and mystical interpretation can hardly be called in question. The entire neglect of it must, in many cases, greatly viciate expositions, however otherwise valuable for their erudition and judgment. In explaining the prophetic writings and the Mosaic ordinances, this defect will be most striking; since, in consequence of it, not only the spirit and force of many passages will almost wholly evaporate, but erroneous conceptions may be formed of their real purport and intention.” Van Mildert's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 240. Rambach has adduced several instances, which strongly confirm these solid observations, *Institut. Herm. Sacr.* p. 81.

The literal sense, it has been well observed, is undoubtedly first in point of *nature*, as well as in order of signification; and consequently, when investigating the meaning of any passage, this must be ascertained before we proceed to search out its mystical import: but the true and genuine mystical or spiritual sense excels the literal *in dignity*, the latter being only the medium of conveying the former, which is more evidently designed by the Holy Spirit. For instance, in Numb. xxi. 8, 9. compared with John iii. 14. the brazen serpent is said to have been lifted up, in order to signify the lifting up of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world; and consequently that the type might serve to designate the antitype.*

Though the true spiritual sense of a text is undoubtedly to be most highly esteemed, it by no means follows that we are to look for it in every passage of Scripture; it is not, however, to be inferred that spiritual interpretations are to be rejected, although they should not be clearly expressed. The spiritual meaning of a passage is *there only* to be sought, where it is evident, from *certain* criteria, that such meaning was designed by the Holy Spirit. The criteria, by which to ascertain whether there is a latent spiritual meaning in any passage of Scripture, are two-fold: either they are *seated in the text itself*, or they are to be *found in some other passages*.

In the former case, *vestiges of a spiritual meaning are discernible, when the things, which are affirmed concerning the person or thing immediately treated of, are so august and illustrious that they cannot in any way be applied to it, in the fullest sense of the words*. For the word of God is the word of truth: there is nothing superfluous, nothing deficient in it. The writings of the prophets, especially those of Isaiah, abound with instances of this kind. Thus, in the 14th, 40th, 41st, and 49th chapters of that evangelical prophet, the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity is announced in the most lofty and magnificent terms. He describes their way as levelled before them, valleys filled up, mountains reduced to plains, cedars and other shady trees, and fragrant herbs, as springing up to refresh them on their journey, and declares that they shall suffer neither hunger nor thirst during their return. The Jews, thus restored to their native land, he represents as a holy people, chosen by Jehovah, cleansed from all iniquity, and taught by God himself, &c. &c. Now, when we compare this description with the accounts actually given of their return to

* Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, p. 72.

Palestine by Ezra and Nehemiah, we do not find any thing corresponding with the events so long and so beautifully predicted by Isaiah: neither do they represent the manners of the people as reformed agreeably to the prophet's statement. On the contrary, their profligacy is frequently reproved by Ezra and Nehemiah in the most pointed terms, as well as by the prophet Haggai. In this description, therefore, of their deliverance from captivity, we must look beyond it to that infinitely higher deliverance, which in the fulness of time was accomplished by Jesus Christ; "who, by himself once offered, hath thereby made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and atonement for the sins of the whole world," and thus "hath opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers." Similar additional instances might easily be adduced: but, as they are connected with the question relative to the *double sense of prophecy* which is more properly discussed in a subsequent page *, we proceed to shew in what cases it will be proper to have recourse to other passages of Scripture, in order to find out the latent spiritual meaning of a text.

I. Sometimes the Holy Spirit clearly and expressly asserts that one thing or person was divinely constituted or appointed to be a figure or symbol of another thing or person: in which case the indisputable testimony of eternal truth removes and cuts off every ground of doubt and uncertainty.

For instance, if we compare Psalm cx. 4. with Heb. vii. 1. we shall find that *Melchisedec* was a type of Messiah, the great high priest and king. So *Hagar* and *Sarah* were types of the Jewish and Christian churches, (Gal. iv. 22—24). *Jonah* was a type of Christ's resurrection, (Matt. xii. 40); the *manna*, of Christ himself, and of his heavenly doctrine, (John vi. 32). The rock in the wilderness, whence water issued on being struck by Moses, represented Christ to the Israelites, (1 Cor. x. 4); and the entrance of the high priest into the Holy of Holies, on the day of expiation, with the blood of the victim, is expressly stated by Saint Paul to have prefigured the entrance of Jesus Christ into the presence of God, with his own blood. (Heb. ix. 7—20.)

II. Sometimes, however, the mystical sense is intimated by the Holy Spirit in a more *obscure* manner; and, without excluding the practice of sober and pious meditation, we are led by various intimations (which require very diligent observation

* See Vol. II. Book I. Chap. VI. Section III. *infra*.

and study) to the knowledge of the spiritual or mystical meaning. This chiefly occurs in the following cases :

1. *When the antitype is proposed under figurative names taken from the Old Testament.*

Thus, in 1 Cor. v. 7. Christ is called the paschal lamb :— in 1 Cor. xv. 45. he is called the *last* Adam ; the first Adam, therefore, was in some respect a type or figure of Christ, who in Ezekiel xxxiv. 23. is further called David. In like manner, the kingdom of Antichrist is mentioned under the appellations of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon, in Rev. xi. 8. and xvi. 19.

2. *When, by a manifest allusion of words and phrases, the Scripture refers one thing to another.*

Thus, from Isa. ix. 4. which alludes to the victory obtained by Gideon (Judges vii. 22), we learn that this represents the victory which Christ should obtain by the preaching of the Gospel, as Vitranga has largely shown on this passage. Compare also Matt. xxi. 38. with Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20.

3. *When the Scriptures affirm that any kind of things has a spiritual meaning.*

What is said of the *genus* is equally applicable to the *species* ; and all the species comprised in a genus are, in a similar manner, to be spiritually expounded, but with great caution. Thus we learn from Heb. x. 1. that the Mosaic rites, *generally*, were shadows of good things to come ; and consequently we are warranted in referring to Jesus Christ the different *species* of sacrifices, purifications, &c. which they contained.

4. *When it is certain that the whole of a thing has a typical meaning, the parts of which that whole consists are likewise to be typically or spiritually understood.*

Thus, it is evident, from Zech. vi. 15. and Heb. ix. 2—7. that the tabernacle and temple were emblems of the church in which God dwells by his gracious presence : the various parts of which they consist are therefore to be understood in the same manner. The *outer court* represented the church before the law, which was not subject to the yoke of legal ceremonies, that were performed in the *inner court*, in which the victims were prepared for the altar, and which portrayed the church under the law. The *holy part* represented the church under the covenant of grace, which by St. Paul is termed a habitation of God, through the Spirit, (Eph. ii. 22). The *Holy of Holies* (into which no light was admitted) was an image of the church triumphant in glory, which is concealed from us while we continue in this life. Compare Heb. ix. 24.

5. *A passage is to be spiritually interpreted, when the arguments of the inspired writers either plainly intimate it to have a spiritual meaning, or such meaning is tacitly implied.*

For instance, when St. Paul is arguing against the Jews from the types of Sarah, Hagar, Melchizedec, &c. he supposes that in these memorable Old Testament personages there were some things in which Christ and his mystical body the church were delineated, and that these things were admitted by his opponents: otherwise his argument would be inconclusive. Hence it follows, that Isaac, Joseph, and other persons mentioned in the Old Testament, of whom there is no typical or spiritual signification given in the Scriptures, *in express terms*, were types of Christ in many things that happened to them, or were performed by them. In like manner, St. Paul shows (1 Cor. ix. 9, 10.) that the precept in Deut. xxv. 4. relative to the muzzling of oxen, has a higher spiritual meaning than is suggested by the mere letter of the command.

Such are the most important criteria, by which to ascertain whether a passage may require a spiritual interpretation, or not. But although these rules will afford essential assistance in enabling us to determine this point, it is another and equally important question, in what manner that interpretation is to be regulated.

In the consideration of this topic, it will be sufficient to remark, that the general principles already laid down*, with respect to the figurative and allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, are applicable in their fuller extent to the spiritual exposition of the sacred writings. It only remains to add, that all mystical or spiritual interpretations must be such as really illustrate, not obscure or perplex the subject. Agreeably to the sound maxim adopted by divines, they must not be made the foundation of articles of faith, but must be offered only to explain or confirm what is elsewhere more clearly revealed †; and, above all, they must on no account or pretext whatever be sought after in matters of little moment.

In the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, there are two extremes to be avoided, viz. on the one hand, that we do not restrict such interpretation within too narrow limits; and, on the other hand, that we do not seek for mystical meanings in

* See Chapter IV. Sections I. III. and IV. pp. 365—375, and 388—408, *supra*.

† “Est regula theologorum, *sensum mysticum non esse argumentativum*; hoc est, non suppeditare firma ac solida argumenta, quibus dogmata fidei inædificantur.” Rambach, *Inst. Herm. Sacr.* pp. 72, 73.

every passage, to the exclusion of its literal and common sense, when that sense is sufficiently clear and intelligible. The latter of these two extremes is that to which men have in every age been most liable. Hence it is, that we find instances of it in the more antient Jewish doctors, especially in Philo, and among many of the fathers, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and others, and particularly in Origen, who appears to have derived his system of allegorizing the sacred writings from the school of Plato. Nor are modern expositors altogether free from these extravagances. Some of these mistaken interpretations we have already noticed*; and, if our limits permitted, other instances might easily be adduced, in which a similar excess of spiritualizing is to be found.

In these strictures, the author trusts he shall not be charged with improperly censuring “that fair and sober accommodation of the historical and parabolical parts to present times and circumstances, or to the elucidation of either the doctrines or precepts of Christianity, which is sanctioned by the word of God;” and which he has attempted to illustrate in the preceding criteria for ascertaining the mystical or spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. Such an accommodation, it is justly remarked, is perfectly allowable, and may be highly useful; and in some cases it is absolutely necessary. “Let every truly pious man, however, be aware of the danger of extending this principle beyond its natural and obvious application; lest he should wander himself, and lead others also astray from that clearly traced and well-beaten path in which we are assured that even “a wayfaring man though a fool, shall not err.” Let no temptations, which vanity, a desire of popularity, or the more specious, but equally fallacious, plea of usefulness may present, seduce him from his tried way. *On the contrary, let him adhere with jealous care to the plain and unforced dictates of the word of God;* lest, by departing from the simplicity of the Gospel, he should inadvertently contribute to the adulteration of Christianity, and to the consequent injury which must thence arise to the spiritual interests of his fellow-creatures.” †

* See pp. 210, 211, *supra*.

† Christian Observer for 1805, vol. iv. p. 133. The two preceding pages of this journal contain some admirable remarks on the evils of spiritualizing the sacred writings too much. The same topic is also further noticed in volume xvi. for 1817, pp. 319, *et seq.* The whole of Bishop Horne's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms is equally worthy of perusal for its excellent observations on the same question. The misapplication and abuse of spiritual interpretation are also pointed out by Professor Van Mildert, Bampton Lectures, pp. 241, *et seq.*

CHAPTER X.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TYPES.

*Nature of a Type — Different species of Types — Legal Types —
Prophetical Types — Historical Types — Rule for the Inter-
pretation of Types.*

A TYPE, in its primary and literal meaning, simply denotes a rough draught, or less accurate model, from which a more perfect image is made: but, in the sacred or theological sense of the term, a type may be defined to be a symbol of some thing future and distant, or an example prepared and evidently designed by God to prefigure that future thing. What is thus prefigured is called the *antitype*. *

The first characteristic of a type is its *adumbration of the thing typified*. One thing may adumbrate another,—either in something which it has in common with the other; as the Jewish victims by their death represented Christ, who in the fullness of time was to die for mankind:—or in a symbol of some property possessed by the other; as the images of the cherubim, placed in the inner sanctuary of the temple, beautifully represented the celerity of the angels of heaven, not indeed by any celerity of their own, but by wings of curious contrivance, which exhibited an appropriate symbol of swiftness:—or in any other way, in which the thing representing can be compared with the thing represented; as Melchizedek the priest of the Most High God represented Jesus Christ our priest. For though Melchizedek was not an eternal priest, yet the sacred writers have attributed to him a slender and shadowy appearance of eternity, by not mentioning the genealogy or the parents, the birth or death of so illustrious a man, as they commonly do in the case of other eminent persons, but, under the divine direction, concealing all these particulars.

The next requisite to constitute a type, is, *that it be prepared and designed by God to represent its antitype*. This forms the distinction between a type and a simile: for many things are compared to others, which they were not made to

* *Outram de Sacrificiis*, lib. i. c. 18. or p. 215, of Mr. Allen's accurate translation. This work is of singular value to the divinity student; as affording, in a comparatively small compass, one of the most masterly vindications of the vicarious atonement of Christ that ever was published.

resemble for the purpose of representing them. For, though it is said that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass" (1 Pet. i. 24), no one can consider the tenderness of grass as a type of human weakness, or the flower of grass as a type of human glory. The same remark must be applied also to a metaphor, or that species of simile, in which one thing is called by the name of another: for, though Herod from his cunning is called a *fox* (Luke xiii. 32), and Judah for his courage a *lion's whelp* (Gen. xlix. 9.), yet no one supposes foxes to be types of Herod, or young lions types of Judah.

Our definition of a type includes also, that the object represented by it is something future. Those institutions of Moses, which partook of the nature of types, are called "a shadow of things to come," (Col. ii. 17); and those things, which happened unto the fathers for types, are said to have been written for our admonition, "upon whom the ends of the world are come," (1 Cor. x. 1. 11). In the same sense the Mosaic law, which abounded with numerous types, is declared to have had "a shadow of good things to come," (Heb. x. 1). And those things, which by the command of God were formerly transacted in the tabernacle, are described as prefiguring what was afterwards to be done in the heavenly sanctuary, (Heb. ix. 11, 12. 23, 24). Hence it appears, that a type and a symbol differ from each other as a *genus* and *species*. The term *symbol* is equally applicable to that which represents a thing, past, present, or future; whereas the object represented by a *type* is invariably future. So that all the rites, which signified to the Jews any virtue that they were to practise, ought to be called symbols rather than types; and those rites, if there were any, which were divinely appointed to represent things both present and future, may be regarded as both symbols and types;—symbols, as denoting things present; and types, as indicating things future. *

We may further remark, that a type differs from a parable, in being grounded on a matter of fact, not on a fictitious narrative, but is much of the same nature in actions, or things and persons, as an allegory is in words; though allegories are frequently so plain, that it is scarcely possible for any man to mistake them: and thus it is, in many cases, with respect to types. Where, indeed, there is only one type or resemblance, it is in some instances not so easily discernible: but where

* Outram de Sacrificiis, pp. 216, 217.

several circumstances concur, it is scarcely possible not to perceive the agreement subsisting between the type and the antitype. Thus, the ark was a type of baptism; the land of Canaan, of heaven; the brazen serpent, and the prophet Jonah, of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection.

In the examination of the sacred writings, three species of types present themselves to our consideration; viz. *legal types*, or those contained in the Mosaic law; *prophetical types*, and *historical types*.

1. *Legal types*.—It evidently appears, from comparing the history and economy of Moses with the whole of the New Testament, that the ritual law was typical of the Messiah and of Gospel blessings: and this point has been so clearly established by the great apostle of the Gentiles in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that it will suffice to adduce a very few examples, to show the nature of legal types. Thus, the entire constitution, and offerings of the Levitical priesthood, typically prefigured Christ the great high priest (Heb. v—viii.): and especially the ceremonies observed on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. with Heb. ix. throughout, and x. 1—22.) So the passover and the paschal lamb typified the sacrifice of Jesus Christ (Exod. xii. 3. *et seq.* with John xix. 36. and 1 Cor. v. 7.) *: so the feast of Pentecost, which commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, (Exod. xix. xx.) prefigured the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, who were thus enabled to promulgate the Gospel throughout the then known world (Acts ii. 1—11). And it has been conjectured † that the feast of tabernacles typifies the final restoration of the Jews. In like manner, the privileges of the Jews were types of those enjoyed by all true Christians: “for their relation to God as his people, signified by the name *Israelite* (Rom. ix. 4), prefigured the more honourable relation, in which believers, the *true Israel*, stand to God.—Their *adoption* as the sons of God, and the privileges they were entitled to by that adoption, were types of believers being made partakers of the *divine nature* by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and of their title to the inheritance of heaven.—The residence of the *glory*, first in the tabernacle and then in the temple, was a figure of the residence of God by His spirit in the Christian church, His temple on earth, and of His eternal residence in that church, brought to perfection in heaven.—The *cove-*

* See part i. pp. 144—154; *supra*.

† By the Rev. Dr. Elrington, Provost of Trinity College Dublin. See the grounds of this conjecture ably supported in Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol ii. pp. 393—395, notes.

nant with Abraham was the new or Gospel covenant, the blessings of which were typified by the temporal blessings promised to him and to his *natural seed*: and the *covenant at Sinai*, whereby the Israelites, as the worshippers of the true God, were separated from the idolatrous nations, was an emblem of the final separation of the righteous from the wicked.—In the *giving of the law*, and the formation of the Israelites into a nation or community, was represented the formation of the city of the living God, and of the general assembly of the church of the first-born.—Lastly, the heavenly country, the habitation of the righteous, was typified by *Canaan*, a country given to the Israelites by God's promise." *

2. *Prophetical types* are those, by which the divinely inspired prophets prefigured or signified things either present or future, by means of external symbols. Of this description is the prophet Isaiah's going naked (that is, without his prophetic garment) and barefoot (Isa. xx. 2.) to prefigure the fatal destruction of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.—The hiding of a girdle in a rock on the banks of the Euphrates, which, on being subsequently taken thence, proved to be rotten, to denote the destruction which would speedily befall the abandoned and ungrateful Jewish people, (Jer. xiii. 1. compared with the following verses): —the abstaining from marriage (Jer. xvii. 2.) mourning (ver. 5.) and feasting (ver. 8), to indicate the woeful calamities denounced by Jehovah against his people for their sins. Similar calamities are prefigured by breaking a potter's vessel (Jer. xviii. 2—10). By making bonds and yokes (Jer. xxvii. 1—8.) are prefigured the subjugation of the kings of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Tyre, and Sidon by Nebuchadnezzar: and, in like manner, Agabus's binding his own hands with Paul's girdle intimated the apostle's captivity at Jerusalem, (Acts xxi. 10, 11.)

To this class of types may be referred *prophetical and typical visions* of future events: some of these have their interpretation annexed; as Jeremiah's vision of the almond tree and a seething pot (Jer. i. 11—16), Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii.) with many similar instances recorded in the sacred writings. Other typical visions, however, will in all probability be explained only by their actual accomplishment; as Ezekiel's vision of the temple and holy city (ch. xl. to the end), and especially the Revelation of Saint John: which will then be most clear and intelligible when the whole is fulfilled; as we can now plainly read the calling of the Gentiles in many

* Dr. Macknight on Rom. ix 4. note 1.

parts of the Old Testament, which seemed so strange a thing, before it was accomplished, even to those who were well acquainted with the writings of the prophets. See an instance of this in Acts xi. 1—18.

3. *Historical types* are the characters, actions, and fortunes of some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament, so ordered by Divine Providence as to be exact prefigurations of the characters, actions, and fortunes of future persons who should arise under the Gospel dispensation. In some instances, the persons, whose characters and actions prefigured future events, were declared by Jehovah himself to be typical, long before the events which they prefigured came to pass: these have been termed *innate*, or natural, historical types. But, in other instances, many persons really typical were not known to be such, until after the things which they typified had actually happened: these have been called *inferred* types, because in general they are consequentially ascertained to be such by expositors and interpreters of the Scriptures, by fair probabilities agreeable to the analogy of faith. The most remarkable typical persons and things mentioned in the Old Testament, are Adam, Abel, Noah, Melchizedec, Isaac, the ram sacrificed by Abraham, Joseph, the pillar of fire, the manna, the rock in the desert whence water flowed, the scape-goat, the brazen serpent, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Sampson, Samuel, David, Solomon, Jonah, and Zerubabel. It would swell this chapter almost into a commentary upon very numerous passages of Scripture, were we to attempt to show how clearly these characters, &c. correspond with their great antitype the Lord Jesus Christ: the principal only have been enumerated, and we refer the reader to the writers mentioned below, by whom they have been best explained*.

From the preceding remarks and statements it will be obvious, that great caution is necessary in the interpretation of types; for unless we have the authority of the sacred writers themselves for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person or thing, which is mentioned in the Old Testament, is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance

* The subject of historical types is fully elucidated by Huet, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, cap. 170. vol. ii. pp. 1056—1074. Amst. 1680; by Dr. Macknight in his Essay on the right Interpretation of the Language of Scripture, in vol. 4 or 6 (4to or 8vo) of his translation of the Apostolical Epistles, Essay viii. sect. 1—5; and by Mr. M'Ewen in his "Grace and Truth, or the Glory and Fullness of the Redeemer, displayed, in an attempt to explain, illustrate, and enforce the most remarkable types, figures, and allegories of the Old Testament." 12mo. Edinburgh, 1803. Though fanciful in some of his expositions, this author may nevertheless be consulted with advantage.

which we may perceive between them: but we may admit it as probable. "Whatever persons or things, recorded in the *Old Testament*, were expressly declared by Christ, or by his apostles, to have been designed as prefigurations of persons or things relating to the *New Testament*, such persons or things so recorded in the *former*, are types of the persons or things, with which they are compared in the *latter*. But if we assert, that a person or thing was designed to prefigure *another* person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by *divine authority*, we make an assertion for which we neither *have*, nor *can have*, the slightest foundation. And even when comparisons *are* instituted in the *New Testament* between antecedent and subsequent persons or things, we must be careful to distinguish the examples, where a comparison is instituted merely for the sake of *illustration*, from the examples where such a *connexion* is declared, as exists in the relation of a *type* to its antitype *."

Canons or Rules for the Interpretation of Types.

I. *There must be a fit application of the type to the antitype.*

"To constitute one thing the *type* of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something *more* is wanted than mere *resemblance*. The former must not only *resemble* the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its *original institution*. It must have been designed as something *preparatory* to the latter. The type, as well as the antitype, must have been pre-ordained; and they must have been pre-ordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of Divine Providence. It is this *previous design*, and this *pre-ordained connexion*, which constitute the relation of type and antitype. Where *these* qualities fail, where the *previous design* and the *preordained connexion* are wanting, the relation between any two things, however similar in *themselves*, is not the relation of type to antitype †." In further explanation of this canon it may be

* Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 115. "It is essential," observes Dr. Van Mildert, "to a type, in the Scriptural acceptation of the term, that there should be a competent evidence of the divine *intention* in the correspondence between it and the antitype,—a matter not left to the imagination of the expositor to discover, but resting on some solid proof from Scripture itself, that this was really the case." Bampton Lectures, p. 239.

† Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part iii. p. 113.

remarked, that in a type *every* circumstance is far from being typical, as in a parable there are several incidents, which are not to be considered as parts of the parable, nor to be insisted upon as such. From not considering the evident relation which ought to subsist between the type and the antitype, some fanciful expositors, under pretence that the tabernacle of Moses was a figure of the church or of heaven, have converted even the very *boards* and *nails* of it into *types*. Thus Cardinal Bellarmine*, found the mass to be typified by Melchisedec's bringing forth *bread and wine*, he being a priest of the Most High God. The same great adversary of the Protestants (in his Treatise *de Laicis*) in like manner discovered that their secession under Luther "was typified by the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam; while the Lutherans with equal reason retorted that Jeroboam was a type of the Pope, and that the secession of Israel from Judah typified, not the secession of the Protestants under Luther, but the secession of the church of Rome from primitive Christianity. But, to whichever of the two events the secession under Jeroboam may be supposed the most *similar* (if similarity exist there *at all* beyond the mere *act* of secession), we have no authority for pronouncing it a *type* of either. We have no *proof* of previous design, and of pre-ordained connexion between the subjects of comparison; we have no *proof* that the secession of the Israelites under Jeroboam was designed to prefigure any *other* secession whatever." †

It were no difficult task to adduce numerous similar examples of abuse in the interpretation of types: the two preceding will suffice to show the danger of falling into it, and the necessity of confining our attention to the relation between the type and the antitype. In further illustration of this canon it may be remarked, that in expounding typical passages three points should be always kept in mind, viz.—

1. The *type itself* must in the first instance be explained according to its literal sense; and if any part of it appear to be obscure, such obscurity must be removed: as in the history of Jonah, who was swallowed by a great fish, and cast ashore on the third day.

2. The *analogy* between the thing prefiguring and the thing prefigured must be *soberly* shown in all its parts. The criteria for ascertaining this analogy are to be found first in the *sacred writings themselves*; for whenever the Holy Spirit refers any

* De Missa, lib. i. cap. 9.

† Bp. Marsh, part iii. p. 117.

thing to analogy, either expressly or by implication, there we may rest assured that such analogy was designed by God. We shall also derive material assistance, in the interpretation of types, from the exercise of *legitimate reasoning and deduction*,—not the crude notions urged by every person of warm devotional feelings or vivid imagination, but such fair reasoning as depends upon the scope and circumstances, and which harmonizes with the nature of things. For instance, would we ascertain the spiritual analogy of the coverings of the tabernacle, we must previously direct our attention to its scope or primary design, which was, to be as it were the palace of the Most High, who was there worshipped by the Israelites during their journeyings in the wilderness: whence it is clear that the tabernacle adumbrated the church of the living God, which is termed the *House of God*, (1 Tim. iii. 15). The *harmony* or agreement of the thing typifying and the thing typified is then to be elicited: and on consideration it will be found, that as the tabernacle was planned under the immediate direction of Jehovah, (whose spirit rested on the artificers Bezaleel and Aholiab,) and, when finished, was said to be the dwelling-place of the God of Israel; so the true church of Christ is under his immediate care and protection, his Holy Spirit having descended plenarily on the apostles by whom it was founded, and his gracious influences and teachings being also promised to all ministers of the Gospel, and to all *true* Christians, who live in the enjoyment of communion with God. And as in the tabernacle there were found bread, light, &c. these *probably* were emblematical of the ample provision made in Christ for the direction, support, and salvation of the soul of man. Beyond this typical interpretation of the tabernacle we cannot safely go, without deviating into all the vagaries of imagination.

II. *There is often more in the type than in the antitype.*

God designed one person or thing in the Old Testament to be a type or shadow of things to come, not in all things, but only in respect to *some particular thing* or things: hence we find many things in the type, that are inapplicable to the antitype. The use of this canon is shown in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the ritual and sacrifices of the Old Testament are fairly accommodated to Jesus Christ the antitype, although there are many things in that priesthood which do not accord. Thus the priest was to offer sacrifice for his own sins (Heb. v. 3), which is in no respect applicable to Christ (Heb. vii. 27). Again the Mosaic priesthood is (chap. vii. 18) *weak and unprofitable*, neither of which characters can be applied to the Redeemer, *who continueth ever, and hath an unchangeable priesthood*, (ch. vii. 24, 25).

III. *Frequently there is more in the antitype than in the type.*

The reason of this canon is the same as that of the preceding rule: for, as no single type can express the life and particular actions of Christ, there is necessarily more in the antitype, than can be found in the type itself; so that one type must signify one thing, and another type another thing. Thus, *one* goat could not typify Christ both in his death and resurrection: therefore two were appointed (Lev. xvi. 7), one of which was offered, and prefigured his “full, perfect, and sufficient atonement;” while the other, which was dismissed, typified his triumph over death and the grave. In like manner, Moses was a type of Christ as a Redeemer, in bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt; and Joshua, in bringing them into Canaan, which was a type of heaven,—the true country of all sincere Christians.

IV. *Where there are many partial types of one and the same thing, we are in such cases to judge of the antitype, not from one type, but from all of them, jointly considered.*

The reason of this canon also depends upon the three former ones: for, as the persons and events mentioned in the New Testament were prefigured *at sundry times and in divers manners* (Heb. i. 1), if we would form a correct judgment of the thing prefigured by types, we must not examine or meditate upon one type singly, but upon many of them collectively taken together. The propriety of this rule is so obvious as to render any further illustration unnecessary: we may however remark, that such a comparison of several types of the same evangelical truth will not only afford admirable illustrations of it; but will also show the imbecility of the types themselves as contrasted with the pre-eminent excellence of the great antitype, and at the same time teach us to prosecute our investigations with becoming humility.

V. *In interpreting the Old Testament types, we must accurately examine whether the shadow, or the truth represented by a shadow, be proposed;—in other words, whether the prophets uttered their predictions concerning the Messiah under the shadow of types, or in express terms, namely, speaking of him in a literal sense.*

This canon is rendered necessary by the well-known custom of prophetic diction; in which the prophets frequently make sudden transitions from the type to the antitype, from corporeal to spiritual things. An example of such transition occurs in Psal. ii. 8. which, though literally to be understood of David, is prophetically and typically applicable to Jesus Christ; and so it was understood and applied by St. Paul, (Acts xiii. 33).

VI. *The wicked, as such, are not to be made types of Christ.*

For how can a thing, which is bad in itself, prefigure or typify a thing that is good? Yet, for want of attending to this obvious and almost self-evident proposition, some * expositors have interpreted the adultery of David, and the incest of Amnon, as typical of the Messiah! and the oak, on which Absalom was suspended by the hair of his head, has been made a type of the cross of Christ! †

It is not, however, to be denied, that the punishments of some malefactors are *accommodated* to Christ as the antitype. Thus Deut. xxi. 23. is by Saint Paul accommodated typically to him, Gal. iii. 13. Jonah, we have already observed, was a type of Christ, by his continuance three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish: but the point of resemblance is to be sought, not in his being there as the punishment of his disobedience to the divine command, but in his coming forth, at the expiration of that time, alive, and in perfect vigour; which coming forth prefigured the resurrection of Christ.

VII. *One thing is sometimes a type of two, and even of contrary things, but in different respects.*

Thus the deluge, in which Noah and his family were preserved, was to believers a type of baptism, (1 Pet. iii. 21.): but in regard to the wicked who perished, it prefigured the *sudden and unexpected* destruction of the wicked at the great day of judgment, (Matt. xxiv. 37—39. Luke xvii. 26, 27.) To this head also may be referred those passages in which Christ, who is called a rock and a corner-stone, is said to be a rock of salvation to believers, but, to the wicked and disobedient, a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.

VIII. *In types and antitypes, an enallage or change sometimes take place; as when the thing prefigured assumes the name of the type or figure; and, on the contrary, when the type of the thing represented assumes the name of the antitype.*

Of the first kind of enallage we have examples in Ezek. xxxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24, 25. and Hos. iii. 5.; in which descriptions of Messiah's kingdom he is styled David; because, as he was prefigured by David in many respects, so he was to descend from him. In like manner, Christ is called a *lamb*, (John i. 29. 36. and Rev. xix. 7. 9,) because the paschal lamb was an eminent type of him. So the Christian church is

* Azorius, the Spanish Jesuit, in his Institutiones Morales, lib. viii. c. 2.; and Cornelius à Lapide, in Prefat. ad Pentateuch. canon 40.

† By Gretzer, De Cruce, lib. i. c. 6.

sometimes called mount Sion and Jerusalem, (Gal. iv. 26. Heb. xii. 22. Rev. xxi. 2.) because these places were types of her.

Of the second kind of enallage we have instances:—1. *In prophetical types*, in which the name of a person or thing properly agreeing with the antitype, and for which the type was proposed, is given to any one: as in Isa. vii. 3. and viii. 1—3. So the wife of the prophet Hosea, and his legitimate children, are by the command of Jehovah termed a *wife of whoredoms* and *children of whoredoms*, (Hos. i. 2.) on account of the Israelites, who were the antitype, and were guilty of spiritual whoredom or adultery, see Hos. i. 4. 6. 8. 2. *In historical types*, as when hanging was called in the Old Testament the curse of the Lord, because it was made a type of Christ, who was made a curse for our sins, Gal. iii. 13.

IX. *That we may not fall into extremes in the interpretation of types, we must, in every instance, proceed cautiously, "with fear and trembling," lest we imagine mysteries to exist where none were ever intended.*

No mystical or typical sense, therefore, ought to be put upon a plain passage of Scripture, the meaning of which is obvious and natural; unless it be evident from some other part of Scripture that the place is to be understood in a double sense. When Saint Paul says, (Gal. iii. 24. Col. ii. 17.) that the *law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ*, and a *shadow of things to come*, we must instantly acknowledge that the ceremonial law in general was a type of the mysteries of the Gospel. Nothing can be more contrary to that sober judgment which is so strenuously urged by the apostle, (Rom. xii. 3.) than to seek for types where there are not the smallest marks or traces of any; and that too, by contradicting the plain and literal meaning of Scripture, and not unfrequently in direct opposition to common sense. "Should not the prudence and moderation of Christ and his apostles in this respect be imitated? Is it not pretending to be wiser than they were, to look for mysteries where they designed none? How unreasonable is it to lay an useless weight on the consciences of Christians, and to bear down the *true* and *revealed*, under the unwieldy burthen of traditional mysteries." *

* Beausobre's Introduction to the New Testament, (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 140.) In the preceding observations on the interpretation of types, the author has chiefly been indebted to Glassii Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. part i. tract ii. sect. iv., which has been unaccountably omitted by Prof. Dathe in his otherwise truly valuable edition of that work; Langii Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 97—119; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm

Closely connected with the interpretation of types is the expounding of *symbols*; which, though often confounded with them, are nevertheless widely different in their nature. By symbols * we mean "certain representative marks, rather than express pictures; or, if pictures, such as were at the time *characters*, and, besides presenting to the eye the resemblance of a particular object, suggested a general idea to the mind. As, when a *horn* was made to denote *strength*, an *eye* and *sceptre*, *majesty*, and in numberless such instances; where the picture was not drawn to express merely the thing itself, but something else, which was, or was conceived to be, analogous to it. This more complex and ingenious form of picture-writing was much practised by the Egyptians, and is that which we know by the name of *Hieroglyphics*." †

It has been doubted whether symbolical language should be referred to figurative or spiritual interpretation; in the former case, it would have occupied a place in the discussion respecting the figurative language of Scripture; but on consideration it will appear that it is most nearly allied to mystical interpretation. For a symbol differs from a type in this respect, that the former represents something *past* or *present*, while a *type* represents something *future*. The images of the cherubim over the propitiatory were symbols; the bread and wine, in the last supper, also were symbols. The commanded sacrifice of Isaac was given for a type; the sacrifices of the law were types. So far, Bishop Warburton has remarked, symbols and types agree in their *genus*, that they are equally representations, but in their *species* they differ widely.

Sacr. pp. 775—795; Viser, *Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti*, part ii. pp. 184—188. The subject of types is particularly considered and ably illustrated in Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, particularly lib. i. cap. 18. and lib. ii. c. 7. (pp. 217—228. 361—384. of Mr. Allen's recent translation already noticed); Dr. Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ*, vol. ii. pp. 40—173; Bishop Chandler's *Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament*, &c. chap. iii. But the fullest view of this subject is stated by Dr. Graves to be found in the Rev. Samuel Mather's work on the *Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, 4to, Dublin, 1683, which work the author has not had an opportunity of seeing.

* Before an alphabet was invented, and what we call literary writing was formed into an art, men had no way to record their conceptions, or to convey them to others at a distance, but by setting down the figures and tropes of such things as were the objects of their contemplation. Hence, the way of writing in *picture* was as universal, and almost as early, as the way of speaking in *metaphor*; and from the same reason, the necessity of the thing. In process of time, and through many successive improvements, this rude and simple mode of picture-writing was succeeded by that of *symbols*, or was enlarged at least and enriched by it. Bishop Hurd's *Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies*, serm. ix. (Works, vol. v. p. 238.)

† Ibid. p. 239.

It is not required, he further observes, that the *symbol* should partake of the *nature* of the thing represented: the cherubim shadowed out the celerity of angels, but not by any physical celerity of their own; the bread and wine shadowed out the body and blood of Christ, but not by any change in the elements. But *types* being, on the contrary, representations of *things future*, and so partaking of the nature of *prophecy*, were to convey information concerning the *nature* of the anti-types, or of the things represented; which they could not do but by the exhibition of their own nature. And hence we collect, that the command to offer Isaac, being the command to offer a *real sacrifice*, the death and sufferings of Christ, thereby represented, were a *real sacrifice*. *

As the same rules, which regulate the general interpretation of the tropes and figures occurring in the Scriptures, are equally applicable to the interpretation of symbols, it will be sufficient to refer to a former part of this volume †, in which that topic is particularly discussed. Much light will also be thrown upon the symbolical language of Scripture, by a careful collation of the writings of the prophets with each other; for “the symbolical language of the prophets is almost a science in itself. None can fully comprehend the depth, sublimity, and force of their writings, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar and appropriate imagery they were accustomed to use. This is the main key to many of the prophecies; and, without knowing how to apply it, the interpreter will often in vain essay to discover their hidden treasures ‡.” Lastly, the diligent comparison of the New Testament with the Old will essentially contribute to illustrate the symbolical phraseology of the prophets. For instance, we learn what is intended by the *water* promised to the Israelites in Isa. xlv. 3. and to which the thirsty are invited in ch. lv. 1. from John iv. 10. and vii. 37—39.; where it is explained of the Holy Spirit and his gifts which were afterwards to be dispensed. §

* Divine Legation of Moses, book ix. chap. ii. (Works, vol. vi. p. 289. 8vo edit.)

† See pp. 365—375, *supra*.

‡ Van Mildert's Lectures, p. 240.

§ The most compendious work on the symbolical language of the Scriptures, is the “Key to the language of Prophecy,” by the late Rev. W. Jones, and which is to be found in the fifth volume of his works. The Symbolical Dictionary, annexed to Mr. Lancaster's Abridgement of Daubuz on the Revelation of Saint John, (4to, 1730) is exceedingly valuable.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE DOCTRINAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

AS the Holy Scriptures contain the revealed will of God to man, they not only offer to our attention the most interesting histories and characters for our instruction by example, and the most sublime prophecies for the confirmation of our faith, but they likewise present, to our serious study, *doctrinal truths* of the utmost importance. Some of these occur in the historical, poetical, and prophetical parts of the Bible: but they are chiefly to be found in the apostolic epistles, which, though originally designed for the edification of particular Christian churches or individuals, are nevertheless of *general application, and designed for the guidance of the universal church in every age*. For many of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are more copiously treated in the epistles, which are not so particularly explained in the gospels: and as the authors of the several epistles wrote under the same divine inspiration as the evangelists, the epistles and gospels must be taken together, to complete the rule of Christian faith. The doctrinal interpretation, therefore, of the sacred writings is of paramount consequence: as by this means we are enabled to acquire a correct and saving knowledge of the will of God concerning us. In the prosecution of this important branch of sacred literature, the following observations are offered to the attention of the student.

I. *The meaning of the sacred writings is not to be determined according to modern notions and systems: but we must endeavour to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which they were written, and realize the ideas and modes of thinking of the sacred writers.*

This rule is of the utmost importance for understanding the Scriptures; but is too commonly neglected by commentators and expositors, who, when applying themselves to the explanation of the sacred writings, have a preconceived system of doctrine which they seek in the Bible, and to which they refer every passage of Scripture. Thus they rather draw the Scriptures to *their* system of doctrine, than bring their doctrines to the standard of Scripture; a mode of interpretation which is altogether unjust, and utterly useless in the attainment of truth. The only way by which to understand the meaning of

the sacred writers, and to distinguish between true and false doctrines, is, to lay aside all preconceived modern notions and systems, and to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which the prophets and apostles wrote. In perusing the Bible, therefore, this rule must be most carefully attended to:—It is only an unbiassed mind that can attain the true and genuine sense of Scripture.*

II. *A knowledge of the authors of the different books of Scripture, particularly of the New Testament, is essentially necessary to our understanding their writings.*

Although all the authors of Scripture were inspired, yet, in regard to their manner of writing, they were each left to follow his own genius, turn of thought, and mode of expression. Attention to this diversity of composition will enable us to read their works with pleasure and advantage †. The knowledge of their personal situation and circumstances will not only sometimes account for their selection of matter, and omission of or expatiating on some topics; but will also explain many particular allusions in their writings, whose force and beauty will thus become more evident. For instance, the evangelist Mark is generally supposed to have been the companion of the apostle Peter, and thence to have had great advantages for composing a gospel. This will account for his omission of circumstances tending to the honour of Peter, and for enlarging on his faults, particularly his denial of Christ, which is related more minutely by Mark than by any other evangelist ‡. In like manner an intimate acquaintance with the life and transactions of Saint Paul will elucidate a variety of passages in his epistles. Witsius in his *Meletemata Leidensia*, Bishop Pearson in his *Annales Paulini*, Dr. Macknight's § and Mr. Bevan's *Lives of the apostle Paul* ||, and Mrs. More's *Essay on the character and writings of Saint Paul*, will all be found of great utility in studying his epistles.

III. *A knowledge of the time when the several doctrinal books, particularly the epistles, were written, is useful, both to show*

* Turartin, de Interp. Sacr. Script. pp. 312. 314.

† Gerard's Institutes, p. 118.

‡ Dr. Lardner's Supplement to his Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 180. 182. (Works 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 90. 96. He cites several examples, from Mr. Jones's New and Full Method of settling the Canon, (part iii. pp. 79—81), of passages in the other Gospels that are honourable to Peter, which are not mentioned in Saint Mark's Gospel.

§ In his Commentary on the Epistles, vol. iv. 4to. or vol. vi. 8vo.

|| Life of the apostle Paul, as related in Scripture, but in which his epistles are inserted in that part of the history to which they are respectively supposed to belong. 8vo, 1807.

the reason and propriety of the instructions therein given, and also to explain why such various instructions were given concerning the same things.

We may instance circumcision and other ceremonies, concerning which the apostle exhorts the Romans to receive the weak, &c. about ceremonies and indifferent things (Rom. xiv. throughout, and xv. 1—3): but, when writing to the Galatians and Colossians, he utterly condemns the use of circumcision, &c. Gal. v. 2—6. Col. ii. 8—23). The reason of these apparently contradictory commands is, the difference of time when the several epistles were written.

IV. *Regard must also be had to the peculiar state of the churches, cities, or persons, to whom particular epistles, especially those of Saint Paul, were addressed; as the knowledge of such state frequently leads to the particular occasion for which such epistle was written.*

“Although the general design of the whole of Scripture was the instruction of the world, and the edification of the church in every age, still there was an immediate and specific design with regard to every book. This appears particularly obvious in reference to the epistles. With the exception of those properly called catholic or general epistles, and of a few written to individuals, they were addressed to particular societies of Christians, and they were adapted to the exact state of those societies, whether consisting chiefly of Jewish or of Heathen converts; whether recently organized as churches, or in a state of flourishing maturity; whether closely cemented together by the strength of brotherly love, or distracted by the spirit of faction; whether steadfast in adherence to the truth, or inclining to the admission of error. Now, if these considerations were present to the mind of the inspired writer of an epistle, and served to regulate the strain and the topics of his address, it is evident that they must by no means be disregarded by us, in our attempts to ascertain the genuine and intended sense.” *
A knowledge, therefore, of the state of the particular churches, to which they addressed their epistles, is of the greatest importance, not only to enable us to ascertain the scope of any particular epistle, but also for the purpose of reconciling doctrinal passages which, to a *cursory* reader, may at first sight appear contradictory.

For instance, the Galatian churches, not long after their members had been converted to the faith of the Gospel, were

* Mr. H. F. Burder's Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the genuine Sense of the Scriptures, p. 19.

persuaded by some Judaizing teachers that it was absolutely necessary they should be circumcised, and observe the entire law of Moses: hence great dissensions arose among the Galatian Christians. These circumstances led Saint Paul to write his Epistle to them; the design of which was, to prove the Jewish ceremonial law to be no longer obligatory, to convince them of the moral and spiritual nature of the Gospel, and thus to restore mutual good-will among them.

Again, Rom. xiv. 5. and Gal. iv. 10, 11. are *apparently* contradictory to each other. In the former passage we read—*“One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.”* The latter passage runs thus—*“Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.”* Now, if we attend to the situation and character of the persons addressed, we shall easily be enabled to solve this seeming difficulty.

“The Roman and Galatian churches were composed of both Jews and Gentiles; but they are not addressed promiscuously; neither are they the same description of people who are addressed in both passages. Those who “regarded days” among the Romans were the *converted Jews*, who, having from their youth observed them as divine appointments, were with difficulty brought to lay them aside. And as their attachment had its origin in a tender regard to divine authority, they were considered as “keeping the day unto the Lord;” and great forbearance was enjoined upon the Gentile converts towards them in that matter. Those, on the other hand, who among the Galatians “observed days, and months, and times,” were *converted Gentiles*, as is manifest from the context, which describes them as having, in their unconverted state, “done service to them which by nature were no gods,” (ch. iv. 8.) These being perverted by certain Judaizing teachers, were, contrary to the apostolic decision, (Acts xv.) circumcised, and subjected themselves to the yoke of Jewish ceremonies. Nor was this all; they were led to consider these things as necessary to justification and salvation, which was subversive of the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. (Acts xv. 1. Gal. v. 4.) These circumstances being considered, the different language of the apostle is perfectly in character. Circumcision, and conformity to the law of Moses, *in Jewish converts*, was held to be lawful. Even the apostle of the Gentiles himself “to the Jews became a Jew;” frequently, if not constantly, conforming to the Jewish laws. And when writing to others, he expresses himself on this wise: “Is any man called, being circumcised; let him

not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision : let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God," (1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.) But for *Gentiles*, who had no such things to allege in their favour, to go off from the liberty granted to them, (Acts xv.) and entangle themselves under a yoke of bondage; and not only so, but to make it a term of justification, was sufficient to excite a fear lest the labour which he had bestowed upon them was in vain." *

Braunius †, Vitranga ‡, and Buddæus § have happily illustrated numerous passages in Saint Paul's Epistles by attending to the circumstances mentioned in the above canon. The state of the apocalyptic churches has also been well described by our learned countryman Smith ||, by Witsius **, and especially by Ferdinand Stosch ††. Rambach, in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, has elaborately investigated the state of the church at Rome, and applied it to the examination and scope of that epistle. ††

V. *In order to understand any doctrinal book or passage of Scripture, we must attend to the controversies which were agitated at that time, and to which the sacred writers allude: for a key to the apostolic epistles is not to be sought in the modern controversies that divide Christians, and which were not only unknown, but also were not in existence at that time.*

The controversies, which were discussed in the age of the apostles, are to be ascertained, partly from their writings, partly from the existing monuments of the primitive Christians, and likewise from some passages in the writings of the Rabbins; whence it appears that the following were the principal questions then agitated, viz. What is the true way by which to

* Fuller's Harmony of Scripture, pp. 44. 46.

† Selecta Sacra, lib. i.

‡ Observationes Sacræ, lib. iv. cc. 7, 8.

§ Jo. Francisci Buddæi Ecclesia Apostolica, sive de Statu Ecclesiæ Christianæ sub Apostolis Commentatio Historica-Dogmatica; quæ et introductionis loco in Epistolas Pauli cæterorumque apostolorum esse queat. 8vo. Jenæ, 1729. The late Bishop of Landaff (Tracts, vol. vi. Appendix) says, that "this author has briefly treated this important subject with great judgment, and referred to a great variety of useful writers."

|| In his "Remarks upon the manners, religion, and government of the Turks, with a survey of the seven churches of Asia." 8vo, 1678. The remarks had previously been printed in Latin in 1672, and again in an enlarged edition in 1674.

** Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. p. 669.

†† Ferdinandi Stosch Syntagma Dissertationum septem de nominibus totidem urbium Asiæ ad quos D. Johannes in Apocalypsi Epistolas direxit, 8vo. Guelpherbyti, 1757. A very rare and valuable work. The modern state of the seven Asiatic churches is described by the Rev. H. Lindsay (chaplain to the British Ambassador at the Porte) in the Christian Observer for 1816, vol. xv. pp. 190, 191.

‡‡ Jo. Jac. Rambachii Introductio Historico-Theologica in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. 8vo. Halæ, 1727.

please God, and thus to obtain eternal life—the observance of the Mosaic law, or faith and obedience as held forth in the Gospel? To this question the following was closely allied—Whether the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies was so absolutely necessary, that they were to be imposed on the converted Gentiles? The former question is *particularly* discussed in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans; the latter, in the council held at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1—31), and *especially* in the Epistle to the Galatians.

Another question, which was most warmly agitated, related to the calling of the Gentiles, which the Jews could by no means bear, as appears from numerous passages in the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. The apostles therefore found it necessary to assert that point, to confirm it by citing numerous prophecies from the Old Testament relative to the conversion of the Gentiles, and to vindicate it from the objections of the Jews: this has been done by Saint Paul in several chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, as well as in his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, in which he proves that the Jewish ceremonies were superseded.

There were also some Jewish notions, which were refuted both by our Lord and by his apostles; for instance, that all Jews would certainly be saved. Turretin, to whom we are indebted for this observation, has adduced a passage from the Codex Sanhedrim, which affirmed that *every Jew had a portion in the future world*, and another from the Talmud, in which it is said that *Abraham is sitting near the gates of hell, and does not permit any Israelite, however wicked he may be, to descend into hell.** In opposition to such traditions as these, Jesus Christ thus solemnly warned them: “*Not every one that saith unto me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven,*” (Matt. vii. 21). This notion was also opposed at length by Saint Paul, Rom. xi. 6. *et seq.* Once more; it appears from very many passages of the Jewish writers, that the Jews divided the precepts of the law into great and little, and taught that if a man observed *one such grand precept*, that would suffice to conciliate the favour of God, and would outweigh all his other actions. In opposition to this our Lord solemnly declares, that “*whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called (shall be) least in the kingdom of heaven,*” (Matt. v. 19): and Saint James also,

* De Sacr. Script. Interp. p. 316.

“whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all,” (Ja. ii. 10.)

Further, many erroneous tenets were held and promulgated, in the time of the apostles, by persons calling themselves Christians. To these “oppositions of science falsely so called” (1 Tim. vi. 20.) there are numerous allusions in the Epistles, where such errors are refuted: for instance, Col. ii. 18. the worshipping of angels; Col. ii. 20, 21. against the pretensions of extraordinary mortifications and abstinence; 1 Cor. viii. and 2 Cor. vi. 16, &c. against idols and eating things offered to them, &c. The beginning of Saint John’s Gospel, it is well known, was written to refute the false notions of Corinthus. *

VI. *The doctrinal books of Scripture, for instance, the Epistles, are not to be perused in detached portions or sections; but they should be read through at once, with a close attention to the scope and tenor of the discourse, regardless of the divisions into chapters and verses, precisely in the same manner in which we would peruse the letters of Cicero, Pliny, or other antient writers.*

This reading should not be cursory or casual, but frequent and diligent; and the Epistles should be repeatedly perused, until we become intimately acquainted with their contents. Mr. Locke has forcibly illustrated this remark by relating his own practice in studying the Epistles of Saint Paul. After he had found by long experience that the ordinary way of reading a chapter, and then consulting commentators upon difficult passages, failed in leading him to the true sense of the Epistle, he says, “I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one should now write me a letter as long as Saint Paul’s to the Romans, concerning such a matter as that is, in a style as foreign, and expressions as dubious, as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters, and read one of them to-day and another to-morrow, &c. it was ten to one that I should never come to a full and clear comprehension of it. The way to understand the mind of him that wrote it, every one would agree, was to read the whole letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main subject and tendency of it: or, if it had several parts and

* Michaelis, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, and Lardner in his *History of Heretics*, 4to, 1780, (Works, vol. ix. 8vo.) have particularly treated on the errors that were asserted in the times of the apostles, and shortly after; Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, and Adam Clarke, in their respective commentaries on the New Testament, have noticed the principal errors combated by the apostles in particular places.

purposes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a subordination to one chief aim and end, to discover what those different matters were, and where the author concluded one and began another; and if there were any necessity of dividing the Epistles into parts, to mark the boundaries of them." In the prosecution of this thought, Mr. Locke concluded it necessary for the understanding of any one of Saint Paul's Epistles to read it all through at one sitting, and to observe, as well as he could, the drift and design of the writer. Successive perusals in a similar way at length gave him a good general view of the apostle's main purpose in writing the Epistle, the chief branches of his discourse, the arguments he used, and the disposition of the whole. This, however, is not to be attained by one or two hasty readings. "It must be repeated again and again, *with a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, and a perfect neglect of the divisions into chapters and verses.* On the contrary, the safest way is, to suppose that the epistle has but one business and but one aim; until, by a frequent perusal of it you are forced to see there are distinct independant matters in it, which will forwardly enough show themselves *."

Want of attention to the general scope and design of the doctrinal parts of Scripture, particularly of the Epistles, has been the source of many and great errors: "for, to pick out a verse or two, and criticize on a word or expression, and ground a doctrine thereon, without considering the main scope of the epistle and the occasion of writing it, is just as if a man should interpret antient statutes or records by two or three words or expressions in them, without regard to the true occasion upon which they were made, and without any manner of knowledge and insight into the history of the age in which they were written." The absurdity of such a conduct is too obvious to need further exposure.

Having already offered some hints for investigating the *scope* of a particular book or passage †, it only remains to notice that there is this general difference observable between the scope of the *Gospels* and that of the *Epistles*, viz.—The *former* represent the principles of Christianity *absolutely*, or as they are in themselves; while the *latter* represent them *relatively*, that is, as they respect the state of the world at that particular time.

* Locke on the Epistles of Saint Paul, Preface. (Works, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282, 4to.)

† See pp. 346—353, *supra*.

VII. *Where any doctrine is to be deduced from the Scriptures, it will be collected better, and with more precision, from those places in which it is professedly discussed, than from those in which it is noticed only incidentally, or by way of inference.*

For instance, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the doctrine of justification by faith is fully treated: and in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, the calling of the Gentiles and the abrogation of the ceremonial law are particularly illustrated. These must therefore be diligently compared together, in order to deduce those doctrines correctly *.

VIII. *Doctrines peculiar to a certain age are better ascertained from writings belonging to that age, or the times immediately following, than from memorials or writings of a later date.*

Thus, the ideas entertained by the patriarchs are better collected from the writings immediately concerning them—the book of Genesis for instance—than from books written long afterwards, as the Apostolic Epistles.—Not that these are unworthy of credit (of such an insinuation the author trusts he shall be fully acquitted), but because the Apostles deduce inferences from passages of Scripture, according to the manner practised in their *own time*; which inferences, though truly correct, and every way worthy the assent of Christians, were not known at the time when such passages were first committed to writing †.

IX. *Words and phrases, which are of doubtful meaning, must be diligently investigated, and carefully weighed and explained.*

This is a general rule applicable to every species of interpretation, but of peculiar importance in the study of the doctrinal parts of Scripture; lest, being misled by the ambiguity of words, we deduce from certain passages of Scripture opinions that would fall to the ground as soon as such ambiguity should be removed. A variety of examples might be adduced in illustration of this remark ‡, but we shall confine our attention to the terms faith and mystery.

1. In consequence of not attending to the ambiguity of the word *faith*, it has been applied by many divines, wherever it occurs, exclusively to faith in the Messiah, when the context

* See pp. 337—346, and pp. 353—364, where various hints are offered for investigating the context, and the analogy of faith.

† Turretin, p. 324.

‡ See Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, voce Σαρκς, flesh; and Bp. Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek article, pp. 166—170. for an elaborate disquisition on the various acceptations of the word Πνευμα, spirit.

often manifestly requires it to be taken in a different sense: a few examples will illustrate this observation.

Faith or *believing*, then, denotes (1.) *our assenting to any truth, even to such truths as are known by the evidence of our senses*: thus in John xx. 29. Thomas, whom the evidence of his senses had convinced of the reality of Christ's resurrection, is said to have *believed*. (2.) *A general disposition of the mind to embrace all that we know concerning God, whether by reason or revelation*: as in Heb. xi. 6. *Without faith it is impossible to please God*; which expression is subsequently applied to the existence of God, his goodness and bounty towards his sincere worshippers. (3.) *A peculiar assent to a certain revelation*: for instance in Rom. iv. throughout, and in other passages that treat of Abraham's faith, it is manifest that this *faith* must be referred to the peculiar promises made to Abraham that a son should be born unto him, though he himself was then about a hundred years old, and Sarah, who was ninety, was barren. A similar interpretation must be given to the word *faith*, in Heb. xi. where the faith of Abel, Noah, Jacob, Joseph, and other patriarchs and Jewish worthies, is mentioned: for in that chapter this word must be interpreted in as many senses as there are verses, according to the various revelations and promises made to each of the patriarchs. (4.) *An assent given to the revelation made to Moses*; as when the children of Israel are said to have *believed the Lord and his servant Moses*, (Exod. xiv. 31. compared with John v. 45, 46. and ix. 28). (5.) *An assent given to the revelation made to the prophets*; as when King Jehoshaphat says to the Jews, (2 Chron. xx. 20.) "*Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper.*" Compare also Isa. vii. 9. Since, however, the Gospel is the most perfect revelation of the divine will to mankind, it is in the New Testament particularly that the word *faith* denotes (6.) *a cordial assent to the Christian revelation, or to some of its leading and fundamental points*; as in those passages where we are commanded to *believe in Christ*, or that *he is the son of God*, or that *he arose from the dead*. But, as many things that were revealed by God, as well under the Old as under the New Testament dispensation, were future and invisible, the word *faith* signifies (7.) *an assent to future and invisible things revealed by God*, as in Heb. xi. 1. where it is defined to be the *substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen*, that is, the giving of a present subsistence to things future, which are fully expected, and the proving and demonstrating of things which are not seen. Since, however, all who truly receive

and assent to the Christian revelation, cannot do otherwise than obey God, the words *faith* and *believing* include (8.) *all the duties enjoined by the Gospel*; in consequence of which, so many commendations of *faith* are to be found in the Scriptures, where it is said to *purify the heart* (1 Pet. i. 22.), to be the victory *that overcometh the world* (1 John, v. 4.), and to *justify us* (Rom. v. 1). Because they who *sincerely* believe the Gospel, must necessarily obey Christ, and become partakers of the benefits conferred by him.

There are a few other acceptations of the term *faith*, differing indeed but slightly from the preceding, but which are nevertheless worthy of observation. Thus it means (9.) the Gospel, in Gal. iii. 2. where Saint Paul demands of the Galatians, whether they *received the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith*: in which passage it is evident that the *hearing of faith* denotes the hearing of the preached Gospel; and in this sense the word *faith* appears to be used in all those parts of the Epistle to the Romans, where it is opposed to the works of the law. Sometimes also it signifies (10.) *a persuasion that what we do is well pleasing to God*: thus the meaning of Rom. xiv. 23. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, is, that it is sinful in us to do any thing, which we are not fully persuaded is well pleasing to God, or at least permitted by him. Once more, *faith* denotes (11.) *faith in miracles*, that is, a firm confidence in Christ, to which, at the first propagation of the Gospel, was annexed the performance of miracles: such was the faith, which Jesus Christ frequently required of his disciples and others, that he might work certain miracles by them (compare Matt. xvii. 20. Mark xi. 22. xvi. 17. and Luke xviii. 6.); and to which Saint Paul refers in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Lastly, *faith* sometimes signifies (12.) *fidelity*, or faithfulness in the discharge of duties or promises, and so the Greek word *πιστις* is properly rendered in Tit. ii. 10.; as it also should have been in 1 Tim. v. 12. the faith there said to have been cast off by the younger widows, being their *fidelity* to Christ.

These various senses of the word *faith* ought, as much as possible to be kept in mind when perusing the sacred writings; lest we fall into the mistake, so commonly committed, of always understanding the same thing by it.

2. The Greek word *μυστηριον*, which is of very frequent occurrence in the New Testament, and is in our English translation uniformly rendered *mystery*, may also be adduced as an example of the rule above stated. In its ordinary acceptation, a mystery denotes something incomprehensible; and this meaning, for want of due consideration, is not unfrequently

transferred to those passages of the New Testament, where the word mystery does indeed occur, but in very different significations.

The first or leading meaning of the word is, a secret, something that is hidden, not fully manifest, not published to the world, though perhaps communicated to a select number. In this sense it occurs in 2 Thess. ii. 7. where Saint Paul, speaking of the Antichristian spirit, says, "*the mystery of iniquity doth already work.*" The spirit of Antichrist has begun to operate, but the operation is latent and unperceived. In this sense also the same apostle applies the words, "mystery," and "mystery of Christ," in a peculiar manner to the calling of the Gentiles, (Eph. iii. 3—9); "*which in other generations was not made known to the sons of men, as it is now revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow heirs and of the same body (namely, with the Jews), and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel.*" Compare also Rom. xvi. 25, 26. Eph. i. 9. iii. 9. vi. 19. Col. i. 26, 27.

Another meaning of the word mystery is, "a spiritual truth couched under an external representation or similitude, and concealed or hidden thereby, unless some explanation be given." To this import of the word our Saviour probably alluded when he said to his disciples, "To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God; but, to them that are without, all these things are done in parables", Mark iv. 11.) The secret was disclosed to the apostles, who obtained the spiritual sense of the similitude, while the multitude amused themselves with the parable, and sought no further. In this sense, mystery is used in the following passages of the New Testament: Rev. i. 20. *The mystery, that is, the spiritual meaning, of the seven stars.—The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches.* Again, xvii. 5. *And upon her forehead a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, that is, Babylon in a mystical sense, the mother of idolatry and abominations:* and in verse 7. *I will tell thee the mystery, or spiritual signification of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, &c.* In this sense likewise the word *mystery* is to be understood in Eph. v. 32.

A third and principal meaning of the word mystery is, "some sacred thing, hidden or secret, which is naturally unknown to human reason, and is only known by the revelation of God." Thus, in 1 Tim. iii. 16. we read—*Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.*

“The mystery of godliness, or of true religion, consisted in the several particulars here mentioned by the apostle—particulars, indeed, which it would *never have entered into the heart of man to conceive* (1 Cor. ii. 9), had not God accomplished them in fact, and published them by the preaching of his Gospel; but which, being thus *manifested*, are *intelligible as facts* to the *meanest* understanding.” So in Cor. iii. 2. the understanding of all mysteries denotes the understanding of all the revealed truths of the Christian religion, which in 1 Tim. iii. 9. are called the *mystery of faith*, and of which, in 1 Cor. iv. 1. the apostles are called *stewards of the mysteries of God* *.

Lastly, the word mystery is used in reference to things or doctrines, which remain wholly or in part incomprehensible, or *above* reason, after they are revealed. Such are the doctrines, of the resurrection of the dead, that all shall not die at the last day, but that all shall be changed (1 Cor. xv. 51.), the incarnation of the Son of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. This is the ordinary or theological sense of the word mystery: it does not imply any thing contrary to reason, nor utterly unknown as to its being: but it signifies a matter, of whose existence we have clear evidence in the Scriptures, although the *mode* of such existence is incomprehensible, or *above* our reason.

With reference to this (or the theological) meaning of the term mystery, it has often been said, that “where mystery begins, religion ends.” This “assertion is erroneous, for nothing can be so mysterious as the existence of God. Yet to believe that God exists, is the foundation of all religion †.” Every thing is full of mysteries. We cannot tell how our bodies were formed and are nourished; we cannot explain the nature of the human soul, and in what manner it is united to the body; we cannot comprehend the structure of a worm, of a hair of our heads, of the meanest plant, of a grain of sand, or the combination of instinct with brute forms. If we ascend to the higher departments of science ‡, we shall find that mysteries exist there, and that there are many principles or

* Schleusner's and Parkhurst's Greek Lexicons to the New Testament, *voce* *Mysterium*. Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. i. pp. 298—306. See also J. G. Pfeiffer's Instit. Herm. Sacr. pp. 704—724.

† Bp. Huntingford's Thoughts on the Trinity, p. 2.

‡ Dr. O. Gregory has shown the existence of mysteries in the pure mathematics, which the most profound mathematician cannot solve, and which are nevertheless received as most certain truths; and he has applied them with great ability to the illustration and defence of revealed religion. See his Letters on the Evidences, &c. of the Christian Religion, vol. i. pp. 60—78.

facts, both in that and in the works of nature, which are above our reason, but which no person in his senses would ever venture to dispute. They are all, however, matters of fact; from which consideration we are led to infer, that it is not consistent with true philosophy to deny the reality of a thing, merely because it is mysterious.

But though some of the truths revealed in Scripture are mysterious, yet the tendency of the most exalted of its mysteries is *practical*. "If, for example, we cannot explain the influences of the Spirit, happy will it be for us, nevertheless, if we *experience* that the 'fruits of the spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'" If we cannot comprehend all that we read in the sacred pages, let us, notwithstanding, submit, adore, and profit by them; recollecting, that "the sublimest truths, and the profoundest mysteries of religion, are as level, perhaps, to the capacity of the meanest as of the highest human intellect. By neither are they to be fully fathomed. *By both they may be easily BELIEVED, on the sure testimony of divine revelation.* As simple and important facts, which connect time with eternity, and heaven with earth, they belong equally to men of every order, and are directly calculated to produce those emotions of awe and reverence, of faith and hope, and reliance on the divine presence, providence, justice, and benevolence, of which the consequence must be in the highest degree MORAL *."

X. *It is of particular importance that we distinguish figurative expressions from such as are proper or literal, and that we ascertain how far they are to be extended.*

For want of attention to this rule, how many absurd doctrines have been deduced! Transubstantiation, for instance, which has already been shown to be founded on an erroneous literal interpretation of *figurative* expressions †. With regard to the manner in which such figurative expressions are to be distinguished from proper and literal ones, it will suffice to refer to a former chapter, in which this topic is fully considered ‡.

XI. *Although the Scriptures sometimes speak of God after the manner of men, they are not to be understood literally, but must be taken in a sense worthy of God.*

* Dr. O. Gregory's Letters, vol. i. p. 79. Edinburgh Review, vol. xvii. p. 269. Dr. South has an admirable discourse entitled, "Christianity Mysterious, and the Wisdom of God in making it so," in the third volume of his Sermons, pp. 209—254.

† See pp. 353—364, *supra*.

‡ See Chapter IV. *supra*, particularly Section I. pp. 363—375.

This rule was not unknown to the Jews, with whom it was usual to say that the Scriptures speak of God *with the tongue of the sons of men*. When, therefore, *human members, faculties, senses, and affections are attributed to the Deity*, they are to be understood in a sense worthy of Him: and the manner in which that sense is to be ascertained is twofold: 1. *From the light of nature*, which teaches us that all ideas of imperfection are to be removed from God, and consequently corporeity; and, 2. *From the comparison of other passages of Scripture*, in which it is written, that God is a spirit, that he cannot be represented by any figure, and that he is not a man that he should repent, &c. Numerous illustrations of this remark might be offered, were it necessary; but as this subject has already been discussed in a former chapter, it will be sufficient to give a reference to it. *

XII. *Avoid all subtle and far-fetched expositions.*

The reason of this canon will appear when it is considered (as we have already remarked) that the sacred writers, being almost wholly persons in the common rank of life, and addressing persons in the same condition with themselves, spoke to them in a familiar style adapted to their capacities. No sense therefore is to be assigned to their words, that requires great mental acumen to discover. On this ground, those interpretations should be received with great caution, which profess to find allegories *every where* in the Scriptures: and those interpretations should be altogether rejected, which do violence to the sacred text. Of this description are the expositions given of numerous passages of Scripture by those who deny the divinity and atonement of the Son of God. It is not intended to assert in this remark that there are not in the Bible many figurative expressions; these were at that time perfectly familiar to the Jewish people, who, in some instances, apprehended them more readily than literal expressions. This mode of speaking, we have already seen obtained greatly among the Jews, in common with other oriental nations.

XIII. *When easy and natural interpretations offer themselves, those interpretations are to be avoided, which deduce astonishing and incredible doctrines.*

We are not to seek *unnecessarily* for mysteries in the sacred writings. Those, which are most clearly revealed in the Scriptures (for instance, the incarnation of the Son of God, the

* See pp. 391, 392, *supra*.

doctrine of the Trinity, * &c.), are to be received precisely in the terms in which they are propounded to our belief. But, where a plain and obvious meaning presents itself, mysteries are on no account to be sought. In illustration of this remark, we may adduce the doctrine of transubstantiation, already noticed in the course of this work; which the church of Rome has erected into a mystery, founding it on a direct violation of the preceding rule, and supporting it by forced and unnatural interpretations of passages, which are in themselves most easy to be understood.

XIV. *In explaining passages, we must attend to the effect or sense which particular words, understood in a particular way, ought naturally to produce: and if such effect be not produced, it is manifest that such words are not to be taken in that sense.*

The doctrine of transubstantiation, already referred to, may be adduced as an example: for, unquestionably, if our Saviour's words, *This is my body*, &c. had been understood by the apostles in that sense, it must have excited in their minds the utmost astonishment, which, however, does not appear to have been the case.

XVI. *No doctrine is admissible, that is repugnant to the Scriptures themselves.*

The same example may be cited in illustration of the present canon: for, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were to be admitted, the evidence of our senses could no longer be believed, and the consequence would be, that the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, arising from the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ, would fall to the ground, and become of no effect whatever.

XVI. *In considering the doctrines of the Christian religion, what is clear is not to be rendered obscure by a few dark passages: but, on the contrary, obscure passages are to be illustrated by such as are more clear.*

This rule having been more fully stated in a former page, and supported by examples, it is not necessary here to cite additional instances. The reader is therefore simply reminded, that the application of it to the investigation of the doctrinal parts of Scripture is of very considerable moment. †

XVII. *It is of great importance to the understanding of the*

* On these topics we know of no works that will afford more solid and convincing information to the student, than the late Rev. W. Jones's "Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity," Bishop Huntingford's "Thoughts on the Trinity," and Mr. Wardlaw's "Discourses on the Socinian Controversy."

† See pp. 359—361, *supra*.

doctrinal books of the New Testament, to attend to and distinctly note the transitions of person which frequently occur, especially in Saint Paul's Epistles.

The pronouns *I*, *We*, and *You*, are used by the apostles in such a variety of applications, that the understanding of their true meaning is often a key to many difficult passages. Thus, by the pronoun *I*, Saint Paul sometimes means himself; sometimes, any Christian; sometimes, a Jew; and sometimes any man, &c. If the speaking of himself in the first person singular have these various meanings, his use of the plural *We* is with far greater latitude: for sometimes *we* means himself alone, sometimes those who were with him, whom he makes partners to the Epistles (as in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and in those to the Philippians and Colossians); sometimes, with himself, comprehending the other apostles, or preachers of the Gospel, or Christians. Nay, he sometimes speaks in this way of the converted Jews, at others, of the converted Gentiles: sometimes he introduces the unregenerate as speaking in his own person; at other times he personifies false teachers or false Christians, whose names, however, he forbears to mention, lest he should give them offence. In all these instances, his application of the above-mentioned pronouns varies the meaning of the text, and causes it to be differently understood. Examples, illustrative of this remark, may be found in every page of Saint Paul's Epistles. Further, in the current of his discourse, he sometimes drops in the objections of others, and his answers to them, without any change in the scheme of his language, that might give notice of any other person speaking besides himself. To discover this, requires great attention to the apostle's scope and argument to observe: and yet, if it be neglected or overlooked, it will cause the reader greatly to mistake and misunderstand* his meaning, and will also render the sense very perplexed. Mr. Locke and Dr. Macknight, in their elaborate works on the Epistles, are particularly useful in pointing out these various transitions of persons and subjects.

XVIII. *When weighty reasons are produced for and against a certain doctrine, they must be compared together with great diligence and sincerity, in order that we may see which reasons preponderate.*

This rule is of singular importance in studying the doctrinal parts of the Bible: for the case here supposed is of very fre-

* Locke's Preface to the Epistles, (Works, vol. iii. p. 277).

quent occurrence in theological controversies; in which, according to the previously formed opinions of various parties, the same reasons are urged by one class, as arguments for the truth of a controverted doctrine, which by their opponents are strenuously asserted as objections to it. Thus, in the question relative to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the expressions, *This is my body* (Matt. xxvi. 26), *My flesh is meat indeed, my blood is drink indeed, and except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* (John vi. 53. 55), are by some understood of the bodily presence and eating the flesh of Christ; but this interpretation is, on the other hand, justly opposed by arguments drawn from the evidence of our senses, from reason, and above all from comparing other passages of Scripture, in which the expressions of *bread* and *wine* are spoken of the Eucharist *after* consecration, and those where Christ is said to be received into heaven until the times of restitution of all things, (Acts iii. 21). The former passages are adduced by the Roman Catholics as arguments for the truth of the real presence; while the latter are asserted by Protestants as objections against that doctrine. In order, therefore, to determine on which side the truth lies, we must carefully and accurately weigh the arguments adduced by both parties; and those reasons which appear most plainly manifest and insuperable, we must prefer, as supporting the cause of truth, and the arguments adduced on the opposite side must necessarily fall to the ground.

XIX. *Where it is not clear what is the precise meaning attached by the sacred writers to particular words or expressions, it is better that we should restrain our judgment concerning them, than deliver our sentiments rashly on points which we do not fully comprehend.*

Many examples of this kind are to be found in the sacred writings.—To instance only the apostle's supplications in behalf of believers, that God would grant unto them, that the *eyes of their understanding might be enlightened* (Eph. i. 18), *that he would make them perfect in every good work* (Heb. xiii. 21.) and the like. Now, in these passages, the precise mode in which divine grace operates in believers, is not stated; and therefore it is not necessary that we should define what the word of God has not defined.

XX. *Although commentaries, both antient and modern, may usefully be consulted in studying the doctrinal parts, in common with the rest of the Bible, yet they are to be consulted judiciously and with caution.*

As particular suggestions are offered in a subsequent chapter, on the most beneficial mode of consulting commentators

on the Scriptures generally *, it is not necessary to subjoin any remarks on the above canon : its propriety will be obvious to every reader. He, who is sincerely desirous of studying the word of God, that he may both know His mind and do His will, cannot greatly err ; while he prosecutes his studies devoutly, and with humble supplication, that the Spirit of Truth may teach him all things, and guide him into all truth, (John xiv. 26. xvi. 13). †

* See Chap. XIV. *infra*.

† The Scriptures contain numerous admirable supplications for divine teaching : but, of all merely human precatory compositions, we have seen none, which, for comprehensiveness and brevity, for simplicity and beauty, equals, much less surpasses, the *Collect for the second Sunday in Advent*.

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MORAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING already discussed the interpretation of the historical, typical, and doctrinal parts of the sacred writings, it now remains that we consider the Moral Parts of Scripture. These, indeed, are to be interpreted precisely in the same manner as all other moral writings; regard being had to the peculiar circumstances of the sacred writers, viz. the age in which they wrote, the nation to which they belonged, their style, genius, &c. For, being natives of the East, they treat moral topics, after the oriental manner, in a highly figurative style, and with similitudes and figures considerably more far-fetched than is usual among Greek and Latin authors, or even among the moderns. Again, being for the most part persons in the common walks of life, they generally deliver their precepts in a popular manner, adapted to the capacities of those to whom they were addressed. In the examination of the moral parts of Scripture, the following more particular rules will be found useful.

I. Moral propositions or discourses are not to be urged too far, but must be understood with a certain degree of latitude, and with various limitations.

For want of attending to this canon, how many moral truths have been pushed to an extent, which causes them altogether to fail of the effect they were designed to produce! It is not to be denied that universal propositions may be offered: such are frequent in the Scriptures as well as in profane writers, and also in common life; but it is in explaining the expressions by which they are conveyed, that just limits ought to be applied, to prevent them from being urged too far. The nature of the thing, and various other circumstances will always afford a criterion by which to understand moral propositions with the requisite limitations. In order, however, that this subject may be better understood, and applied to the Scriptures, we will state a few of these limitations, and illustrate them by examples.

1. Universal or indefinite moral propositions, often denote nothing more than the natural aptitude or tendency of a thing to produce a certain effect, even although that effect should not actually

take place. Thus, when Solomon says that *a soft answer turneth away wrath*, (Prov xv. 1.) the best method of mitigating anger is pointed out, although the obstinacy or wickedness of man may produce a different result. In like manner, when Saint Peter says, *Who is he that will harm you if ye be followers of that which is good?* (1 Pet. iii. 15.) this expression is not to be understood as implying that good men shall *never* be ill-treated: but it simply denotes the natural effect which a virtuous life will probably produce, viz. many occasions of irritating men will be avoided, and on the other hand, their friendship and favour will be conciliated.

2. *Universal or indefinite propositions denote only what generally or often takes place.* As in Prov. xxii. 6. *Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it.* Here, the wise monarch intimates not what always takes place, but what is the frequent consequence of judicious education. To this rule are to be referred all those propositions which treat of the manners, virtues, or vices of particular nations, conditions, or ages. Thus Saint Paul says, that the *Cretans are always liars*, (Tit. i. 12.) Again, when the same apostle, portraying the struggles of an enlightened but unregenerate person, says—“*I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing,*” (Rom. vii. 18.) he does not mean to say that there is nothing morally good in man; but that no man is by nature *spiritually* good, or *good in the sight of God*. *

3. *Universal or indefinite propositions frequently denote duty, or what ought to be done, not what always does actually take place.* “It is the way of the Scriptures,” says a late writer,

* Similar to this is the language of the liturgy of the Anglican church:—“O God, because through the weakness of our mortal nature, we can do no *good* thing, without thou grant us the help of thy grace.” (Collect for the first Sunday after Trinity.) On which the Bishop of Lincoln remarks—“I have only to observe that the good thing, here mentioned, must mean *good in the sight of God*: such an action our weak and unassisted nature will, unquestionably, not allow us to perform.” (Refutation of Calvinism, pp. 67, 68. 1st edit.) To the same purpose, in another place, he observes:—“The human mind is so weakened and vitiated by the sin of our first parents, that we cannot by our own natural strength prepare it, or put into a proper state, for the reception of a saving faith, or for the performance of the spiritual worship required in the Gospel: this mental purification cannot be effected without divine assistance.” (Ibid. p. 54.) Again: “The grace of God prevents us Christians, that is, it goes before, it gives the first spring and rise to our endeavours, that we may have a good will; and when this good will is thus excited, the grace of God does not desert us, but it works with us when we have that good will.” “It is acknowledged that man has not the disposition, and consequently not the ability, to do what in the sight of God is good, till he is influenced by the Spirit of God.” (Ibid. pp. 60, 61.) This topic is ably stated and explained by Mr. Simeon, in his *Appeal to Men of Wisdom and Candour*, serm. ii. pp. 19. et seq.

“to speak to and of the visible members of the church of Christ, under such appellations and expressions as may seem, at first hearing, to imply that they are all of them truly righteous and holy persons. Thus the apostles style those to whom they write, in general, *saints*; they speak of them as “sanctified in Christ Jesus, chosen of God, buried with Christ in baptism, risen again with him from the dead, sitting with him in heavenly places;” and particularly Saint Paul, (Tit. iii. 5.) says, that they were “saved by the washing of regeneration,” &c. The reason of which is, that they were visibly, by *obligation*, and by profession, all this; which was thus represented to them, the more effectually to stir them up, and engage them to live according to their profession and obligation.”*

By this rule also we may explain Mal. ii. 7. “*The priest’s lips should keep knowledge*,” which passage the advocates of the church of Rome urge, as asserting the infallibility of the priesthood. A simple inspection, however, of the following verse, is sufficient to refute this assertion, and to show that the prophet’s words denote only the *duty* of the *Jewish* priesthood, not what the priests really did perform. The application of this rule will likewise explain Prov. xvi. 10. 12, 13.

4. *Many precepts are delivered generally and absolutely, concerning moral duties, which are only to be taken with certain limitations.* For instance, when we are commanded *not to be angry*, we must understand, without a cause, and not beyond measure: when we are forbidden *to avenge* ourselves, it is to be understood of *privately taking* revenge; for the magistrate *beareth not the sword in vain*, but is *the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil*, (Rom. xiii. 4.) Public vengeance, or punishment, therefore, is clearly not prohibited. Once more, though we are commanded in the Scriptures to *swear not at all*, (as in Matt. v. 33.) and not to *for-swear* ourselves, (Levit. xix. 12.) yet they do not forbid the use of oaths in cases where they can be made subservient to the support of truth and the interests of justice. Moses says, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and shalt serve him, and shalt swear by his name*, (Deut. vi. 13.) *Thou shalt swear*, says the prophet Jeremiah, *the Lord liveth, in truth and in judgment, and in righteousness*, (Jer. iv. 2.) Our Saviour himself, when adjured by the high priest, in the name of the living

* Bishop Bradford’s Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration, p. 37. sixth edit.

God, to declare whether he was the *Christ, the Son of God*, (Matt. xxvi. 63. Mark xiv. 61, 62.) did not refuse to answer the question thus judicially proposed to him: but he certainly would have remained silent if he had disapproved of all asseverations upon oath, or all such solemn invocations of, and appeals to, the name of God, in cases where the truth is doubtful or the testimony is suspected. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, that *an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife*, (Heb. vi. 16.)

II. *Principals include their accessaries, that is, whatever approaches or comes near to them, or has any tendency to them.*

Thus, where any sin is forbidden, we must be careful not only to avoid it, but also every thing of a similar nature, and whatever may prove an occasion of it, or imply our consent to it in others: and we must endeavour to dissuade or restrain others from it. Compare Matt. v. 21—31. 1 Thess. v. 22. Jude 23. Ephes. v. 11. 1 Cor. viii. 13. Levit. xix. 17. James v. 19, 20. So, where any duty is enjoined, all means and facilities, enabling either ourselves or others to discharge it, according to our respective places, capacities, or opportunities, are likewise enjoined. See Gen. xviii. 19. Deut. vi. 7. Josh. xxiv. 15. Heb. x. 23—25. Upon this ground our Lord makes the law and the prophets to depend upon a sincere affectionate love to God and man, (Mark xii. 30, 31. Luke x. 27.); because, where this prevails, we shall not *knowingly* be deficient in any duty or office which lies within our power; neither shall we willingly do any thing that may either directly or indirectly offend, or tend to the prejudice of mankind. See Rom. xii. 17, 18. This observation will leave little room for the “*evangelical counsels*,” or “*counsels of perfection*,” as they are called by the Papists, who ground upon them their erroneous doctrine of supererogation. *

* “These “*counsels of perfection*,” are rules which do not bind under the penalty of sin, but are only useful in carrying men to a greater degree of perfection than is necessary to perfection. There is not the slightest authority in Scripture for these counsels of perfection: all the rules there prescribed for our conduct are given in the form of positive commands, as absolutely necessary, wherever they are applicable, to the attainment of eternal life; and the violation of every one of these commands is declared to be sin. We are commanded to be “perfect, even as our father which is in heaven is perfect, (Matt. v. 48.); and, so far from being able to exceed what is required for our salvation, the Gospel assures us, that after our utmost care and endeavours we shall still fall short of our whole duty; and that our deficiencies must be supplied by the abundant merits of our blessed Redeemer. We are directed to trust to the mercy of God, and to the mediation of Christ; and to “work out our salvation with fear and trembling,” (Phil. ii. 12.) that is, with anxiety, lest we should not fulfil the conditions upon which it is offered. Upon these grounds we may pronounce that works of super-

III. *Negatives include affirmatives, and affirmatives include negatives:—in other words, where any duty is enjoined, the contrary sin is forbidden; and where any sin is forbidden, the contrary duty is enjoined.*

Thus, in Deut. vi. 13. where we are commanded to serve God, we are forbidden to serve any other. Therefore, in Matt. iv. 10. it is said, him *only* shalt thou serve: and as honouring parents is required in the fifth commandment, (Exod. xx. 12.) so *cursing* them is forbidden, (Matt. xv. 4.) Stealing being prohibited in the eighth commandment, (Exod. xx. 15.) diligence in our calling is enjoined in Eph. iv. 28.

IV. *Negatives are binding at all times, but not affirmatives; that is, we must never do that which is forbidden, though good may ultimately come from it, (Rom. iii. 8.) We must not speak wickedly for God, (Job xiii. 7.)* Such things, however, as are required of us, though they never cease to be our duty, are yet not to be done at *all* times; for instance, prayer, public worship, reproving others, visiting the sick, and other works of charity and mercy, will be our duty as long as we live; but, as we cannot perform these at *all* times, we must do sometimes one thing, sometimes another, as opportunity offers. Hence, in the observance of negative precepts, Christian courage and Christian prudence are equally necessary; the *former*, that we may never, upon any occasion or pretence, do that which in positive precepts is pronounced to be evil; the *latter*, that we may discern the fittest times and seasons for doing every thing.

V. *When an action is either required or commended, or any promise is annexed to its performance; such action is supposed to be done from proper motives and in a proper manner.*

The giving of alms may be mentioned as an instance; which, if done from ostentatious motives, we are assured, is displeasing in the sight of God. Compare Matt. vi. 1—4.

VI. *When the favour of God, or salvation, is promised to any deed or duty, all the other duties of religion are supposed to be rightly performed.*

The giving of alms, as well as visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, (Jam. i. 27.) may be noticed as examples: such promise, therefore, is not to be so understood as if one single Christian virtue were necessary to salvation; but that the particular virtue in question is one of several

erogation are inconsistent with the nature of man, irreconcilable with the whole tenor and general principles of our religion, and *contrary to the express declarations of Scripture.*" Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282. (8th edit.)

necessary and momentous virtues. The application of this rule will illustrate our Lord's declaration concerning a future judgment, (Matt. xxv. 35.); where, though charitable actions only are mentioned, yet we know, from other passages of Scripture, that every idle word, as well as the secret thoughts of men, besides their actions, will be brought into judgment.

VII. *When a certain state or condition is pronounced blessed, or any promise is annexed to it, a suitable disposition of mind is supposed to prevail.*

Thus, when the poor or afflicted are pronounced to be blessed, it is because such persons, being poor and afflicted, are free from the sins usually attendant on unsanctified prosperity, and because they are, on the contrary, more humble and more obedient to God. If, however, they be not the *characters* described (as unquestionably there are many to whom the characters do not apply), the promise in that case does not belong to them. Vice versâ, when any state is pronounced to be wretched, it is on account of the sins or vices which generally attend it.

VIII. *Some precepts of moral prudence are given in the Scriptures, which nevertheless admit of exceptions, on account of some duties of benevolence or piety that ought to preponderate.*

We may illustrate this rule by the often repeated counsels of Solomon respecting becoming surety for another, (see Prov. vi. 1, 2. xi. 15. xvii. 18. and xx. 16.) In these passages, he does not condemn suretyship, which, in many cases, is not only lawful, but, in some instances, even an act of justice, prudence, and charity*; but Solomon forbids his disciple to become surety *rashly*, without considering for whom, or how far he binds himself, or how he could discharge the debt, if occasion should require it.

IX. *A change of circumstances changes moral things: therefore contrary things may be spoken together in moral things, on account of the difference of circumstances.*

Thus, in Prov. xxvi. 4, 5. we meet with two precepts that seem to be diametrically opposite to each other: *Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou be like unto him; and, Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.* But if we attend carefully to the *reason* which the sacred writer subjoins to each precept, we shall be enabled satisfactorily to account for the apparent repugnancy in the

* Thus Judah became surety to his father for his brother Benjamin, (Gen. xlii. 37. xliv. 32.); and Paul to Philemon for Onesimus, (Philem. 18, 19.)

counsels of the Israelitish monarch ; and it will be evident that they form, not inconsistent, but *distinct*, rules of conduct, which are respectively to be observed, according to the *difference of circumstances*. The following observations on the two verses just cited will materially illustrate their meaning.

“ A *fool*, in the sense of Scripture, means a wicked man, or one who acts contrary to the wisdom that is from above, and who is supposed to utter his foolishness in speech or writing. Doubtless there are different descriptions of these characters ; and some may require to be answered, while others are best treated with silence. But the cases here seem to be one ; both have respect to the same character, and both require to be answered. The whole difference lies in the *manner* in which the answer should be given.

“ In the first instance, the term, “ according to his folly,” means *in a foolish manner*, as is manifest from the reason given ; “ lest thou also be like unto him.” But in the second instance they mean, *in the manner which his foolishness requires*. This also is plain from the reason given, “ lest he be wise in his own conceit.” A foolish speech is not a rule for our imitation ; nevertheless our answer must be so framed by it, as to meet and repel it.

“ Both these proverbs caution us against evils to which we are not a little addicted ; the first, that of saying and doing to others *as they say* and do to us, rather than as *we would* they should say and do ; the last, that of suffering the cause of truth or justice to be run down, while we, from a love of ease, stand by as unconcerned spectators.

“ The first of these proverbs is exemplified in the answer of Moses to the rebellious Israelites ; the last in that of Job to his wife.—It was a foolish speech which was addressed to the former :—“ Would God, that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord ! And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there ?” Unhappily, this provoked Moses to speak unadvisedly with his lips ; saying, “ Hear now ye rebels ; must we fetch you water out of this rock ?” This was answering folly *in a foolish manner*, which he should not have done ; and by which the servant of God became too much *like* them whom he opposed.—It was also a foolish saying of Job’s wife, in the day of his distress : “ Curse God and die !” Job answered this speech, not in *the manner of it*, but in the manner *which it required*. “ What, shall we receive good at the hand of God ; and shall we not receive evil ?”

“ In all the answers of our Saviour to the Scribes and Pharisees, we may perceive that he never lost the possession of his soul for a single moment; never answered *in the manner* of his opponents, so as to be *like unto them*. Yet neither did he decline to repel their folly, and so to abase their self-conceit.” *

X. *Different ideas must be annexed to the names of virtues or vices, according to different ages and places.*

Thus, *holiness* and *purity* denote widely different things, in many parts of the Old Testament, from what they intend in the New: in the former, they are applied to persons and things dedicated to Jehovah; while, in the latter, they are applied to all true Christians, who are called *saints* or *holy*, being made so through the illumination and renovation of the Holy Spirit, and because, being called with a high and holy calling, they are bound to evince the sincerity of their profession by a pure and holy life. Faith may also be cited in illustration of this remark; which, as we have already seen †, is used in various acceptations by different writers.

In concluding our remarks on the moral interpretation of the sacred writings, it is worthy of observation, that they contain two kinds of moral books and discourses, viz. 1. *Detached sentences*, such as occur in the book of Proverbs, in many of our Lord's sermons, and in several of the moral exhortations at the close of the apostolic epistles; and, 2. *Continuous and connected discourses*, such as are to be found in the book of Job. In the *former*, we are not to look for any order or arrangement, because they have been put together just as they presented themselves to the minds of their inspired authors; but, in the *latter*, we must carefully attend to the scope. Thus, the scope of the book of Job is specified in the second and third verses of the thirty-second chapter; to this, therefore, the whole book must be referred, without seeking for any mysteries.

The style also of the moral parts of Scripture is highly figurative, abounding not only with bold hyperboles and prosopopæias, but also with antitheses and seeming paradoxes: the former must be explained agreeably to those general rules for expounding the figurative language of Scripture, which have already been stated and illustrated ‡; and the latter must be interpreted and limited according to the nature of the thing

* Fuller's Harmony of Scripture, pp. 17, 18.

† See pp. 630—632, *supra*.

‡ See pp. 365, *et seq. supra*.

for instance, the beatitudes, as related by Saint Matthew, (ch. v.) must be compared with those delivered at a different time, as related by Saint Luke, (ch. vi. 20. *et seq.*); and from this collation we shall be enabled to reconcile the seeming differences, and fully to understand the antithetic sayings of our Lord.

Lastly, as the moral sentences in the Scriptures are written in the very concise style peculiar to the Orientals, many passages are in consequence necessarily obscure, and therefore admit of various expositions. In such cases, that interpretation which is most obvious to the reader, will in general be sufficiently intelligible for all purposes of *practical edification*, and beyond this we need not be anxiously solicitous, if we should fail in ascertaining the precise meaning of every word in a proverb or moral sentence.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROMISES AND THREATENINGS OF SCRIPTURE.

A PROMISE, in the Scriptural sense of the term, is a declaration or assurance of the divine will, in which God signifies what particular blessings or good things he will freely bestow, as well as the evils which he will remove. The *promises* therefore differ from the *threatenings* of God, inasmuch as the former are declarations concerning good, while the latter are denunciations of evil only: at the same time it is to be observed, that promises seem to include threats, because, being in their very nature *conditional*, they imply the bestowment of the blessing promised, only on the condition being performed, which blessing is *tacitly* threatened to be withheld on non-compliance with such condition. Further, promises differ from the *commands* of God, because the latter are significations of the divine will concerning a *duty* enjoined to be performed, while promises relate to *mercy* to be received. As a considerable portion of the promises relates to the performance of moral and of pious duties, they might have been discussed under the preceding chapter: but, from the variety of topics which they embrace, it has been deemed preferable to give them a separate consideration.

There are four classes of promises mentioned in the Scriptures, particularly in the New Testament; viz. 1. Promises relating to the Messiah; 2. Promises relating to the church; 3. Promises of blessings, both temporal and spiritual, to the pious; and, 4. Promises encouraging to the exercise of the several graces and duties that compose the Christian character. The two first of these classes, indeed, are many of them *predictions*, as well as promises: a brief notice therefore will suffice for them, and some further illustrations will be offered of the other two classes of promises relating to temporal and spiritual blessings.

I. Promises relating to the Messiah, as the *seed in which all the families of the earth should be blessed*. See Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. and xxii. 18. Acts iii. 25. and xxvi. 4. Rom. iv. 13, 14. 20. and ix. 9. and Gal. iii. 16. 21, 22.

II. Promises relating to the church. This class of promises is very numerous, and may be subdivided under the following heads: viz.

1. *Promises relative to the enlargement of the church and the spreading of the Gospel and kingdom of Christ throughout the world.*—Psal. ii. 8, 9. xxii. 27, 28. lxvii. 2. 7. lxviii. 33. lxxii. 8. 11. 17. 19. lxxxvi. 9. cii. 15, 16. cx. 3. Isa. ii. 2, 3. xi. 10. xix. 21. 24, 25. xxiii. 18. xxvii. 6. xl. 3—5. xlii. 1. 4. 6, 7. xlv. 23, 24. xlix. 6. 12. 18. 20. li. 4, 5. lii. 10. liii. 10—12. liv. 1—5. lix. 19, 20. lx. 3. 8—10. lxv. 17. lxvi. 8, 9. 18. 20—23. Dan. ii. 44. vii. 13, 14. 27. Amos xi. 11, 12. (with Acts xv. 17.) Micah iv. 1, 2. Zech. ii. 10, 11. vi. 15. viii. 21—23. xiv. 9. Mal. i. 11. Matt. viii. 11. xxiv. 14. John xii. 32. Rev. xi. 15.

2. *Promises relating to the glory of the church.*—Psal. xlv. 13. xlvii. 2. 12, 13. Isa. liv. 11, 12. lx. 1, 2, 13, 14. 19. lxii. 2, 3. Rev. xxi. 10, 11. 18. 21, 22, 23—26.

3. *Promises of increasing knowledge and of the means of grace.*—Isa. xi. 4. xxv. 6, 7. xxix. 18. 24. xli. 18, 19. lii. 7, 8. liv. 13. Dan. xii. 4.

4. *Promises of purity, holiness, and righteousness in the church.*—Psal. lxxxv. 10, 11. 13. Isa. iv. 3, 4. xxxii. 15, 16. xxxiii. 5, 6. xlv. 8. lvi. 11. lx. 21. Mal. iii. 3, 4.

5. *Promises of mutual peace, love, and unity.*—Psal. lxxii. 3, 7. Isa. ii. 4. xi. 6—9. 13.

6. *Promises of the submission and destruction of the enemies of the church.*—Psal. cx. 2. 5, 6. Isa. xi. 4. xi. 11, 12. lix. 19. lx. 14. 2 Thess. ii. 8. Rev. xiv. 9, 10. xvii. 1, &c. xviii. 2, &c. xix. 19, 20. xx. 7, 8.

7. *Promises of the favour and submission of kings to the kingdom of Christ.*—Isa. xlix. 7. 23. lii. 15. lx. 3. 10, 11. 16.

8. *Promises of the security, tranquillity, and prosperity of the church.*—Isa. iv. 5, 6. xxvii. 2, 3. xxiii. 20—22. li. 3. liv. 14, 15. 17. lxv. 18, 19. lxvi. 10—12. Jer. xxxiii. 6. Dan. vii. 27. Matt. xvi. 18.

9. *Promises of perpetual continuance to the church.*—Isa. lix. 21. lxvi. 22. Jer. xxxi. 35—37. Dan. vii. 14. Matt. xxviii. 20.

10. *Promises of the conversion and restoration of the Jews.*—Jer. xxvi. 1. 4. 10. 17. 32—35. xxxii. 37, &c. xxxiii. 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 34, 35. 37, 38. 40, 41. 44. xxxiv. 22, &c. xxxvi. 11, &c. Hos. i. 10, 11. iii. 4, 5. Joel iii. 1, &c. Amos ix. 14, 15. Obad. 17. 21. Micah ii. 12, 13. Zech. ii. 10. xii. and xiv.

III. *Promises of temporal and spiritual blessings to the pious.*

1. *Temporal blessings.*—Psal. xxiii. 1. 5. xxxiv. 9, 10. xxxvii. 3. Matt. vi. 25, &c. Job iv. 7. Psal. i. 3. xxxvii. 16. Prov. x. 22. Job. v. 19. Psal. xci. 10. Prov. xii. 21.

2. *Spiritual blessings.*—Psal. xxv. 10. 14. 2 Pet. i. 3, 4. Rom. v. 1. 9. 18, 19. Rom. viii. 1. 14, 15. 33, 34. Psal. ciii. 14. Jer. xxxiii. 18. Isa. i. 18. 1 John i. 7. ii. 1, 2. 1 Pet. ii. 24.

Gal. iv. 4, 5. 7. Eph. ii. 18. 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. Psal. xxv. 8. 12. John vii. 17. Luke xi. 13. John xiv. 15. 18. xvi. 13. Rom. xiv. 17. Psal. xxiii. 4. xxxvii. 7. Rom. viii. 38. Rev. xiv. 13. Job xix. 26, 27. Psal. xvi. 9. Dan. xii. 2. John v. 28, 29. xiv. 2, 3. Rom. ii. 7. 10. Matt. xxv. 46.

IV. *Promises, encouraging to the exercise of the several graces and duties that compose the Christian character.* Isa. xxviii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 6. John iii. 16. 18. 1 John iv. 15. Isa. lv. 7. Acts ii. 38. iii. 19. Psal. xxv. 10. 14. Matt. vi. 21. John vii. 17. viii. 51. Psal. xxvii. 14. 1 Pet. v. 7. Acts x. 35. xiii. 26. Matt. v. 5. vi. 6. xi. 29. Rev. i. 3. 1 Pet. iii. 10. Isa. lvi. 2. Eph. vi. 1—3. Prov. xxii. 6. xxix. 14. Psal. xli. 1—3. Matt. v. 7, 8. 44, 45. vi. 14. vii. 1, 2. Rom. viii. 6. Psal. cxxxviii. 6. Matt. xxiii. 12. v. 3, 4. 10—12. x. 39. Luke vi. 22. James i. 2—4. 12. Matt. x. 22. Rev. ii. 10. 7. and xxi. 7.

The preceding form only a small selection of the very numerous promises contained in the sacred writings *; and from the variety of occasions when they were made, and the number of persons to whom they were directed, it will be obvious that the practical application of Scripture promises, forms an important (though perhaps neglected) branch of the interpretation of the sacred volume.

In all those promises which partake of the nature of predictions, the same observations will apply as are stated for the interpretation of Scripture prophecies †: but in regard to those promises which are directed to particular persons, or to the performance of particular duties, the following remarks are offered to the attention of the reader.

I. “*We must receive God’s promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scripture.*” (Art. xvii.) ‡

To us “the promises of God are general and conditional. The Gospel dispensation is described as a covenant between

* The passages above cited have been selected and abridged from Dr. Samuel Clarke’s *Collection of the Promises of Scripture under their proper heads*, published upwards of 70 years since. There are numerous cheap editions of this useful manual in circulation. The author deems it proper to add, that though he has abridged it, he has carefully collated every passage, and thus has corrected some errors that had crept into the edition used by him; which was printed at Leeds, in 32mo. 1811.

† Similar to this is the declaration of the *Helvetic* (not the *Genevese*) confession, which in general symbolizes with that of the British Church.—“In the temptation concerning predestination, and which perhaps is more dangerous than any other, we should derive comfort from the consideration, that God’s promises are *general to all that believe*—that he himself says, *Ask and ye shall receive:—Every one that asks, receives.*” Chap. x. towards the end, or in the valuable work entitled, “*Primitive Truth, in a History of the Reformation, expressed by the Early Reformers in their writings,*” p. 57.

‡ See vol. ii. book i. chap. vi. sections ii, iii, and iv.

God and man; and the salvation of every individual is made to depend upon his observance of the proposed conditions. Men, as free agents, have it in their power to perform or not to perform these conditions: and God foresaw from eternity, who would and who would not perform them, that is, who will and who will not be saved at the day of judgement.* If therefore the promises of God be not fulfilled towards us, we may rest assured that the fault does not rest with Him, "who cannot lie," but with ourselves, who have failed in complying with the conditions either tacitly or expressly annexed to them.

We may then apply general promises to ourselves, not doubting, that if we perform the condition expressed or implied, we shall enjoy the mercy promised: for, as all particulars are included in universals, it follows that a general promise is made a particular one to him, whose character corresponds with those to whom such general promise is made. Matt. xi. 28. may be cited as an example: the *promise* here made is the giving of rest: the *characters* of the persons to whom it is made are distinctly specified; they are the *weary and heavy laden*, whether with the distresses of life, or with the sense of guilt, (see Psal. xxxii. 4. xxxviii. 4.) or with the load of ceremonial observances; the condition required, is to *come unto Christ* by faith; in other words, to believe in him and become his disciples: and the menace *implied* is, that if they do not thus *come* †, they will not find rest. Similar promises occur in John iii. 17. and 1 Tim. ii. 4.

II. *Promises made to particular persons may be applied to all believers.*

It is in promises as in commands; they do not exclusively concern those to whom they were first made; but, being in-

* Bp. Tomline's Elements, vol. ii. p. 313.

† Bp. Horsley has the following animated and practical observations on this promise of our Saviour at the close of his 24th Sermon:—"Come, therefore, unto him, all ye that are heavy-laden with your sins. By his own gracious voice he called you while on earth: By the voice of his ambassadors he continueth to call; he calleth you now by mine. Come unto him, and he shall give you rest—rest from the hard servitude of sin and appetite, and guilty fear. *That yoke is heavy—that burthen is intolerable: His yoke is easy and his burthen light.* But, come in sincerity;—dare not to come in hypocrisy and dissimulation. Think not that it will avail you in the last day, to have called yourselves Christians—to have been born and educated under the Gospel light—to have lived in the external communion of the church on earth—if, all the while, your hearts have holden no communion with its head in heaven. If, instructed in Christianity, and professing to believe its doctrines, ye lead the lives of unbelievers, it will avail you nothing in the next, to have enjoyed in this world, like the Jews of old, advantages which ye despised—to have had the custody of a holy doctrine which never touched your hearts—of a pure commandment, by the light of which ye never walked. To those who disgrace the doctrine of their Saviour by the scandal of their lives, it will be of no avail to have vainly called him, "Lord, Lord!" Sermons, p. 490. 2d edit.

serted in the Scriptures, they are made of public benefit: for, “whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our use; that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope,” (Rom. xv. 4). Thus, Saint Paul applies what was spoken to Joshua (ch. i. 5.) to the believing Hebrews, (Heb. xiii. 5.): Jesus Christ being the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, as it is added in the eighth verse of the same chapter, he has the same grace to pity, and the same power to help his sincere disciples now, as formerly, without respect of persons. A distinction, however, must be taken between such of the promises in the Old Testament, particularly in the book of Psalms, as are of universal application, and such as were made to those Israelites and Jews who obeyed the law of God, which were strictly *temporal*. Of this description are all those promises of peace and prosperity in *this* world, which were *literally* suitable to the Jewish dispensation, God having encouraged them to obey his laws, by promises of peculiar peace and prosperity in the land of Canaan. Whereas now, under the Gospel dispensation, “godliness hath indeed the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come,” (1 Tim. iii. 8.) but with an exception of the *cross*, when that may be best for us, in order to our future happiness in heaven. So that the promises, in the Old Testament, of a *general* felicity in *this* life are not so literally to be applied to Christians as they were to the Jews*.

III. *Such promises as were made in one case, may be applied in other cases of the same nature, consistently with the analogy of faith.*

The instance, adduced under the preceding canon, will also illustrate the present. The promise there mentioned was made to Joshua, on his going up against the Canaanites, lest he should be discouraged in that enterprise; yet it is applied by the apostle as a remedy against covetousness or inordinate cares concerning the things of this life; it being a very comprehensive promise that God will never fail us nor forsake us. But if we were to apply the promises contained in Psal. xciv. 14. and Jer. xxxii. 40. and John x. 28. as promises of *indefectible* grace to believers, we should violate every rule of sober interpretation, as well as the analogy of faith. The promise in Psal. xciv. 14. (*the Lord will not cast off his people, nor forsake his inheritance*), “like many others of a similar nature, is to be understood as given, not to individuals, but to the whole na-

* Collyer's Sacred Interpreter, vol. i. p. 336.

tion of the Jews, and to them through all their generations. Would it not therefore be Jewish presumption to conclude, from this and other such assurances, that each member of the Jewish people must be eternally saved?

“Again, in the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxii. 40.) we are told, “I will put my fear in their hearts, so that they shall not depart from me.” But these words are to be understood merely as a prediction of that happy period, when all mankind, and the Jews among the rest, shall be converted to the Christian faith, and live in obedience to Christian laws. The Jews have surely too often departed from the Lord, since the days of Jeremiah, to sanction any other interpretation. To passages of this kind it may be sufficient to oppose what Ezekiel so plainly declares, and so emphatically urges, concerning the falling away of the righteous man. “When the righteous man (and surely a truly righteous man is meant) turneth away from his righteousness,” &c. &c. “all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die.” It appears, therefore, that the Old Testament affords no support to the doctrine of infallible perseverance. Let us, however, confine ourselves to what is particularly styled, the covenant of grace: here, if any where, this extraordinary privilege must be revealed. In the Gospel written by Saint John (x. 28.) our Saviour, speaking of his sheep, says, “I give unto them eternal life—and they shall never perish—neither shall any one pluck them out of my hand.” But of what sheep is he speaking? of such only as hear, know, and follow him, (John v. 27, &c.) While they continue to follow him, no force of man shall turn them aside *against their wills* out of that blessed track. That their wills *might* be treacherous, that they might be led astray, appears from our Saviour’s own words to his disciples, in the twenty-fourth chapter of Saint Matthew, (v. 4.) “Take heed that no man deceive you.” For, would he warn them against what could not happen? But he predicts that it should happen to numbers: “Many shall be offended;” many deceived; “because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold,” (Matt. xxiv. 10—12.) And he concludes with describing more distinctly those sheep, to whom only he would give eternal life—“He that endureth to the end—the same shall be saved*.” (Matt. xxiv. 13.)

* For this illustration the author is indebted to an excellent Sermon “on the *Doctrine of final perseverance and assurance of Salvation*, by the Hon. and Rev. H. Ryder (now Bishop of Gloucester), 8vo. 1806. p. 19—21.

IV. *God has suited his promises to his precepts.*

By his *precepts* we see what is our *duty*, and what should be the *scope of our endeavours*; and by his *promises* we see what is our *inability*, what should be the *matter or object of our prayers*, and where we may be supplied with that grace which will enable us to discharge our duty. Compare Deut. x. 16. with Deut. xxx. 6. Eccles. xii. 13. with Jer. xxxii. 40. Ezek. xviii. 31. with Ezek. xxxvi. 37. and Rom. vi. 12. with v. 14.

V. *Where any thing is promised in case of obedience, the threatening of the contrary is implied in case of disobedience: and where there is a threatening of any thing in case of disobedience, a promise of the contrary is implied upon condition of obedience* *.

In illustration of this remark, it will be sufficient to refer to, and compare, Exod. xx. 7. with Psal. xv. 1—4. and xxiv. 3, 4. and Exod. xx. 12. with Prov. xxx. 17.

VI. *God promises that he may perform what he promises, but threatens that he may not fulfil his threatenings.*

In other words, by his promises he encourages men to obedience, that they may receive the reward of it: but, by his threatenings, he warns men, and deters them from sin, that they may not feel its effects. For instance, in Rev. ii. 5. he threatens, as if he were unwilling to inflict the punishment, repeating the means by which it may be prevented. For the same purpose is the menace denounced in Rom. viii. 13. against professors of the Gospel, that they may beware of such things as have in themselves a tendency to eternal death.

There are, however, two important cautions to be attended to in the application of Scripture promises; viz. that we do not violate that connexion or dependency which subsists between one promise and another; and that we do not invert that fixed order which is observable between them.

1. *The mutual connexion or dependency subsisting between promises must not be broken.*

As the duties enjoined by the moral law are copulative, and may not be disjoined in the obedience yielded to them, (James ii. 10.); so are the blessings of the promises; which may not be made use of as *severed* from each other, like unstrung pearls, but as *collected* into one entire chain. For instance, throughout the sacred volume, the promises of pardon and repentance

* Bp. Wilkins, in his admirable Discourse on the Gift of Preaching, has stated this rule in the following terms;—"Every Scripture does affirm, command, or threaten, not only that which is expressed in it, but likewise all that which is rightly deducible from it, though by mediate consequences." (Dr. Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 22.)

are invariably connected together: so that it would be presumptuous in any man to suppose that God will ever hearken to him who implores the one and neglects to seek the other. "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy word."

In like manner, in Psal. lxxxiv. 11. the promise of *grace and glory* is so inseparably united, that no person can lay a just claim to the one, who is not previously made a partaker of the other. Bishop Horne's commentary on this verse is not more beautiful than just*.

2. *In applying the promises, their order and method should not be inverted, but be carefully observed.*

The promises, made by God in his word, have not inaptly been termed an ample storehouse of every kind of blessings, including both the mercies "of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." There is, indeed, no good that can present itself as an object to our desires or thoughts, but the promises are a ground for faith to believe, and hope to expect the enjoyment of it: but then our use and application of them must be *regular*, and suitable both to the pattern and precept which Christ has given us. The *pattern* or example referred to, we have in that most comprehensive prayer, emphatically termed *the Lord's prayer* (Matt. vi. 9—11.); in which he shows what is chiefly to be desired by us, viz. the sanctification of his name in our hearts, the coming of his kingdom into our souls, and the doing of his will in our lives: all which are to be implored, before and above our daily bread. We are not to be more anxious for food than for divine grace.

The *precept* alluded to, we have in his sermon on the mount (Matt. vi. 33.): *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.* The *soul* is of more worth than the *body*; as the *body* is more valuable than *raiment*: and therefore the principal care of every one should be, to secure his spiritual welfare, by interesting himself in the promises of life and eternal happiness. Here, however, a *method* must be observed, and the law of the Scripture must be exactly followed, which tells us, (Psal. lxxxiv. 11.) that God first gives grace and then glory. "As it is a sin to divide grace from glory, and to seek the one with-

* "Jesus Christ is our "Lord" and our "God:" he is a "sun," to enlighten and direct us in the way, and a "shield" to protect us against the enemies of our Salvation. He will give "grace" to carry us on "from strength to strength," and "glory" to crown us when we "appear before him in Zion;" he will "withhold" nothing that is "good" and profitable for us in the course of our journey, and will himself be our reward when we come to the end of it." Commentary on the Psalms, vol. ii. (Works, vol. iii. p. 81.)

out the other; so is it also a sin to be *preposterous in our seeking*, to look *first* after happiness and *then* after holiness: no man can be rightly solicitous about the crown, but he must first be careful about the race; nor can any be truly thoughtful about his interest in the promises of glory, that doth not *first* make good his title to the promises of grace*."

* Dr. Spurstowe's Treatise on the Promises, pp. 62. 65. The whole volume will abundantly repay the trouble of perusing it. There is also an admirable discourse on the Promises, in the Sermons published by the late Rev. Charles Buck; in which their divine origin, their suitability, number, clearness of expression, the *freeness* of their communication, and the certainty of their accomplishment, are stated and illustrated with equal ability and piety. See also Hornbeek's Theologia Practica, Pars I. lib. v. c. 2. pp. 468—477.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE INFERENTIAL AND PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

On the Inferential Reading of the Bible.

THE sense of Scripture having been explained and ascertained, it only remains that we apply it to purposes of practical utility: which may be effected either by deducing inferences from texts, or by practically applying the Scriptures to our personal edification and salvation. By *inferences*, we mean certain corollaries or conclusions legitimately deduced from words rightly explained; so that they who either hear or read them, may form correct views of Christian doctrine and Christian duty. And in this deduction of inferences we are warranted both by the genius of language, which, when correctly employed, not only means what the words uttered in themselves obviously imply, but also what may be deduced from them by legitimate consequences*; and likewise by the authority of Jesus Christ and his apostles, who have sanctioned this practice by their example.

To illustrate this remark by a single instance:—Our Lord, (Matt. xxii. 23—32.) when disputing with the Sadducees, cited the declaration of Jehovah recorded in Exodus iii. 6. *I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*; and from thence he proved the *resurrection of the dead* inferentially, or by legitimate consequence. It should be observed, that Abraham had been dead upwards of three hundred years before these words were spoken to Moses, yet still Jehovah called himself the God of Abraham, &c. Jesus Christ properly remarked that God is not the God of the *dead* (that word being equivalent, in the sense of the Sadducees, to *an eternal annihilation*;) but of the *living*: whence it follows, that if he be the God of Abraham,

* Qui enim intelligit, quod loquitur, non modo *vim*, sed *ambitum* quoque verborum perspicit; ideoque id omne, quod ex iis legitime colligi potest, adprobare etiam merito creditur. Buddei Elementa Philosophiæ Instrumentalis, Part. ii. cap. ii. § xxx. p. 246.

Isaac, and Jacob, they have not altogether perished, but their bodies will be raised again from the dead, while their spirits or souls are alive with God, notwithstanding they have ceased for many centuries to exist among mortals. In the same reply, our Saviour further confuted, *inferentially*, another tenet of the Sadducees, viz. that there is *neither angel nor spirit*, by showing that the soul is not only immortal, but lives with God even while the body is detained in the dust of the earth, which body will afterwards be raised to life, and be united to the soul by the miraculous power of God.

The foundation of *inferential reading* is the perpetual harmony of sacred things; so that any one who has thoroughly considered and rightly understood a single doctrine, may hence easily deduce many others which depend upon it, as they are linked together in one continued chain. But, in order to conduct this kind of reading with advantage, it is necessary that we bring to it a *sober judgment*, capable of penetrating deeply into sacred truths, and of eliciting with indefatigable attention and patience, and also of deducing one truth from another by strong reasoning; and further, that the mind possess a sufficient knowledge of the *form of sound words in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus*, (2 Tim. i. 13.) Without this knowledge, it will be impossible to make any beneficial progress in this branch of sacred literature, or to discover the exhaustless variety of important truths contained in the sacred writings. It will likewise be requisite to compare inferences when deduced, in order to ascertain whether they are correct, and are really worthy of that appellation. For this purpose, the following rules may be advantageously consulted.

I. *Obvious or too common inferences must not be deduced, nor should they be expressed in the very words of Scripture.*

Thus, if from Matt. vi. 33. *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you*, the following inferences be deduced:—1. The Kingdom of God is to be sought in the first instance. 2. It is necessary that we seek the righteousness of God; and 3. To him that thus seeks all other things shall be added. Although these are in themselves weighty truths, yet they are expressed too plainly in the very words of Scripture, to be called inferences. They are, rather, truths seated in the text itself, than truths deduced from those truths.

II. *Inferences must be deduced from the true and genuine sense of the words, not from a spurious sense, whether literal or mystical.*

We have a striking violation of this sober and almost self-evident canon, in the inference deduced by Cardinal Bellarmine, from a comparison of Acts x. 13. with John xxi. 16. From the Divine command, *Rise, Peter! kill and eat*, compared with our Lord's direction to the apostle, *Feed my sheep*, he extorts this consequence, viz. that the functions of the Roman pontiff, as the successor of Peter, are twofold—to *feed the church*, and to *put heretics to death*! It is scarcely necessary to add, that this inference is derived from putting a false and spurious sense upon those passages.

III. *Inferences are deduced more safely as well as more correctly from the originals, than from any version of the Scriptures.**

It is not uncommon, even in the best versions, to find meanings put upon the sacred text, which are totally foreign to the intention of the inspired penmen. Thus, from Acts ii. 47. (*the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved*), the papists have absurdly pretended to deduce the perpetuity and visibility of the (Roman catholic) church; and, from the same text compared with Acts xiii. 48. (*as many as were ordained to eternal life believed*), some have inferred that those whom God adds to the church shall necessarily and absolutely be eternally saved. The question relative to indefectibility from grace is foreign to a practical work like this†: but, without throwing down the gauntlet of controversy, we may remark, that these passages have no relation whatever to the doctrine of election; and that if the original of Acts ii. 47. had been *literally* rendered by the translators of our authorized version, it would have run thus,—the Lord added daily to the church, τοὺς σοζομένους, the saved, that is, those who were saved from their sins and prejudices; and so the passage is rendered by Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, and other eminent critics and divines. Further, if Acts xiii. 48. had been translated according to the proper meaning of τεταγμένοι, that verse would have run thus:—*As many as were disposed for eternal life, believed.* which rendering is not only faithful to the original, but also to the

* The Bishop of Gloucester's discourse already referred to, (see p. 655, *supra*) contains a copious illustration of this canon. See particularly pp. 10. *et seq.*

† "It may not be the most philosophical, but it is probably the wisest, opinion which we can adopt, that the truth lies somewhere between the two rival systems of Calvin and Arminius; though I believe it to exceed the wit of man to point out the *exact* place where it *does* lie. We distinctly perceive the two extremities of the vast chain, which stretches across the whole expanse of the theological heavens; but its central links are enveloped in impenetrable clouds and thick darkness." Mr. Faber's Discourses, vol. i. pp. 478, 479.

context and *scope* of the sacred historian, who is relating the effects or consequences of the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. For the Jews had contradicted Paul, and blasphemed, while the religious proselytes heard with profound attention, and cordially received the Gospel he preached to them: the *former* were, through their own stubbornness, utterly *indisposed* to receive that Gospel, while the *latter*, destitute of prejudice and prepossession, rejoiced to hear that the Gentiles were included in the covenant of salvation through Jesus Christ; and therefore, in this good state or *disposition* of mind, they believed. Such is the plain and obvious meaning deducible from the consideration of the context and scope of the passage in question; and that the rendering above given is strictly conformable to the original Greek, we apprehend, will appear from the following considerations. In the first place, the word *τεταγμενοι* is *not* the word generally used in the New Testament to denote fore-ordination, or an eternal decree, but the verbs *ορίζω* and *προορίζω*, which exactly answer to our English words *determine* and *predetermine*. Further, Dr. Hammond remarks, that the verb *τασσω*, or *ταττω*, (whence the participle *τεταγμενος*) and its compounds, are often employed in the sense of our military word *tactics*, by which is meant whatever relates to the *disposal* or marshalling of troops. (Compare Acts vii. 53. Luke viii. 8. and Rom. xiii. 1. Gr.) And hence, by analogy, it is applied to other things:—Thus, in 1 Cor. xvi. 5. we read, “*They DEVOTED* (*εταξαν*) themselves to the ministry of the saints.” See also Ezek. xliv. 14. (Gr.) 1 Mac. v. 27. and 2 Mac. xv. 20. (Gr.); and particularly Acts xx. 13., where we read that Saint Paul went on foot to Assos, *for so he was* (*διεταγμενος*) *DISPOSED*. Similar expressions are to be found in the Greek classic writers *. “Meanwhile,” says Dr. Hammond, with equal truth and piety, “it must be remembered

* Dr. Hammond (on Acts xiii. 48.) has cited and commented on several passages which we have not room to state. He renders the word *τεταγμενοι* by *fitly disposed and qualified for*; Dr. Wall, by *fit to receive*; and Mr. Thomson, the learned North American translator of the Scriptures from the Greek, by *fitly disposed*. Wolfius (Cur. Philol. in loc.) considers the phrase *τεταγμενος εις* as equivalent to *ευθετος εις*, (Luke ix. 62.) in our version rendered *fit* (or, more correctly, *rightly disposed*) *for the kingdom of God*. Dr. Whitby translates the word by *disposed*, and Dr. Doddridge by *determined*, in order to preserve the ambiguity of the word. The meaning, he observes, of the sacred penman seems to be, that all who were deeply and seriously concerned about their eternal happiness, openly embraced the Gospel. And wherever this temper was, it was undoubtedly the effect of a divine operation on their hearts. See Whitby, Doddridge, Wall, Wetstein, Bengel, and Rosenmüller, on Acts xiii. 48; and compare also Franzius de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, pp. 104—115.

that these qualifications are not pretended to have been originally from themselves, but from *the preventing grace of God*; to which it is to be acknowledged due that they are ever pliable, or willing to follow Christ."

IV. *Those inferences are always to be preferred which approach nearest to the scope of a passage.*

Thus, in John vi. 37. Christ says, *Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.* From this clause the two following inferences have been deduced. 1. That Jesus Christ is a most certain asylum for all persons whose consciences are burthened. 2. That Christians ought to receive those who are weak in faith, after the example of Christ, and to treat them with tenderness. Now, though both these inferences are good in themselves, the first is most to be preferred, because it harmonizes best with the scope of the passage, (compare verses 37—40.) which is to show that Christ will reject none "that truly repent and unfeignedly believe" in him.

V. *Inferences ought to embrace useful truths, and such as are necessary to be known, on which the mind may meditate, and be led to a more intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of salvation, and with Christian morality.*

It were no difficult task to illustrate this remark by a variety of examples; but this is rendered unnecessary by the admirable models presented in the valuable sermons of our most eminent divines, not to mention the excellent sermons of Massillon, Bossuet, Flechier, Claude, Saurin, Superville, Du Bosc, and other eminent foreign divines, both protestants and catholics. The reader, who is desirous of illustrations, will find many very apposite ones in Monsieur Claude's celebrated and elaborate Essay on the Composition of a Sermon.*

The *sources*, whence inferences are deducible, are divided by Professor Rambach (to whom we are almost wholly indebted for this chapter †) into two classes, viz. *internal* and *external*: the former are *inherent* in the text, and flow from it, *considered in itself*; the latter are derived from a *comparison* of the text with *other passages and circumstances*.

To illustrate these definitions by a few examples:—The

* See particularly §§ 17—26. in Dr. Williams's edition of Claude's Essay, Christian Preacher, pp. 300—346; or Mr. Simeon's edition, forming nearly the whole first volume of his "Helps to Composition."

† Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. iv. c. iii. pp. 804—822.

sources, whence inferences may be deduced, are *internal*, or inherent in the text, when such consequences are formed, 1. From the affections of the sacred writer or speaker; 2. From words and their signification; 3. From the emphasis and force of words; and, 4. From the structure and order of the words contained in the sacred text.

I. *Inferences deduced from the affections of the writer or speaker, whether these are indicated in the text, or are left to the investigation of the interpreter.* Thus, in Mark iii. 5. we read that Jesus Christ looked round about on those who opposed him with *anger*, being *grieved for the hardness of their hearts*: the anger here mentioned was no uneasy passion, but an excess of generous grief occasioned by their obstinate stupidity and blindness. From this passage the following conclusions may be drawn. 1. It is the duty of a Christian to sorrow, not only for his own sins, but also to be grieved for the sins of others. 2. All anger is not to be considered sinful. 3. He does not bear the image of Christ, but rather that of Satan, who can either behold with indifference the wickedness of others, or rejoice in it. 4. Nothing is more wretched than an obdurate heart, since it caused him, who is the source of all true joy, to be filled with grief on beholding it. 5. Our indignation against wickedness must be tempered by compassion for the persons of the wicked.

II. *Inferences deduced from words themselves, and their signification.* For instance, in Luke xxi. 15. our Lord, addressing his disciples, says, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom.* Inference 1. Christ, the eternal wisdom, is the source and spring of all true wisdom. 2. *Will give.* They, who attempt to procure wisdom by their own strength, without the aid of prayer, may justly be charged with presumption. 3. *You.* No one stands more in need of the gift of divine wisdom than they who are intrusted with the charge of teaching others. 4. *A mouth*, or ready utterance. The gift of eloquence is bestowed by God, as well as every other gift. *Wisdom.* It is possible for a man to acquire *cunning* by the mere force of corrupt nature; but nature cannot possibly confer true wisdom. 5. *And.* Eloquence, when not united with wisdom, is of little utility in promoting the kingdom of Christ. From this last inference it appears, that even the smallest particles afford matter from which we may deduce practical conclusions.

III. *Inferences deduced from the emphasis and force of words.* We have an example in 1 Pet. v. 5. *Be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud.* Inference 1. *Humility.* Christian

humility does not reside in filthy or rent garments, but in a modest mind, that entertains humble views of itself. 2. *Be ye clothed*, ἐγκομβωσαθε, from ἐν, *in*, and κομβω, *to gather, or tie in a knot*. The word means *to clothe, properly, with an outer ornamental garment, tied closely upon one with knots*. True humility is an *ornament* which decorates the mind much more than the most costly garment does the body *. 3. Humility is a garment with which we cover both our own virtues and the defects of others. 4. This ornament of humility, being exposed to many snares, must be most carefully guarded, and retained around us. 5. *The proud*, υπερηφανοις, from υπερ, *above*, and φαινω, *to appear*, because such persons exalt themselves above others. No sin is capable of being less concealed, or of escaping the observation of others, than pride. 6. *God resisteth*, αντιστασεται, literally, *SETTETH HIMSELF AS IN ARRAY against, the proud man*: this is a military term. The inference deducible is, that while all other sinners retire, as it were, from the presence of God, and seek for shelter against his indignation, the proud man alone openly braves it. †

IV. *Inferences deduced from the order and structure of the words contained in the sacred text*. Thus, from Rom. xiv. 17. *The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, the following inferences may be derived, according to the order of the words, which depends upon the connexion and order of the subjects treated of. 1. No constant and lasting *peace* of conscience is to be expected, unless we previously lay hold of the *righteousness* of Christ by faith. 2. They only possess a genuine and permanent *joy*, who, being justified, cultivate *peace* with God through Jesus Christ. 3. In vain do those persons boast of the *righteousness* of Christ, who still continue in a state of hostility and enmity with God and man. 4. A serene and peaceful conscience is the only source of spiritual joy. ‡

* Mr. Parkhurst's illustration of this truly emphatic word is too important and beautiful to be omitted. "On the whole," says he, "this expressive word, ἐγκομβωσαθε, used by Saint Peter, implies that the humility of Christians, which is one of the most ornamental graces of their profession, should constantly appear in all their conversation, so as to strike the eye of every beholder; and that this amiable grace should be so closely connected with their persons, that no occurrence, temptation, or calamity should be able to strip them of it.—Faxit Deus!" Greek and English Lexicon, p. 185. col. 2. (5th edit.)

† It may be worth the reader's while to re-consider what has already been stated on the subject of emphatic words, (vol. i. pp. 215—222. *supra*), which, in fact, are so many sources whence inferences may be judiciously deduced.

‡ For a full illustration of this subject, we with pleasure refer the reader to an excellent discourse, in "Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical," by the Rev. John Jebb, A.M. serm. iv. pp. 71—98.

The sources of inferences are *external*, when the conclusions are deduced from a comparison of the text, 1. With the state of the speaker;—2. With the scope of the book or passage;—3. With antecedents and consequents, or, in other words, with the context;—4. With parallel passages, and other circumstances.

I. *Inferences deduced from the state of the writer or speaker.* Thus, when Solomon, the wisest and richest of sovereigns, whose eager desire after the enjoyment of worldly vanities was so great that he left none of them untried, and whose means of gratifying himself in every possible pleasure and delight were unbounded,—when he exclaims, (Eccl. i. 2.) *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, the following inferences may be deduced from his words, compared with the state of his mind. 1. Since the meanest artisan is not to be despised when speaking properly and opportunely of his own business, he must be more than usually stupid, who does not give diligent attention, when a most illustrious monarch is about to speak. 2. How admirable is the wisdom of God, who, when it pleased him to select a person to proclaim and testify the vanity of all things human, made choice of one, who had most deeply experienced how truly vain they were. 3. When a sovereign, thus singularly possessed of glory, fame, human wisdom, riches, and every facility for the enjoyment of pleasures, proclaims the vanity of all these things, his testimony ought to be received by every one with great respect. 4. Since princes, above all others, are exposed to the insidious wiles of pleasure, it is worthy of remark, that God raised up one of their own rank to admonish them of their danger.

II. *Inferences deduced from (1) the general scope of an entire book.* For instance, let the following words of Jesus Christ, (John viii. 51.) *Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death*, be compared with the general scope of the book, which is announced in John xx. 31. *These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have life through his name.* From this collation the following inferences will flow.

I. Faith in Christ is to be proved and shown by obedience to his word. II. True faith cordially receives not only the merits of Christ, but also his words and precepts. And, III. Whosoever is made, through faith, a partaker of spiritual life, shall also be freed from spiritual and eternal death. (2.) *From the special scope of a particular passage.* The particular scope of Jesus Christ in the passage above cited, (John viii. 51.) was to demonstrate that he was not possessed by an evil spirit,

since the keeping of his words would procure eternal life for all who obey him, while Satan, on the contrary, leads men into sin, whose wages is *death*, or everlasting perdition. Hence we may deduce the subsequent inferences. I. That doctrine, which produces such very salutary effects, cannot necessarily be false and diabolical. II. Saving truths are to be proposed even to those who are guilty of calumniating them. III. There is no nearer way, by which to liberate the mind from doubts formed against truth, than a ready obedience to acknowledged truth. IV. The precepts of Christ are to be regarded and obeyed, even though they should be ridiculed or defamed by the most learned men. (3.) *From the very special scope of particular words or phrases.* The passage just referred to will supply us with another illustration. For instance, should it be asked, I. Why our Lord prefixed to his declaration, a solemn asseveration similar to an oath, it is replied, because he perceived the very obstinate unbelief of his hearers: whence it may be inferred, that it is a shameful thing that Christ should find so little faith among men. II. Should it be further inquired, why he prefixed a *double asseveration*? it is answered, in order that, by such repetition, he might silence the repeated calumnies of those who opposed him: hence also it may be inferred, that, in proportion to the malice and effrontery of men in asserting calumnies, the greater zeal is required in vindicating truth. III. Should it still be asked, why our Lord added the words, *I say unto you*, we reply, in opposition to the assertion of his enemies in the 48th verse;—*Say we not well, that thou hast a demon?* From which we may infer, that he who is desirous of knowing the truth, ought not only to attend to the stories invented and propagated by wicked men against the godly, but also to those things which Christ says of them, and they of him. Other instances might be adduced, but the preceding will suffice.

III. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with the context.* In this case, the principal words of a text should be compared together, in order that inferences may be deduced from their mutual relation. I. Collate 1 Tim. i. 15. *It is a faithful saying*, with verse 4. *Neither give heed to fables.* *Inference.* The idle legends of the Jews (preserved in the Talmud), and the relations of the Gentiles concerning their deities, and the appearances *of the latter*, are compared to uncertain fables: but the narration in the Gospel concerning Jesus Christ is both certain and worthy of being received with faith. II. Collate also 1 Tim. i. 15. with verse 6. *Vain jangling, or empty talking.* *Inference.* God usually punishes those who

will not believe the most certain words of the Gospel, by judicially giving them up to a voluntary belief of the most absurd and lying fables. III. Compare the words, *Worthy of all acceptance*, (1 Tim. i. 15.) with verse 8. *The law is good.* *Inference.* The law, as given by God, is both good in itself and has a good tendency, though to a sinner it is so formidable as to put him to flight: but the Gospel recommends itself to the terrified conscience, as a saying or discourse every way worthy of credit.

IV. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with parallel passages.* The advantage resulting from such a comparison, in investigating the *sense* of a passage of Scripture, has already been stated, and illustrated; and the observations and examples referred to, if considered with a particular view to the deduction of inferences, will supply the reader with numerous instances, whence he may draw various important corollaries. One instance, therefore, will suffice to exemplify the nature of the inferences deducible from a comparison of the text with parallel passages. In 2 Tim. i. 8. Saint Paul exhorts Timothy *not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord.* Compare this with Rom. i. 16. where he says, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek; and with Isa. xxviii. 16. and xlix. 23. last clause, (cited in Rom. x. 11.) where it is said, Whosoever believeth in him, Christ, shall not be ashamed, that is, confounded or disappointed of his hope.* From this collation the two following inferences may be derived. 1. Faithful ministers of the Gospel require nothing from others which they do not by their own experience know to be both possible and practicable. And, 2. All those, who have already believed, or do now or shall hereafter believe, in Christ, have, in and through him, all the blessings foretold by the prophets; all the promises of God, in (or through) him, being *yea*, that is, true in themselves, and *amen*, that is, faithfully fulfilled to all those who believe in Christ. (2 Cor. i. 20.)

V. *A fifth external source of inferences, is the collation of the text with the consideration of the following external circumstances, viz.*

(1) *The Time* when the words or things were uttered or took place. Thus, in Matt. xxvii. 52. we read that *many bodies of the saints which slept arose*: But when? After Christ's Resurrection, (v. 53.) not before, (as Rambach himself, among other eminent divines, has supposed); for Christ himself was

the *first fruits* of them that slept, (1 Cor. xv. 20.) The graves were opened at his death by the earthquake, and the bodies came out at his resurrection. *Inference.* The satisfactory efficacy of Christ's death was so great, that it opened a way to life to those who believed on him as the Messiah that was to come, as well as to those who believe in him subsequently to his incarnation; and that both are equally partakers of the benefits flowing from his resurrection.

(2) *The place where the words were uttered.* As in Matt. xxvi. 39. 42. *Not my will but thine be done!* Where did Christ utter this exclamation? In a garden. *Inference.* He who made an atonement for the sins of all mankind, voluntarily submitted himself, in the garden of passion, to the will of God; from which man withdrew himself in a garden of pleasure.

(3) *The occasion upon which the words were spoken.* Thus, in Matt. xvi. 3. Christ rebukes the Pharisees, *because they did not observe the signs of the times.* On what occasion? When they required him to show them a sign from heaven. *Inference.* Such are the blindness and corruption of men, that, disregarding the signs exhibited to them by God himself, they frequently require new signs that are more agreeable to their own desires.

(4) *The manner in which a thing is done.* Acts ix. 9. During the blindness in which Saul continued for three days and three nights, God brought him to the knowledge of himself. *Inference.* Those, whom God vouchsafes to enlighten, he first convinces of their spiritual blindness. *

Other instances, illustrating the sources whence inferences are deducible, might be offered, were they necessary, or were the preceding capable of being very soon exhausted. From the sources already stated and explained, various kinds of inferences may be derived, relating both to faith and practice. Thus, some may be deduced for the confirmation of faith, for exciting sentiments of love and gratitude, and for the support of hope; while others contribute to promote piety, christian wisdom and prudence, and sacred eloquence; lastly, others are serviceable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction, and for comfort. He, who adds *personal practice* to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and meditates on the inferences deduced from them by learned and pious men, will abundantly experience the truth of the royal Psalmist's observations, —

* Professor Franck, in his *Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ*, cap. 3. (pp. 101—123 of Mr. Jacques's translation), has some very useful observations on inferential reading, illustrated with numerous instances different from those above given.

Thy commandment is exceeding broad; and, the entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple, (Psal. cxix. 96. 130.) “The Scriptures,” says the late eminent Bishop Horne, “are the appointed means of *enlightening* the mind with true and saving knowledge. They show us what we were, what we are, and what we shall be: they show us what God hath done for us, and what he expecteth us to do for him; they show us the adversaries we have to encounter, and how to encounter them with success; they show us the mercy and the justice of the Lord, the joys of heaven, and the pains of hell. Thus will they *give to the simple*, in a few days, an *understanding* of those matters, which philosophy, for whole centuries, sought in vain.”

In conducting, however, the inferential reading above discussed, we must be careful not to trust to the mere effusions of a prurient or vivid fancy: inferences, *legitimately deduced*, unquestionably, do essentially promote the spiritual instruction and practical edification of the reader. “But, when brought forward for the purpose of *interpretation* properly so called, they are to be viewed with caution and even with mistrust. For scarcely is there a favourite opinion, which a fertile imagination may not thus extract from some portion of Scripture: and very different, nay contrary, interpretations of this kind have often been made of the very same texts, according to men’s various fancies or inventions.” *

* Van Mildert’s Lectures, p. 247

SECTION II.

ON THE PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING hitherto endeavoured to show how we may ascertain and apply the true sense of the sacred writings, it remains only to consider in what manner we may best reduce our knowledge to practice: for, if serious contemplation of the Scriptures and *practice* be united together, our real knowledge of the Bible must necessarily be increased, and will be rendered progressively more delightful. *If*, says Jesus Christ, *any man will do his (God’s) will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God*, (John vii. 17.) This is the chief end for which God has *revealed* his will to us (Deut. xxix. 29.); and all Scripture is profitable for this purpose, (2 Tim. iii. 16.) either directing us

what we should do, or inciting and encouraging us to do it: it being written for our learning, that *we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope*, (Rom. xv. 4.) that is, that by the strenuous exercise of that patience, which the consolations administered in Scripture so powerfully support, we might have an assured and joyful hope in the midst of all our tribulation. Even those things, which seem most notional and speculative, are reducible to practice, (Rom. i. 20, 21.) Those speculations, which we are enabled to form concerning the nature and attributes of God, grounded upon his works, ought to induce us to glorify him as such a God, as his works declare him to be: and it is a manifest indication that our knowledge is not right, if it have not this influence upon our conduct and conversation, (1 John ii. 3.)

The practical reading here referred to, is of such a nature, that the most illiterate person may prosecute it with advantage: for the application of Scripture which it enjoins, is connected with salvation; and consequently, if the unlearned were incapable of making such application to themselves, it would be in vain to allow them to peruse the sacred writings. * After what has been stated in the preceding part of this volume, the author trusts he shall stand acquitted of undervaluing the knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, an acquaintance with which will suggest many weighty practical hints, that would not present themselves in a version. It is, however sufficient, that every thing necessary to direct our faith, and regulate our practice, may easily be ascertained by the aid of translations. Of all modern versions, the present authorized English translation is, upon the whole, undoubtedly the most accurate and faithful; the translators having seized the very spirit of the sacred writers, and having almost every where expressed their meaning with a pathos and energy that have never been rivalled by any subsequent versions either of the Old or the New Testament, or of detached books, although, in most of these, *particular passages* are rendered more happily, and with a closer regard to the genius and spirit of the divine originals.

The simplest practical application of the word of God will, unquestionably, prove the most beneficial; provided it be conducted with a due regard to those moral qualifications which have already been stated and enforced, as necessary to the right understanding of the Scriptures. Should, however, any hints

* Franckii Manuductio, cap. iv. p. 131. *et seq.*; or p. 124. *et seq.* of the English version.

be required, the following may, perhaps, be consulted with advantage. *

I. In reading the Scriptures, then, with a view to personal application, we should be careful that it be done with a pure intention. The Scribes and Pharisees indeed searched the Scriptures, yet without deriving any real benefit from them: they *thought* that they had in them eternal life: yet they would not come to Christ that they might have life, (John v. 40.) He, however, who peruses the sacred volume, merely for the purpose of amusing himself with the histories it contains, or of beguiling time, or to tranquillize his conscience by the discharge of a mere external duty, is deficient in the *motive* with which he performs that duty, and cannot expect to derive from it either advantage or comfort amid the trials of life. Neither will it suffice to read the Scriptures with the mere design of becoming intimately acquainted with sacred truths, unless such reading be accompanied with a desire, that, through them, he may be convinced of his self-love, ambition, or other faults to which he may be peculiarly exposed, and that, by the assistance of divine grace, he may be enabled to root them out of his mind.

II. In reading the Scriptures for this purpose, it will be advisable to select some appropriate lessons from its most useful parts; not being particularly solicitous about the exact connexion or other critical niceties that may occur (though at other times, as ability and opportunity offer, these are highly proper objects of inquiry), but simply considering them in a devotional or practical view. † After ascertaining, therefore, the plain and obvious meaning of the lesson under examination, we should first consider the *present state of our minds*, and carefully compare it with the passage in question: next, we should inquire into the *causes of those faults* which such perusal may have disclosed to us; and should then look around for suitable remedies to correct the faults we have thus discovered.

III. We are not, however, to confine our attention solely to external precepts; we should first diligently *search for the foundation of each precept in the Scriptures*; and, after examining whether we can discover it *in ourselves*, we must lay the

* These observations are selected and abridged from Rambach's *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ*, and Professor Franck's *Brevi Institutio, rationem tradens Sacram Scripturam in veram edificationem legendi*, annexed to his *Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ*, 8vo. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1717. Franck has treated the same topic nearly in a similar manner, in his *Manuductio*, already noticed, cap. iv.

† Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*, ch. xix. § 9. (Works, vol. i. p. 359. Leeds edit. 8vo).

foundation in our own breasts, before we can think of erecting upon it any precepts for the regulation of life and manners. The following example, from that inimitable model of Christian Prayer, emphatically termed the Lord's Prayer, will illustrate this remark. We are there taught to implore the forgiveness of our sins (Matt. vi. 12. Luke xi. 4), and we are assured (Matt. vi. 15), that, if we do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will God forgive us. Previously, then, to our offering up this petition, we should examine ourselves, whether, agreeably to this precept, and also in conformity to the divine command of loving our enemies, and blessing those who curse us, (Matt. v. 44.), we do truly and sincerely forgive them that have trespassed against us: because, unless this is the case, we deceive ourselves, and consequently our own hypocrisy will prevent our petition for forgiveness from being answered.

IV. In every practical reading and application of the Scriptures to ourselves, our attention should be fixed on Jesus Christ, both as a *gift* to be received by faith for salvation, and also as an *exemplar*, to be copied and imitated in our lives. We are not, however, to imitate him in all things. Some things he did by his divine power, and in those we *cannot* imitate him: other things he performed by his sovereign authority, in those we *must not* imitate him: other things also he performed by virtue of his office as a Mediator, and in these we *may not*, we *cannot* follow him. But, in his early piety, his obedience to his reputed earthly parents, his unwearied diligence in doing good, his humility, his unblameable conduct, his self-denial, his contentment under low circumstances, his frequency in private prayer, his affectionate thankfulness, his compassion to the wretched, his holy and edifying discourse, his free conversation, his patience, his readiness to forgive injuries, his sorrow for the sins of others, his zeal for the worship of God, his glorifying his heavenly father, his impartiality in administering reproof, his universal obedience, and his love and practice of holiness, — in all these instances, Jesus Christ is the most perfect pattern for our imitation.* And the observation of these things, in

* The various features in the character of our Redeemer as man, which are enumerated above, are illustrated in an admirable, but little known, anonymous tract (edited by the Rev. Dr. Glasse), entitled "*Jesus Christ, as Man, an inimitable pattern of religious virtue.*" 8vo. Rivingtons, London, 1809. Having briefly, though perspicuously, illustrated the different subjects, the editor terminates his essay with the following caution, which is unhappily as applicable to the present time as when it was first written, "Take heed that ye do not so consider Christ for your pattern, as to *disown* him for your Saviour and Redeemer. God preserve us," he adds, "from this growing error, which stabs the heart of the Christian Religion, in that it deprives us of the

a practical point of view, will be of singular use to us on this account; namely, that whatever sympathy and benevolence Christ displayed on earth, he retains the same in heaven, seeing that he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and that he ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him. For we have not an high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but [one who was] in all points tempted like as we are; so that we may now come with humble confidence to the throne of Grace; assuring ourselves, that we shall find, from the true mercy-seat of God, sufficient help in all our distresses. (Heb. xiii. 8. vii. 25. and iv. 15, 16.) Jesus Christ, then, being our most perfect exemplar, (1 Cor. xi. i.) the particular actions and general conduct of other men, as related in the Scriptures, should be regarded by us as models of imitation, only *so far as they are conformable to this standard.*

V. “An example (that is, every good one) hath the force of a rule; all of them being *written for our admonition*, (1 Cor. x. 11.) But then we must be careful to examine and discern whether the example be *extraordinary* or *ordinary*, according to which the application must be made.” *

In illustration of this remark, it may be observed, 1. That in matters which were *extraordinary*, such as the killing of Eglon by Ehud, (Judg. iii. 21.) Elijah’s killing the prophets of Baal, (1 Kings xviii. 40.) and his invoking fire from heaven, (2 Kings i. 10.) a conduct which, though approved in *him*, was condemned by our Lord in the apostles, (Luke ix. 54, 55.); — 2. In matters that were *temporary*; such were many of the ceremonies observed by the Jews, the washing of his disciples’ feet by our Lord, (John xiii. 14.) the celebration of love-feasts by the primitive Christians, &c.; and, 3. In matters that were *sinful*, as the drunkenness of Noah, (Gen. ix. 21.) the adultery of David, (2 Sam. xi.) the repining of Jonah, (Jonah iv. 1—9.) Peter’s denial of Christ, (Matt. xxvi. 69—75. Mark xiv. 66—72. Luke xxii. 55—62. John xviii. 25—27.) &c.; — in matters which were thus extraordinary, temporary, or sinful, the practice of holy men recorded in the Scriptures is not to be a pattern for us: but in all general holy duties, and in such particular duties as belong to our respective situations and call-

choicest benefits of Christ’s death; namely, the expiation of sin by a proper satisfaction to the justice of God!”—Since the preceding note was written, we have ascertained that the essay in question was originally written by Mr. Burkitt, who annexed it to his exposition of the Gospels.—See Burkitt on the New Test. pp. 360, *et seq.* 4to. edit. London.

* Bishop Wilkins on the Gift of Preaching, p. 23. of Dr. E. Williams’s Christian Preacher.

ings, we are to set them before our eyes, and to follow their steps. When, therefore, we read of the uprightness of Noah, of Abraham's faith, the meekness of Moses, of David's devotions, the zeal of Josiah, the boldness of Peter and John in Christ's cause, of the labours of Saint Paul, and other virtues of the antient saints, it should be our study to adorn our profession with similar graces and ornaments.

"Instead," therefore, "of adopting the sayings and actions recorded in Scripture, implicitly and absolutely, we ought to reason in some such manner as this: If such a person, so situated, best answered the ends of such an institution, by acting in such a manner, how shall we, in our situation, best answer the ends of the same. Sometimes merely proposing this form of inquiry will carry us right: but, in more difficult cases, we shall have the general principles, the nature and end of the duty in question to investigate, and from these to determine the particular cases; that is, how, in such cases, the ends of the duty can be best attained. However, in most questions, a good *heart* will be more requisite than a good *head*." *

VI. When we read of the *failings*, as well as the *sinful actions* of men, recorded in the Scriptures, we may see what is in our own nature: for there are in us the seeds of the same sin, and similar tendencies to its commission, which would bring forth similar fruits, were it not for the preventing and renewing grace of God. And as many of the persons, whose faults are related in the volume of inspiration, were men of infinitely more elevated piety than ourselves, we should learn from them, not only to "be not high-minded, but fear" (Rom. xi. 20.); and further, to avoid being rash in censuring the conduct of others.

The *occasions* of their declensions are likewise deserving of our attention, as well as the temptations to which they were exposed, and whether they did not neglect to watch over their thoughts, words, and actions, or trust too much to their own strength (as in the case of Peter's denial of Christ); what were the means that led to their penitence and recovery, and how they demeaned themselves after they had repented. By a due observation therefore of their *words and actions*, and of the *frame and temper of their minds*, so far as they are manifested by words and actions, we shall be better enabled to judge of

* Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. p. 77. The whole of his chapter on "applying sayings and actions recorded in the Scriptures to ourselves," abounds with profound views, happily illustrated, and is worthy of repeated perusals.

our *real* progress in religious knowledge, than by those characters which are given of holy men in the Scriptures, without such observation of the tenor of their lives, and the frame of their minds. *

VII. In reading the promises and threatenings, the exhortations and admonitions, and other parts of Scripture, we should apply them to ourselves in such a manner, as if they had been personally addressed to us. For instance, are we reading any of the prophetic Sermons? Let us so read and consider them, and, as it were, identify ourselves with the times and persons when and to whom such prophetic discourses were delivered, as if they were our fellow-countrymen, fellow-citizens, &c. whom Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets rebuke in some chapters; while in others they labour to convince them of their sinful ways, and to convert them, or, in the event of their continuing disobedient, denounce the divine judgments against them. † So, in all the precepts of Christian virtue recorded in Matt. v. vi. and vii. we should consider ourselves to be as nearly and particularly concerned, as if we had personally heard them delivered by Jesus Christ on the Mount. ‡ Independently, therefore, of the light which will thus be thrown upon the prophetic or other portions of Scripture, much *practical* instruction will be efficiently obtained; for, by this mode of reading the Scriptures, the promises addressed to others will encourage us, the denunciations against others will deter us from the commission of sin, the exhortations delivered to others will excite us to the diligent performance of our duty, and, finally, admonitions to others will make us “walk circumspectly.” Thus will Saint Paul’s comprehensive observations be fully realized; “Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, (Rom. xv. 4.); and “All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

* Lukin’s Introduction to the Scriptures, p. 215, 12mo. London, 1669.

† Franzii Tractatus de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, Præf. p. 9.

‡ “This *close* application,” says an excellent, but now neglected writer, “will render what we read operative and effective, which, without it, will be useless and insignificant. We may see an instance of it in David; who was not at all convinced of his own guilt by Nathan’s parable; though the most apposite that was imaginable, till he roundly applied it, saying, *Thou art the Man*, (2 Sam. xii. 7.) And, unless we treat ourselves at the same rate, the Scriptures may fill our heads with high notions, nay, with many speculative truths, which yet amount to no more than the devil’s theology, (Jam. ii. 19.) and will as little advantage us.” Lively Oracles, sect. viii. § 41.

VIII. The words of the passage selected for our private reading, after its import has been ascertained, may beneficially be summed up or comprized in very brief prayers or ejaculations.* The advantage resulting from this simple method, says Rambach, has been proved by many who have recommended it. A late learned divine of our own country †, whom no one will suspect of even a tendency to enthusiasm, has confirmed this remark; observing, that if we pray over the substance of Scripture, with our Bible before us, it may impress the memory and heart more deeply, and may form us to copiousness and variety both of thought and expression in prayer. Should any references to the Scriptures be required, in confirmation of this statement, we would briefly notice that the following passages, among many others that might be cited, will, by addressing them to God, and, by a slight change also in the person, become admirable petitions for divine teaching; viz. Col. i. 9, 10. — Eph. i. 17, 18, 19. — 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2. — The hundred and nineteenth Psalm contains numerous similar passages.

IX. In the practical reading of the Scriptures, all things are not to be applied at once, but gradually and successively: and this application must be made, not so much with the view of supplying us with materials for *talking*, as with matter for *practice*.

X. This practical reading and application must be diligently continued through life; and we may, with the assistance of divine grace, reasonably hope for success in it, if, to reading, we add constant *prayer* and *meditation* on what we have read. Prayer, says Saint Bernard, enlightens meditation, and by meditation, prayer is rendered more ardent. ‡ With these, we are further to conjoin a perpetual comparison of the sacred writings; daily observation of what takes place in ourselves, as well as what we learn from the experience of others;

* Professor Franck has given several examples of the practice here recommended, in the 'Brevis Institutio,' at the end of his *Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ*. Similar examples are also extant in the well known and useful little Tract, entitled "Plain Directions for reading the Holy Scriptures," published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

† Dr. Doddridge, Works, vol. i. p. 360.

‡ Oratio et meditatio conjunctione necessariâ sibi ad invicem copulantur. Et per orationem illuminatur meditatio, et in meditatione exardescit oratio. Opera, tom. v. p. 260, no. 2. In p. 156. no. 56. of the same volume, Saint Bernard has the following apposite observations on this topic. — "Nemo repente fit summus: *Ascendendo*, non volando, apprehenditur summitas scalæ. Ascendamus igitur, duobus veluti pedibus, *Meditatione* et *Oratione*. Meditatio siquidem docet, quid desit; Oratio, ne desit, obtinet. Illa viam ostendit, ista deducit. Meditatione denique agnoscimus imminetia nobis pericula: Oratione evadimus, præstante Domino Nostro Jesu Christo."

a strict and vigilant self-examination; together with frequent conversation with men of learning and piety, who have made greater progress in saving knowledge; and, lastly, the diligent cultivation of internal peace.*

Other observations might be offered: but the preceding hints, if duly considered and acted upon, will make us “neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.” (2 Pet. i. 8.) And if, to some of his readers, the author should *appear* to have dilated too much on so obvious a topic, its *importance* must be his apology. Whatever relates to the confirmation of our faith, the improvement of our morals, or the elevation of our affections, ought not to be treated lightly or with indifference. To borrow a remark of the eminently learned Dr. Waterland, with a trifling variation,—while moral or spiritual uses or improvements are raised upon texts of Scripture, for the purposes of *practical edification* (whether such spiritual uses were really intended by the sacred penmen or not), if the words be but *aptly* accommodated to them, and *pertinently* and *soberly* applied, and the analogy of faith be preserved, a good end will be answered, and the true *doctrine* at least will be kept, if not a true interpretation.

* The subjects briefly noticed in this paragraph, are discussed more at length by Franzius, in the preface (pp. 9—11.) to his *Tractatus Theologicus de Interpretatione Scripturæ Sacræ*.

CHAPTER XV.

ON COMMENTARIES.

- I. *Different classes of Commentaries*; — II. *Nature of Scholia*; — III. *Of Commentaries strictly so called*; — IV. *Paraphrases*; — V. *Collections of Observations on Holy Writ*; — VI. *The utility and advantage of Commentaries*; — VII. *Design to be kept in view, when consulting them*; — VIII. *Rules for consulting Commentaries to the best advantage.*

I. THE labours of expositors and commentators have been divided into various classes, according to the nature of their different works: for, although few confine themselves to one method of interpretation, exclusively, yet each generally has some predominant character, by which he is peculiarly distinguished. Thus some are,

1. *Wholly spiritual or figurative*; as Cocceius, and those foreign commentators who have followed his system, viz. that the Scripture is every where to be taken in the fullest sense it will admit; and in our own country, Dr. Gill, Dr. Hawker, and some minor writers.

2. *Literal and critical*: such are Ainsworth, Wetstein, Dr. Blayney, Bishop Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby, Calmet, Chais, Bishop Lowth, Archbishop Newcome, Wall, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Priestley, and others.

3. *Wholly practical*: as Musculus, Zuingle, Baxter, Osterwald, Brown, Scott, Dr. Fawcett, the “Reformer’s Bible,” &c. &c.

4. Those who unite critical, philological, and practical observations: such are the commentaries of Dr. Dodd, Dr. Mant and Mr. D’Oyly, Poole, M. Martin, Dr. A. Clarke, &c., and the paraphrases of Pyle on the Old Testament; on the New Testament, Dr. S. Clarke and Pyle, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Locke, Dr. Benson, Dr. Macknight, Mr. Orton on the Old Testament, Mr. Gilpin on the New Testament, &c. &c.

A more correct classification of expository writings may be into *scholiasts*, *commentators*, and *paraphrasts*: whose united design is, to lead their readers to the right understanding of the author whom they undertake to explain. Hence their province is, to illustrate obscure passages, to reconcile apparent

contradictions, to obviate difficulties whether *verbal* or *real*, and, in short, to remove every thing that may tend to excite doubts in the minds of the readers of the Bible.

II. *Scholia*, are short explanatory notes on the sacred writers; whose authors, termed *scholiasts*, particularly aim at brevity. In this kind of expository writings, obscure words and phrases are explained by such as are more clear; figurative, by such as are proper; and the genuine force of each word and phrase is pointed out. Further, the allusions to antient manners and customs are illustrated, and whatever light may be thrown upon the sacred writer from history or geography, is carefully concentrated, and *concisely expressed*: nor does the scholiast fail to select and introduce the principal and most valuable various readings, whose excellence, antiquity, and genuineness, to the best of his judgment, give them a claim to be noticed. The discordant interpretations of difficult passages are stated and examined, and the most probable one is pointed out. These various topics, however, are rather touched upon, than treated at length: though no material passages are (or at least ought to be) left unnoticed, yet some very obscure and difficult passages are left to be discussed and expounded by more learned men. Such was the method, according to which the antient scholiasts composed their scholia, for illustrating Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Sophocles, Horace, Virgil, and other Greek and Latin classics: and the same mode has been adopted by those Christian writers who have written scholia on the Bible. *

III. The various topics, which engage the attention of the scholiast, are also discussed, but more at length, by *commentators*; whose observations form a series of perpetual annotations on the sacred writers, and who point out more clearly the train of their thoughts, as well the coherence of their expressions. The commentator therefore not only furnishes summaries of the argument, but also resolves the expressions of his author into their several parts, and shows in what respects they agree, as well as where they are apparently at variance. He further weighs and examines different passages, that admit of different interpretations; and, while he offers his own views, he confirms

* Somewhat similar to Scholia are the *questions* or inquiries concerning particular books of Scripture, which were composed by antient ecclesiastical writers: they differ from Scholia in this respect, that questions are exclusively confined to the consideration of some difficult passages only, whose meaning was at that time an object of discussion, while it is the design of Scholia to notice *every* difficult or obscure passage with brevity and perspicuity. Augustine, among other biblical treatises, wrote two books of *Questiones Evangelicæ*, on the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint Luke.

them by proper arguments or proofs, and solves any doubts which may attend his own interpretation. Further, a judicious commentator will avoid all prolix, extraneous, and unnecessary discussions, as well as far-fetched explanations, and will bring every philological aid to bear upon passages that are in any degree difficult or obscure. Commentators *ought not* to omit a single passage that possesses more than ordinary difficulty, though the contrary is the case with many, who expatiate very copiously on the more easy passages of Scripture, while they scarcely touch on those which are really difficult, if they do not altogether omit to treat of them. In a word, it is the commentator's province to remove every difficulty that can impede the biblical reader, and to produce whatever can facilitate his studies, by rendering the sense of the sacred writings more clear and easy to be apprehended.

IV. A *paraphrase* is an exposition of the same thing in other words: the paraphrast, therefore, differs from the commentator in this respect, viz. that whatever is fully explained by the latter in his perpetual annotations, the former expounds by rendering the whole discourse, as well as every expression, of the sacred writer in equivalent terms; so that what is obscure is thus rendered more perspicuous, in one continued and unbroken narrative. *Provided the integrity of his author's sense be observed*, the paraphrast is at liberty to abridge what is narrated at length, to enlarge on what is written with brevity, to supply *supposed* omissions, to fill up chasms, to illustrate obscure and apparently involved passages, by plain, clear, and neatly turned expressions, to connect passages which seem too far asunder, or not disposed in order either of time or subject, and to arrange the whole in a regular series. These, indeed, it must be admitted, are important liberties, not to be taken with the Scriptures by *any* paraphrast without the utmost caution, and even then only in the most sparing manner. Paraphrases have been divided by Professor Rambach*, and other writers on the interpretation of the Bible, into two classes—*historical* and *textual*. In the former class of paraphrases, the argument of a book or chapter is pursued historically; and the paraphrast endeavours to give his author's meaning in perspicuous language. In the latter instance, the paraphrast assumes, as it were, the person of the sacred writer, closely pursues the thread of his discourse, and aims at expressing every word and phrase, though in circumscribed limits, yet

* Rambachii Institutiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 706, 07.

in terms that are both clear and obvious to the capacities of his readers. Hence it would appear, that a paraphrase is the most difficult species of expository writing; and, as the number of paraphrasts on the Scriptures is comparatively small, (probably from this circumstance), the ingenious classification of them proposed by Rambach is not sufficiently important to render it necessary that we should form them into a separate class of interpreters. It is of infinitely greater moment to Bible readers, when purchasing works of this description, that they select those which are neither too prolix nor too expensive, and whose authors avoid every thing like party-spirit; neither extolling beyond measure any thing antient, merely because it is of remote antiquity, nor evincing a spirit of *dogmatical innovation*; but who, “rightly dividing the word of truth,” while they express themselves in clear and perspicuous terms, show themselves to be well skilled both in the theory and application of sound principles of scriptural interpretation, and who have diligently availed themselves of every internal and external aid for ascertaining the sense of the sacred writers.

V. Closely allied to commentaries, are the collections of *observations* illustrative of the sacred writings, which have been formed of late years, and require to be consulted with similar cautions, and in the same manner. These books of observations are either grammatical and philological, or miscellaneous: sometimes they discuss only a few passages which are peculiarly difficult and obscure, and sometimes they appear in the form of a grammatical and philological commentary, following the order of the sacred books. On this account, as well as to facilitate reference, we have classed them with Expositions of the Bible: of the best editions of all these, the reader will find some account in No. II. of the Appendix to the second volume of this work, occasionally interspersed with concise bibliographical and critical observations.

VI. Opinions widely different have been entertained respecting the utility and advantage resulting from commentaries, annotations, and other expositions of the sacred writings. By some, who admire nothing but their own meditations, and who hold all human helps in contempt, commentaries are despised altogether, as tending to found our faith on the opinions of men rather than on the divine oracles: while others, on the contrary, trusting exclusively to the expositions of some favourite commentators, receive as infallible whatever views or opinions they may choose to deliver, as *their* expositions of the Bible. The safest way in this case, as in all others, is, to take the middle path, and occasionally to avail ourselves of the

labours of commentators and expositors, while we diligently investigate the Scriptures for ourselves, without relying exclusively on our own wisdom, or being fascinated by the authority of an eminent name.

The late eminent divine and theological tutor, Dr. Campbell, was of opinion that the Bible should be first read and studied *without* a commentary; but his advice was addressed to students who were *previously* acquainted with the originals; and though the design of the present work is to facilitate to studious inquirers the understanding of the Scriptures, yet the author presumes not to suppose that his labours will supersede the necessity of commentaries; or that he can furnish them with all that information which renders such works desirable to the generality of Bible readers. A sensible writer has observed, that the Bible is a *learned* book, not only because it is written in the learned languages, but also as containing allusions to various facts, circumstances, or customs of antiquity, which to a common and unlettered reader require explanation. So far, indeed, as relates to the way of salvation, “he that runs may read:” but there are many important points, if not of the first importance, in which we may properly avail ourselves of the labours of inquirers who have preceded us; especially in clearing difficulties, answering objections, and reconciling passages which at first sight appear contradictory.

Further, “the Bible is a large book, and we are under no small obligations to those who have collated its different parts—the New Testament with the Old,—the prophetic with the historical books, &c.; and to reject their assistance, in making the Scriptures their own interpreter, is to throw away the labours of many ages. As well might we reject all our historians, and insist on believing nothing but what we derive immediately from state papers, original records, or other documents, on which all history is founded.” Once more, “the Bible is intended as a directory for our faith and practice. Now, to have an experienced friend, who has long been in the habit of perusing it with patient study and humble prayer,—to have *such* a friend at hand, to point out in every chapter what may be useful or important, and especially to disclose its latent beauties, may be no less desirable and useful, than it is, when travelling in a foreign country, to have with us a companion who has passed the same route, and is acquainted both with the road, and with the objects most worthy of notice. It is granted, however, that there are extremes; and that it is no less wrong to place *implicit* confidence in commentators, than it is to treat them with contempt: to derive advantage from them, we

should treat them as commentators *only*, and *not* as inspired writers." *

VII. The *use* to be made of interpreters and commentators is twofold :

FIRST, *that we may acquire from them a method of interpreting the Scriptures correctly.* It is not sufficient that we be enabled rightly to understand the Bible ourselves, but it is essentially necessary that those who are destined for the sacred office should be able to explain it with facility, and also to communicate its sense and meaning with perspicuity to others. As however this faculty is not to be attained merely by studying rules for the interpretation of the Scriptures, habitual and constant practice must be superadded; and it will further prove of singular advantage to place before us some good expositors, as models for our imitation. In order to accomplish this desirable object, we must not accumulate, and read, every interpreter or commentator *indiscriminately*, but should select one or two, or a *few* at most, of acknowledged character for learning and piety; and by frequent perusal of them, as well as by studying their manner of expounding, should endeavour to form ourselves after them, until we are completely masters of their method. But the reading of commentaries will further assist us,

SECONDLY, *to understand whatever passages appear to us to be difficult and obscure.* It is not to be denied that there are many passages in the sacred writings both difficult and obscure, in consequence of the various times when the different books were written, the different topics of which they treat, and their allusions to antient customs, &c. The helps, by which most of these difficulties may be removed, have already been stated in the course of the present work. But we cannot suppose that the solitary and unassisted researches even of the most learned expositor are adequate to the removal of every difficulty, or to the elucidation of every obscurity, or that he is not liable to mistake the sense of the sacred penmen. By the united labours, however, of many learned and pious men, of different ages and countries, we are put in possession of *accumulated information* relative to the Bible; so that we may derive large accessions of important knowledge from the *judicious* use of the writings of commentators and expositors.

VIII. In order, then, that we may avail ourselves of their valuable labours to the utmost advantage, the following hints are submitted to the consideration of the reader.

* The Christian Reader's Guide, by Thomas Williams, part i. p. 82.

1. *We should take care that the reading of commentators does not draw us away from studying the Scriptures for ourselves, from investigating their real meaning, and meditating on their important contents.*

This would be to frustrate the very design for which commentaries are written, namely, to facilitate our labours, to direct us aright where we are in danger of falling into error, to remove doubts and difficulties which we are ourselves unable to solve, to reconcile apparently contradictory passages, and, in short, to elucidate whatever is obscure or unintelligible to us. In the first instance, therefore, no commentators should be consulted until we have previously investigated the sacred writings for ourselves, making use of every grammatical and historical help, comparing the scope, context, parallel passages, the analogy of faith, &c.; and even then commentaries should be resorted to only for the purpose of explaining what was not sufficiently clear, or of removing our doubts. This method of studying the sacred volume will, unquestionably, prove a slow one; but the student will proceed with certainty; and, if he have patience and resolution enough to persevere in it, he will ultimately attain greater proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, than those who, disregarding this method, shall have recourse wholly to assistances of other kinds. From the mode of study here recommended, many advantages will result. In the first place, the mind will be gradually accustomed to habits of meditation: without which we cannot reasonably hope to attain even a moderate, much less a profound knowledge of the Bible;—secondly, those truths will be more readily as well as indelibly impressed on the memory, which have thus been “marked, learned, and inwardly digested” in the mind by silent thought and reflexion;—and thirdly, by pursuing this method, we shall perceive our own progress in sacred literature more readily, than if (like idle drones in a bee-hive) we devour and exhaust the stores provided by the care and labour of others. *

2. *We should not inconsiderately assent to the interpretation of any expositor or commentator, or yield a blind and servile obedience to his authority.*

The canon given by Saint Paul, (1 Thess. v. 21.)—*Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*,—is therefore particularly worthy of our notice: for, since no man is an infallible

* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 302. Steph. Gaussen's Dissertatio de Ratione Studii Theologici, pp. 25, 26. Dr. Henry Owen's Directions for young Students in Divinity, p. 37. 5th edit.

judge of the sense of Scripture, not only the expositions given by commentators ought to be carefully examined; but we should also particularly investigate the proofs by which they support their interpretations, uninfluenced by the celebrity of their names, the semblance of ingenuity and novelty, the appearance of learning, or the “excellency of speech *.” Commentators, in fact, are witnesses, not judges: their authority is merely human, and does not surpass the sphere of human belief. But we should not read, exclusively, commentators of a particular *school*, to which we are perhaps attached, and to whose opinions we subscribe; and though the writings of those who inculcate erroneous doctrines are to be received with the greatest suspicion, yet they are not to be altogether disregarded, as they *sometimes* contain valuable and important hints for the elucidation of difficult passages of Scripture. That he may not be misunderstood, the author will explain himself by a single example. The variety of erroneous *theological* notions, asserted in different publications by the late Dr. Priestley, has justly excited suspicions in the minds of all, who cherish a regard for what they conscientiously believe to be the peculiar doctrines of the Christian dispensation; so that any theological or expository writings, bearing *his* name, are by them received with caution, and subjected to the most rigorous examination. His *Notes on all the Books of Scripture* are, nevertheless, well worthy of being consulted: for “though the doctor keeps his own creed (*unitarianism*) continually in view, especially when considering those texts which other religious people adduce in favour of theirs, yet his work contains many invaluable notes and observations, particularly on the *philosophy, natural history, geography, and chronology* of the Scriptures: and to these subjects few men in Europe were better qualified to do justice.” †

3. *The best commentators and interpreters only are to be read.*

So numerous are the commentaries at present extant on the sacred writings, that to notice them all would require a distinct volume. Not to mention the magnitude of their *cost*, the labour and fatigue of turning over and examining such a multitude of massy volumes, is sufficient to deter any one from the study of them; and must necessarily prevent an ingenuous student from deriving any real advantage. For the perplexity

* C. D. Beckii Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Testamenti, pars i. pp. 174, 175.

† Dr. A. Clarke, General Preface to vol. i. of his Commentary on the Bible, p. i.

of mind, arising from so great a variety of conflicting opinions, will either disgust him altogether with sacred studies, or he will so bewilder himself, that he will not be able to determine which to follow or embrace.

Although the more antient commentators and expositors did not possess those peculiar facilities for interpreting the Scriptures, with which we are now happily favoured, yet they are not to be altogether despised by those, who may have leisure and opportunity to consult them, for the purpose of tracing the time when, and the authors by whom, particular expositions of certain passages were first introduced. The more antient interpreters, being coeval or nearly so with the sacred writers, and also living in the neighbouring countries, are thus rendered good evidence for the received sense of certain words in their day. Hence the Jews frequently throw much light on the meaning of Hebrew words and usages, as may be seen in the extracts from their writings which are to be found in all the larger commentaries: and in like manner the Greek fathers, the value of whose labours it has been the fashion unduly to depreciate, are excellent evidence for the meaning attached to Greek words, particularly in controversies relating to the deity of Jesus Christ, the reality and efficacy of his atonement, &c. And since there are *some expositions* of very important passages, in which all or nearly all expositors, both antient and modern, *are agreed*, these have a high claim to our attention.*

Of the more modern commentators, the *best only* must be selected, whom we may consult as guides. It is an excellent advice of Ernesti's †, that we shall find considerable advantage in making memoranda of the more difficult passages of the sacred writings, which have been variously explained by expositors, as well as of such passages as are particularly worthy of note, but concerning which our own researches, or those of others, have failed in procuring satisfactory information. Thus, whenever any *new* commentary falls into our hands, we can in a short time ascertain whether it contains any thing intrinsically new or valuable, or that may lead us to ascertain the genuine sense of a passage. By consulting commentators and expositors in this manner, we shall be able to distinguish ideas of things from ideas of sounds; and, thus becoming habituated to the investigation and consideration of the sacred writings, we shall, under divine teaching, be enabled to understand "the mind of the Spirit" in the Scriptures.

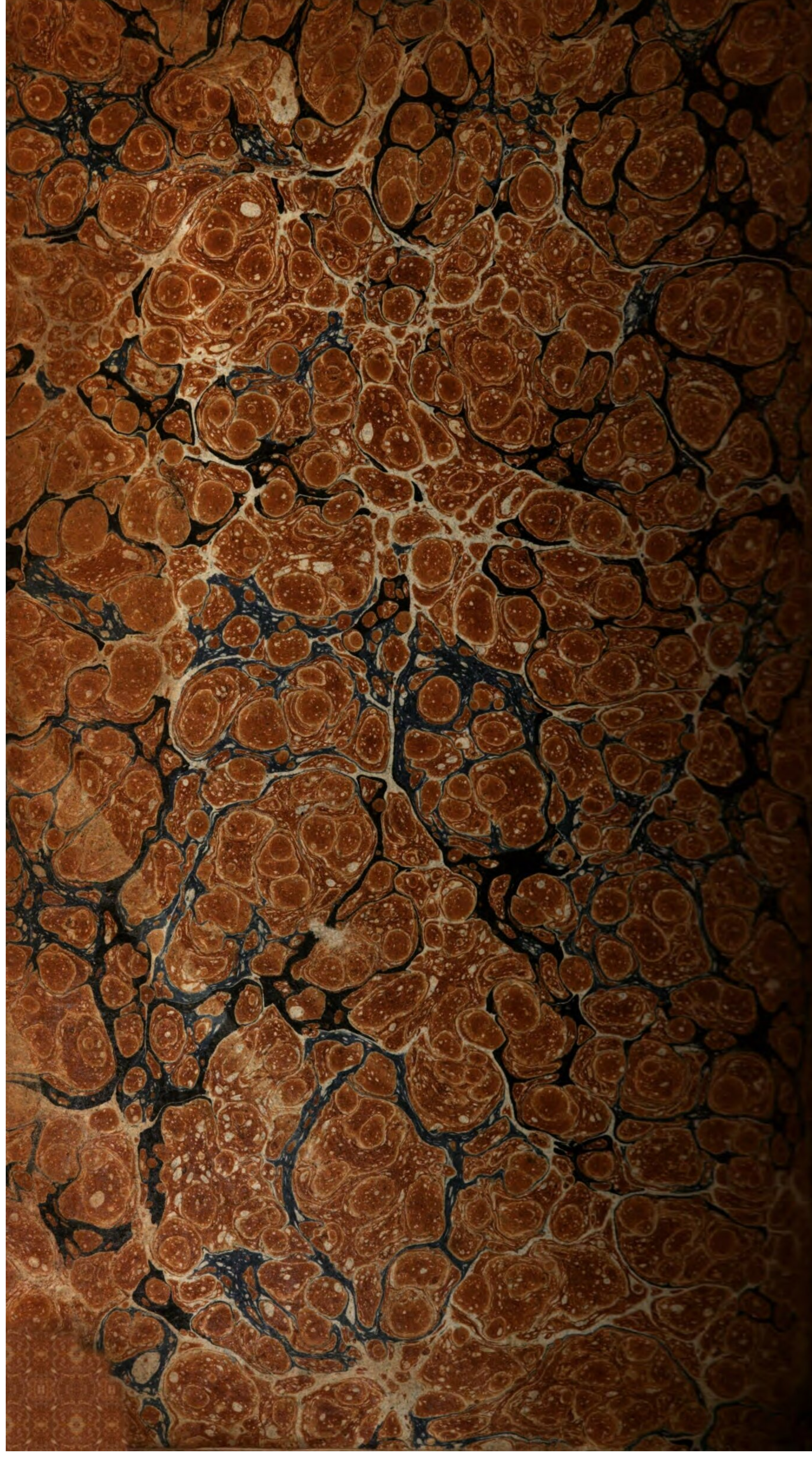
* Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 304. Turretin de Interp. Sac. Scrip. p. 333.

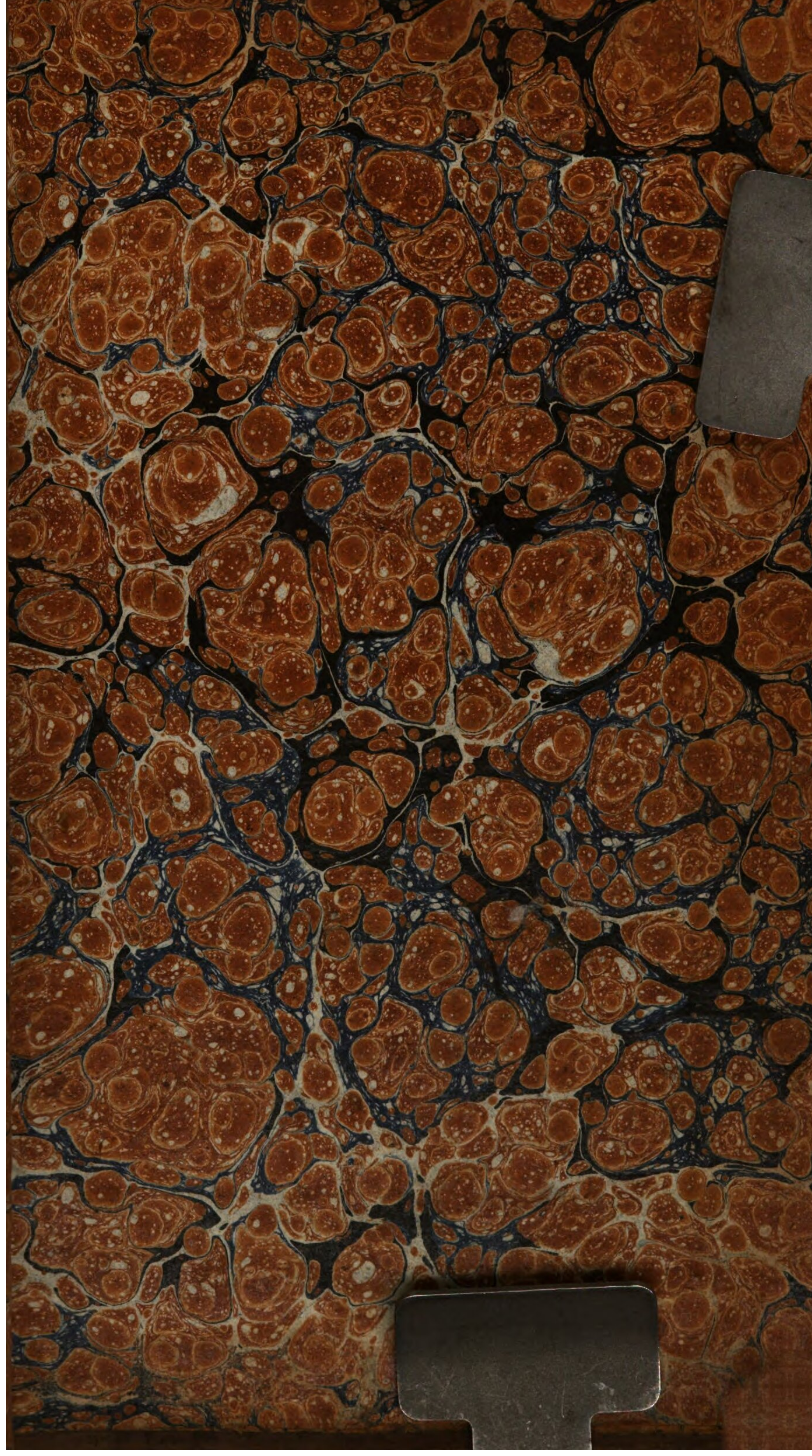
† Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, part iii. cap. ix. § 44. p. 306.

4. Where it does not appear that either antient or modern interpreters had more knowledge than ourselves respecting particular passages; and where they offer only conjectures,—in such cases their expositions ought to be subjected to a strict examination. If their reasons are then found to be valid, we should give our assent to them: but, on the contrary, if they prove to be false, improbable, and insufficient, they must be altogether rejected.

Lastly, as there are some commentaries, which are either wholly compiled from the previous labours of others, or contain observations extracted from their writings, if any thing appear confused or perplexed in such commentaries, the original sources whence they were compiled must be referred to, and diligently consulted.

END OF VOLUME 1.





Horne, Thomas Hartwell,

An introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the holy scriptures
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